

**Rhetorical and represented agency in
Thai political science texts on the
2006 *coup d'état***

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Candidate's certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis analyses agency in Thai political science texts written at the time of the 2006 *coup d'état*. The rhetorical work of political scientists who write about political events deserves close attention. Intervening in debates about contentious political events is not only rhetorically challenging but can also be professionally and personally fraught for public intellectuals. It is important to understand the linguistic mechanisms by which these scholars exercise agency and persuade readers to a particular point of view. The study argues that agency in discourse can be explored from two perspectives: the agency exercised by writers as they take part in social practices, including in the construction and presentation of their texts, and the agency represented in the content of the texts as social actors are construed as taking part in social practices. These two perspectives are referred to respectively as rhetorical and represented agency. The study seeks to make explicit the linguistic resources that Thai political scientists deploy in the exercise and representation of these two dimensions of agency within the broader context of an escalating social and political conflict.

The analysis of rhetorical and represented agency in political science texts requires a theory of language use in social contexts. Systemic functional linguistics (SFL), with its functional model of language oriented to social processes, provides a useful set of resources to analyse agency. SFL provides a theory of genre through which to explore rhetorical agency, in particular, the genres that the writers deploy and how these genres are staged and information flow is managed through the discourse semantic resources of periodicity. SFL also provides a theory of how writers position their texts in relation to other texts and other voices in the resources of appraisal. SFL's theory of grammar, particularly experiential grammar, accounts for the ways in which experience is construed in the clause to determine who does what to whom, under which circumstances and to what effect. To this end, SFL theories of transitivity and Hasan's (1985) "cline of dynamism" are also useful for the analysis of represented agency. The study supplements these SFL tools of analysis with reference to other theories of language and text. In particular, in the analysis of rhetorical agency, the concept of interdiscursivity draws on the work of Bhatia (2010) and Fairclough (2013) to help understand the ways in which texts appropriate different genres and the voices of others. Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic network also allows for a more delicate analysis

of the lexical realisations of social actors in the texts that carry both ideological and rhetorical import.

The data for the study comprise three texts produced by three well-known Thai political scientists. One text was published online on a university website, one was a keynote speech that was later published as an article in a journal, and the third was an academic article published in the same journal. Rhetorical agency is analysed in terms of the genres of argumentation that are deployed and how meanings are packaged in the three texts in a hierarchy of periodicity using the resources of Theme and New, hyperTheme and hyperNew and macroTheme and macroNew. Rhetorical agency is also characterised by the manner in which the writers appropriate other texts and discourses, which is analysed by means of the discourse semantic resources of appraisal, specifically the resources of engagement. Rhetorical agency is also analysed in terms of van Leeuwen's social actor network, which highlights patterns in the representation of social actors in the texts to reveal the ideological basis of some of these actors. Represented agency is explored through a transitivity analysis to reveal how these social actors are represented as agents or affected participants in the clause. In addition, the analysis of participants and processes in terms of the cline of dynamism highlights more subtle aspects of the representation of agency in these difficult circumstances and offers insights into the values and discourses inherent in the texts.

The study demonstrates that a wide range of generic and linguistic resources was deployed to express agency in the Thai political science texts. The writers combined and blended genres and incorporated other voices and discourses in their texts in novel and creative ways. The analysis of represented agency provided clues to the political stance of each of the writers at the time of the coup. A more nuanced understanding of represented agency was established through an analysis of the representation of social actors in terms of the cline of dynamism. These results suggest that a linguistic theory of rhetorical agency requires a broad view of genre to include the notion of interdiscursivity and the integration of clause-level analyses to unpack text in context. Finally, this study illustrates how the exercise and representation of agency is both enabled and constrained not only by relationships of power but also by the linguistic resources available to the Thai writers.

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Abbreviations and glossary

Ajam	Professor, polite reference for university lecturer
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLF	Numeral classifier
Imp.Asp.	Imperfective Aspect
PAD	People's Alliance for Democracy
PASS	Passive
Perf.Asp.	Perfective Aspect
phrai	bonded commoner
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
Th.Part.	Thematic particle
TRT	Thai Rak Thai (Thai Love Thai), Thaksin Shinawatra's political party

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study explores how agency is expressed in the political science texts of three Thai academics, Khien Theeravit, Chaiwat Satha-Anand and Pitch Pongsawat,¹ each of whom wrote about the 19 September 2006 *coup d'état* in Thailand. Drawing on insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the study will identify the linguistic strategies deployed by these writers as they creatively responded to an environment where the political and discursive space was both contested and constrained. The thesis argues that concepts drawn from both these theoretical traditions are required to properly understand and explain how agency is realised in the texts under examination. The chapter begins by offering a background to this concern with Thai academics and their agency and offers a preliminary definition of agency. The chapter then outlines the main aims of the study and the key research questions it addresses. It concludes with a brief overview of each of the following chapters.

1.2 Background

Conflict, crisis and struggles over power are ubiquitous and fundamental drivers of social and political change. As recent events in various parts of the world show, these struggles assume different forms in different places and produce different and, often unexpected, outcomes. These outcomes depend on factors such as historical timing, the configurations of social forces and interests involved and the specific socio-political conjunctures in which the conflict plays out. For example, struggles over democracy, defining the “Arab Spring”, have assumed different forms and produced very different outcomes and consequences in Syria, Libya and Egypt. Similarly, the struggles that challenged authoritarian state power in the Central and South Americas during the 1970s and 1980s produced differently reconfigured political regimes and varying

¹ It is customary for Thai authors to be cited by their given names, though Diller (2008, p. 31) notes that Thai scholars writing for English language linguistics journals tend to follow the family name citation convention. In this thesis, except for the three writers of these texts who will be cited by their given names, all other Thai authors will be cited by their family name. Apologies to those Thai authors cited in this thesis who prefer the given name citation.

degrees of space for people to participate and be represented in political life. Similarly, conflict in Thailand over many decades about how politics or the state should or should not be organised, and the extent to which people should or should not be permitted to participate in that politics, has assumed very different forms at different times and has involved shifting coalitions of competing social forces and interests working through key institutions such as the parliament, political parties, monarchy, military, civilian bureaucracy, as well as civil society.

In all these cases, “crisis” is often used to refer to actual events and the practices of real people in the material world as they grapple with situations where existing relationships of power and privilege have become the object of sustained critique, conflict and (possible) transformation. However, while driven by competing material interests, these events and conflicts and the social actors who participate in them are, in a very important sense, always necessarily construed and produced through discourse (DeRycker & Mohd Don, 2013). This process of construing crisis through discourse entails an expression of the agency of different social actors, brought into being through language. Of course, it is often those with the most power, who are best placed to identify and define the nature of a crisis, shape perceptions of it and what therefore should or should not be done to resolve it (DeRycker & Mohd Don, 2013, p. 11). However, it is crucial to recognise that this process of construing crisis through discourse is itself the subject of conflict, the outcome of which does not always favour the most powerful. There are always competing ways to define or interpret the causes of conflict, and through this process of defining we can identify and investigate the different and competing social forces involved. Thus, focusing on the way in which crisis is construed by different social actors provides a window into understanding conflict, the interests involved and their agency (or lack of agency as the case may be), how power is being contested, produced, reproduced or even possibly transformed. It is towards an understanding of how competing agency is exercised in and through language that forms the main focus of this thesis.

An understanding of how language is deployed in processes of political change and conflict to support, challenge or subvert dominant discourses and the relationships of power that sustain them is crucial. Language is a means by which competing actors with different material interests attempt to produce, reproduce or possibly transform

structures of power (e.g., Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003). It is through language that some ideas, beliefs or visions about the nature of the social world and how that world may or may not be politically organised are promoted, denied or defended. Of course, the power or capacity to promote or defend competing visions of social reality is not distributed equally. Some actors have a much greater capacity to act on their environment so as to enforce order, direct the behaviour of others, and so protect the status quo or to bring about change. Inevitably, then, there will be individual actors or groups who have their agency – their capacity to act – constrained because of their structured differential access to available resources, including the resources provided by language.

Different agents, individual or collective, have access to different “repertoires”, deploying particular language resources in particular ways, that, according to Bernstein (1996/2000, as cited in Martin, 2010, p. 23), will share core features with the repertoires of other language users, but which will also be different because of differences in each user’s context and experiences. Academics and public intellectuals, for example, have access to some of the more highly valued of these linguistic repertoires (Bhatia, 2004), such as genres of argumentation, but may still, because of prevailing balances of power, face quite stringent constraints about how they can act and what they can and cannot say in public. These insights are borne out by the recent Thai experience as the academic community became both embroiled and ideologically divided in the intense political conflict that followed in the wake of the military-led *coup d’état* that overthrew the democratically elected government of Thaksin Shinawatra in September 2006. This study will identify the means by which three Thai academic writers drew on their linguistic repertoires to intervene in the public debate about the causes and consequences of the coup. In so doing, it brings to light the linguistic and rhetorical strategies that academic writers used to shape their arguments and engage their readers.

Khien Theeravit, Chaiwat Satha-Anand and Pitch Pongsawat are three notable examples of Thai activists and public intellectuals. Because of the limited number of published Thai academic journals, and the fact that there is a relatively small readership for those journals that do exist, many Thai academics publish in daily and weekly newspapers, magazines and online, and also broadcast on television talk shows as a means for communicating their views as well as supplementing their relatively meagre

university incomes (Sriyaranya, 2000). Sriyaranya argues that this involvement with the mass media has produced a large and active audience for Thai public intellectuals, and many have used their position in the media to advance their views on various social issues, to try to shape the political agenda, and in some cases have even succeeded in effecting change (p. 7). Each of the writers in this study can be counted among this number of politically active Thai public intellectuals. They each pursued their doctoral studies in the United States before returning to Thailand and taking up positions in two of the most prestigious universities in the country. Khien is a retired, conservative political scientist from Chulalongkorn University, who specialised in Foreign Relations, specifically China and East Asia. He has published articles in *Matichon*, a quality Thai language newspaper that Sriyaranya (2000, p. 4) classifies as having a highly literate and educated audience, and still publishes books and online articles regularly, for example on the *Thai World* website of the Thai World Affairs Centre, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University. Khien supported the 2006 coup. His paper, “The right to stage the coup” (2006), was published on the *Thai World* website on 13 October 2006.

Chaiwat is a political scientist and political philosopher from Thammasat University where he specialises in Peace Studies. He is highly respected in Thailand and internationally, particularly for his work to facilitate peace between Muslim and Buddhist communities caught up in an unresolved ethnic and religious based conflict which has been simmering away in Thailand’s four most southern provinces for decades. His article, “Aristotle and the 19 September coup”, was originally presented as a keynote speech to the Annual Meeting of Political Science and Administration at Ramkhamhaeng University on 29 November, 2006. It was subsequently published in a special coup edition of the journal, *Faa Diaw Kan (Same Sky)*, (2550/2007).²

Pitch is a younger, Marxist political scientist from Chulalongkorn University. Pitch writes a regular column in *Matichon*, and he is a regular panellist on *Tonight Thailand*, a television current affairs talk show. Pitch opposed the staging of the coup.

² This date reflects the Thai publication date of 2550 as well as the date that would be used in English. To derive the English year, 543 is subtracted from the Thai Buddhist year.

His text, “The coup of 19 September turned citizens into *phrai*”,³ was published in the same coup edition of the journal, *Faa Diaw Kan*, in which Chaiwat’s article was published (2550/2007b). Each of these writers, therefore, is highly proficient with genres of argumentation, and each of their texts offers important insights for understanding the coup from very different perspectives.

It was a long and serendipitous route to the choice to focus on the work of these three writers in this particular context. The study began initially as an investigation into academic writing in Thai and how notions of politeness and indirectness were manifested in academic texts. Both Pitch and Chaiwat were recommended as potential interviewees, and Chaiwat’s “Aristotle” text was recommended as an example of an influential piece of academic writing. As Pitch’s “*Phrai*” text was in the same issue of the journal as Chaiwat’s text, it was chosen as the second text to focus on. On a visit to Thailand in 2009 to interview Thai academics for the project, it became very clear that the political conflict was still very raw in the Thai psyche, and opinions were polarised. As the two texts were both on the 2006 coup and as both texts took positions in opposition to the coup, a third text in support of the coup was sought to complement the first two texts and provide a point of possible difference in the structure of the texts and the representation of the events. It was Pitch who suggested Khien’s “Right to stage the coup” text.

As these three writers are very accomplished academics and public intellectuals in their fields, their strategies for conveying their positions in the constrained political context became the focus of the study. An initial analysis of the texts highlighted very different methods of staging their arguments and also very different ways that agency and responsibility were attributed to different social actors in their texts. Most importantly, an analysis of these texts could identify the ways in which each of these writers was able to express their agency by construing the conflict that surrounded the coup in particular ways and in so doing attempt to shape the views of their audiences, advance their respective arguments, and enact different political and ideological positions.

³ *Phrai* is a key term in Pitch’s text, which he translates as *subject*. I have retained *phrai* in this thesis because of the culturally-loaded meaning that this word carries, to be explained in more detail in Chapter 2.

1.3 Agency

As public intellectuals and political activists, each of the three writers considered in this study had a particular set of aims: to enter into dialogue with others, to intervene in the discursive debates about the coup, to interpret the causes and consequences of coup, and to persuade, justify, challenge, explain or critique the chain of events that led to the coup and the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the military's staging of the coup. In sum, each of the three writers offered and sought to advance particular interpretations of the coup. Interpretation involves the "creative construction of meaning" (Thompson, 1984, p. 137) and relies on the context of situation as to what meanings, or what readings, will be selected over others in the process of interpretation (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 82-83). The writers thus exercised their own agency by acting discursively through the production of their texts, including writing an academic article, writing a letter to a newspaper, taking part in an interview or giving a lecture. In these endeavours, as social actors possessed with agency, they are able to anticipate outcomes and act strategically by planning how to best achieve their desired outcome, subject to different "enablers or constraints" (Archer, 2003) that may be activated by their actions within the socio-historical context. In the context of a political crisis, a discrete set of conditions that both enable and constrain the capacity to act will be in operation. For example, the position of the three writers as highly trained academics in the public sphere is an enabling condition that gives them access to genres of power (Bhatia, 2004) to create and publish their academic articles. At the same time, the prevailing balances and arrangement of political power imposed definite constraints on the capacity of the three writers to realise their intentions. Such constraints are manifest, for example, in the existence and use of a draconian law such as Thailand's *lèse majesté* legislation that forbids any criticism of the king and other members of the royal family. For example, it imposes definite limits on the extent to which these writers were able to criticise or even talk about certain social actors, their relationships and material interests, and the significance of their involvement in key political events.

Discursive agents such as the three represented in this study therefore do not exercise their agency—their capacity to act—without restriction. Rather, they always need to negotiate the various structural conditions, especially the structures of language, that confront them in order to achieve their rhetorical goals, their "private intentions"

(Bhatia, 2004, p. 18). Khien's stated goal was to educate Thais as to what happens if a government breaks the social contract (Khien interview, 5/1/12). Chaiwat's main goal was to challenge a critique of another article of his that was published in the *Bangkok Post* English language newspaper shortly after the coup (Chaiwat interview, 25/11/09). Pitch's goal was to "challenge the whole rhetoric about the coup" (Pitch interview, 20/11/09). To realise these stated intentions, their agency is enacted in at least two different ways. First, at the level of the text, the writers realise their agency through the production of their texts, selecting genres that enable them to *teach* the audience or to *challenge* other interpretations of events, staging their arguments in different ways to achieve a particular effect, and drawing on other texts to buttress their own positions. Second, they express their agency through the particular choices that they make in their representation of the field of discourse (van Leeuwen, 1993), that is, through choices in lexis and grammar to construe agency or lack of agency of the social actors that they represent in their texts in order to best prosecute their arguments.

Thus, in order to understand how academics realise their agency and so intervene in social practice and the linguistic resources that they draw upon and deploy, two interconnected dimensions of agency need to be identified and examined. These two dimensions of agency have already been observed by linguists and critical discourse analysts (e.g. Duranti, 2004; Fairclough, 1992; Halliday, 1978; van Leeuwen, 1993). On one dimension, they note how speakers and writers, or "rhetors" to capture the rhetorical nature of their action (Andrews, 2014, p. 16), construct meaning and interact with others (readers, listeners, a public audience), how they mean, through the medium of their texts. This is discourse as a "mode of action" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63) or discourse conceptualised as a part of social practice (van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). In this way, the analyst can consider the rhetorical purpose of the text and how the rhetor draws on and is enabled by the existence of a range of genres to achieve this purpose. The analyst can also explore how rhetors convey their own stance on a subject and how they, in turn, position their audience so their readers or listeners / interlocutors will accept and be supportive of their ideas.

On another dimension, the analyst needs to recognise and examine the ways in which the people, groups, institutions caught up in a conflict are represented by a rhetor. This is discourse conceptualised "as a mode of representation" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63)

or the representation of social practice (van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). Depending on the position of the rhetor, people and their actions and catalysing or resulting events may be viewed in particular ways. It is important therefore to explore how rhetors portray different actors and events as a means to communicate a particular position. That is, the way in which social actors and their agency is represented in their texts offers key insights into the author's own agency as they may challenge, subvert, contest or accommodate to existing structures of power and interest. Different languages have different resources available, and these resources will be used differently by different rhetors to convey, for example, which participants are performing which action and which participants are impacting on others, that is, which participants are construed as agents? Which participants are affected by these actions? Of those that are affected, which participants benefit from the actions and which participants may suffer? And under what circumstances does this particular set of relations occur? In this thesis, these two dimensions of agency are labelled rhetorical and represented agency respectively.

A key aspect of discourse as social practice is the action that the rhetor performs through the texts that he/she produces. The rhetor expresses agency in the manner in which he or she chooses to represent the features of particular social, political or historical situations or contexts. Thus, in effect, a dialectic exists between rhetorical and represented forms of agency. That is, rhetorical agency refers to the rhetor's exercise of agency in the choice of genre to argue a point. The rhetor can also exercise agency by representing social actors in particular ways in their texts. For example, to take a stance on an issue, rhetors may represent participants as either agents wilfully causing events or as actors affected by the events. It may be in their interests to portray events and participants in a particular light and to stage their arguments in particular ways to make a particular point, build upon existing knowledge, call for action, challenge authority, persuade an audience, or perform any number of other rhetorical acts. Thus rhetors do not merely represent or interpret events, participants or circumstances in a neutral or linguistically unmediated fashion. The different participants that are identified in their texts may be represented through language in such a way as to elicit a particular reaction from the audience, to offer different explanations about what happened and why, or how one action led to another; that is, what was the chain of causation? For example, a supporter of the 2006 coup may represent the military as not highly agentic, or as a positively appraised agent whereas a supporter of the government may

represent the military as highly agentic and negatively appraised. This way, praise or blame may be laid on one participant rather than another to paint the characters and their actions in a particular light so as to influence the interpretation that the audience or interlocutors bring to bear on the text.

1.4 Aims of the study

Given the discussion above regarding the two dimensions of agency and the need to understand how language is deployed in times of significant political conflict, the study aims to apply a range of discourse analytical tools to a new area of study: that of Thai political science texts to investigate the ways in which these texts bear the imprint of their author's agency. In order to achieve this aim, the thesis will address the following key research questions:

1. In times of intense political conflict, how do writers exercise agency in and through the writing of texts to support, oppose, challenge or subvert the status quo?

To answer this broad question, the following sub-questions are posed:

2. How do authors exercise their agency through their texts? That is, what linguistic and generic resources can a rhetor draw on to craft a text in order to persuade an audience to a particular position?
3. How is the agency of key social actors represented in the texts?
4. How do we interpret the relationship between the rhetorical agency of the writers and the manner in which the agency of other social actors is represented in the texts?

1.5 Research approach

To answer these main research questions, this thesis draws on work across two broad theoretical traditions, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Insights from both these theoretical traditions are employed to understand and explain how agency is realised in the texts under

examination. First, the study is framed by broad principles of CDA, that is, to uncover ideological processes and unequal power relations as they are construed in discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Ideology is essentially a contested concept. For the purposes of this thesis, Fairclough's notion of ideology is adopted as "significations... of reality ... built into...discursive practices which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (1992, p. 87). That is to say, the study of ideology essentially involves the analysis of how systems of meaning operate to produce and reproduce relationships of power. These systems of meanings or ideas are represented in discourse, through language.

Discourse in CDA is viewed as "a form of social practice" that is both socially constituted and constituting (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). While agents can shape elements of the physical and social context by acting on the world, either physically or by other means such as through language, at the same time, elements of the context shape and constrain these agents and their access to the resources and the means through which they can act on their world. In the difficult socio-political context that existed in the aftermath of the 2006 coup in Thailand where the exercise of political power was subject to considerable contestation between competing social forces and interests, it is important to explore how social actors negotiated a space from which to sustain, reproduce or indeed challenge the status quo. The focus of this study will be on how the three writers intervened in the debates about the coup and what linguistic resources they deployed to support, resist or challenge the staging of the coup and the post-coup political system.

Approaches to CDA vary. This thesis adopts elements of CDA from different sources. A key approach to CDA that informs this study is that of van Leeuwen (e.g., 1993, 1996, 2008, 2009) who explores discourse as a form of social practice through an analysis of genre, and discourse as the representation of social practice through an analysis of the field of discourse. Van Leeuwen (2008) also offers a rich set of tools to analyse the representation of social actors in discourse, an approach that can offer further insights into the exercise of agency by rhetors. To account for the creative ways that the rhetors appropriated and shaped different genres, the thesis also draws on the notion of "genre mixing" or "interdiscursivity" as theorised by Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 2013) and also by Bhatia (2004, 2010, 2012),

who approaches interdiscursivity through the study of professional discourses and genre rather than CDA. This study also engages with the Discourse Historical Approach in CDA (e.g., Wodak, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2009), which takes into account linguistic features in the text as well as non-linguistic factors that situate a text within the broader social and historical context.

The second theoretical tradition that informs this study is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL, originally pioneered by Michael Halliday (e.g., 1967a, 1967b, 1973, 1978, 1994b) and subsequently developed further by other SFL scholars (e.g., Eggins & Slade, 1997; Halliday & Hasan, 1976, 1985; Halliday & Martin, 1993; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Hasan, 1985; Macken-Horarik, 1996; Martin, 1992; Matthiessen, 1995), provides a rich theory of language that is contextually and socially sensitive. SFL has been labelled an “applied linguistics” (Halliday, 1985), meaning that this particular theory of language and context can be applied to the analysis of social problems; it is socially accountable and thus necessitates a critical approach (Matthiessen, 2012, p. 436). SFL offers the critical discourse analyst the tools for a systematic description of the relationship between language and social context. Language and social structure are seen as inextricably linked. It is thus easy to see why aspects of SFL have been adopted and adapted by some critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (van Leeuwen, 1993) and the earlier Critical Linguists (e.g., Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993). SFL has also been the inspiration for an abundance of research in critical discourse analysis that has aimed to tackle racism and other forms of discrimination in society by exposing instances of the use of language in the service of power or, alternatively, to investigate and laud language use in texts that are not essentially ideologically motivated (e.g., Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004; Humphrey, 2008; Macken-Horarik, 2003, 2005, to name but a few).

According to Halliday (1978, 1994b), SFL conceives of language as a complex and multidimensional system of meaning that has evolved to perform two basic functions: to represent our experience of the world and to interact with others. In addition to these two functions, a third function of language exists to organise these meanings in appropriate ways to fulfil the particular role that the language or text is playing in the particular context that it is being used. Language is interpreted as a

stratified system that enables a speaker or writer to transform experience of the world into meaning and then these meanings into wordings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In order to see how agency is manifested in the texts under consideration in this study, we need an appropriate set of tools to effectively analyse exactly how meanings are created. The tools that have been developed in SFL are many and varied, offering a holistic view of language use in context. In the work of Martin (Martin, 1992, 1997), for example, genre is theorised as a cultural resource at the higher level of the strata, discourse semantics at the meso-level (Martin, 1992), and then at the level of lexicogrammar, three metafunctions of language to create meanings that construe experience, enact interpersonal relations and organise text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Rhetorical agency is explored drawing on genre at the level of context of culture as it has been theorised in SFL (e.g. Martin, 2009; Martin & Rose, 2007, 2008). The staging and flow of information in the texts is analysed through the discourse semantic resource of Periodicity and the patterns of Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme (e.g. Martin & Rose, 2007). Rhetorical agency is also explored in terms of how the rhetors included other texts and discourses into their texts by means of the resources of Appraisal, specifically the system of Engagement (e.g. Martin & White, 2005). Represented agency is explored in terms of how social actors are represented through the experiential grammar, specifically van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor network and the system of transitivity as theorised in SFL. The results of the transitivity analysis are also considered in terms of Hasan's (1985) cline of dynamism to identify degrees of agency. Finally, the relationship between rhetorical and represented agency will be considered.

1.6 Outline of chapters

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. The current chapter introduces the study of rhetorical and represented agency and the authors of the texts. It explains the aim of the study, presents the research questions and introduces the theoretical approaches that are adopted in the analysis.

Chapter 2 situates the production of the texts within the Thai socio-political context at the time of the 2006 coup and discusses the relationships between the events experienced by the writers, the dominant, conservative discourses that prevailed and the discourses that were enlisted within the three texts. The discussion draws on data gleaned from interviews with the three authors. In particular, it identifies some of the

political constraints the writers faced that existed in the Thai socio-political context, most especially the *lèse majesté* law that made problematic any open and public discussion about the Thai monarchy and its role in the coup.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical foundations that underpin the thesis. It begins by defining some key terms: agency, ideology, discourse and rhetoric, as they occur in this thesis. The two dimensions of agency that inform the approach to the analysis of the texts are explained in more detail. The chapter then reviews Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory and outlines the key areas of SFL that are drawn on in the thesis. Genre theory as it is understood in SFL is outlined and the link between genre, rhetoric and agency is established. Periodicity in SFL and the interplay between genre staging, periodicity and grammatical metaphor is presented. The concepts of macrogenre and interdiscursivity are also reviewed. Turning to the analysis of represented agency, the literature on transitivity and ergativity in SFL and other linguistic paradigms are reviewed with a view to explaining the usefulness of these grammatical concepts for the study of agency in the texts. Finally, Hasan's (1985) concept of the "cline of dynamism" as an analytical tool to investigate degrees of agency across a range of texts is presented.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological framework for analysing agency adopted in the study. The chapter describes the methods of data collection, including the three texts in the corpus and the interviews conducted with the three writers of these texts. The approaches to analysing rhetorical and represented agency in discourse, including the analysis of genre, periodicity, engagement and transitivity are explained. Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory and its usefulness in identifying the representation of social actors in the three texts is also discussed.

Chapter 5 analyses the three texts in terms of rhetorical agency. As a starting point, genre and genre stages are analysed to show how the argument in each of the texts is carried forward, and phase is analysed to show the more subtle shifts of meaning as the texts unfolds. The interplay of periodicity and grammatical metaphor with genre staging is analysed. A key argument in this chapter is the need to view the texts as macro-genres, through the process of interdiscursivity. Finally, the rhetorical agency of

the writers is analysed in the way that they engage with other texts to align or dis-align the reader with particular positions or arguments treated in their texts.

Chapter 6 analyses the representation of social actors in the three texts using van Leeuwen's (2008) sociosemantic inventory. The different strategies that the writers use to include, suppress and delegitimise social actors in the texts are presented. This chapter also includes a discussion of grammatical metaphor, particularly nominalisation, and complex nominal groups as they are used in the texts to represent social actors in specific ways, or to suppress or exclude social actors and their agency from the texts. It will be argued that, on the one hand, the representation of social actors in the texts is a further manifestation of the rhetorical agency of the rhetors and, on the other hand, the choice of representation of social actors has implications for the representation of agency within the texts.

Chapter 7 continues with the analysis of represented agency in the three texts. The focus of this chapter is on the analysis of the system of transitivity in the texts, and the complementary systems of process type and agency, or role allocation in van Leeuwen's terms. The data is also presented in terms of Hasan's (1985) "cline of dynamism". The chapter argues that the way in which the three writers construe the various social actors offer important insights into the existence of unequal relations of power in a highly contested political context.

Chapter 8 concludes the study of agency in the three Thai texts. The research findings are reviewed and the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the texts are presented. Finally, the theoretical and pedagogical implications of the research are outlined.

Chapter 2

Context, agency and text

2.1 Introduction

As indicated briefly in Chapter 1, and as discussed more fully in the following chapter, agency is always exercised within particular contexts. This chapter therefore has two interrelated aims. The first is to provide some background to the conflict that led to the military-led *coup d' état* in Thailand that removed the Thaksin Shinawatra government in September 2006. An important aspect of this discussion is the identification of key discourses through which different social forces and interests expressed their competing political positions. These competing narratives around the topics of “monarchy”, “corruption” and “democracy”, that invoke key social actors such as the King, politicians and the people in particular ways, formed an integral part of the broader political and discursive context within which the three writers exercised their agency to produce their respective texts. In effect, the context was discursive. An understanding of this discursive context is crucial to an account of the three texts.

The second aim of this chapter is thus to situate the agency of three writers, Khien Theeravit, Chaiwat Satha-Anand and Pitch Pongsawat, and their texts in relation to these socio-political realities. In the data collection phase, the three writers, as well as seven other academics and two editors of the journal *Faa Diaw Kan* (Same Sky), were interviewed. A range of topics was discussed in these interviews, including the reasons that led these authors to produce the specific texts under scrutiny in this thesis. This chapter will draw on this interview data as well as the three texts to highlight the writers' stated motivations for writing the texts. This may appear somewhat unconventional for a thesis, but is necessary to situate the writers in relation to the political context within which and about which they wrote.

2.2 The Thai socio-political context

On the 19th September, 2006, a coalition of socially conservative forces and interests loyal to the Thai monarchy and led by the military staged a *coup d'état* that overthrew the popularly elected government of Thaksin Shinawatra. The coup makers annulled the constitution, dissolved parliament, placed restrictions on the media and

imposed martial law. These events not only marked a critical point in what had been an escalating conflict between competing political elites but also set in motion a struggle between Thailand's conservative elites and what was to become an increasingly vocal and broader subaltern oppositional movement (Hewison, 2013). These conflicts polarised Thai society and were the focus of a vociferous public, media and academic debate that, initially at least, aimed to identify the causes of the coup, explain its meaning, and determine its consequences for the future of Thai democracy. Although some scholars tried to explain the coup solely in class terms (e.g., Ungpakorn, 2007), others argued that such explanations failed to recognise the complexity of the socio-political context and the array of competing social forces and interests involved (Connors & Hewison, 2008). The three Thai political science writers that feature in this thesis found themselves caught up in the conflict as it deeply divided the academic community as well.

Pitch, who opposed the coup, spoke about the fault lines that the conflict opened up within the Thai academic community:

Yeah but that one [*Phrai* article] is the one I'm really proud about because I really challenge some professor. ... so you see that the 19 September is a big divide in political science....So we got into the point where we have to fight against our friend, we have to fight against the professor and it's not purely academic... That moment was a moment of courage and it's also a moment of personal- personal relation. You break your personal relationship with that type of writing. Right? You cannot talk to them anymore or you need to find a way to talk to them, right? And it's a big thing and it's turned a lot of gossip into the reality that you have to fight against. Right? So it's a big divide in society after that- that moment. We still have that scar in our relationship. We have to [be] silent when we see each other sometime. (Pitch interview, 20/11/09)

The divisiveness that occurred prior to and after the coup are reflected in Pitch's words, as is his need to intervene in the debates. This division in Thai society including in the academic community is clearly discernible in each of the texts. Chaiwat, who

understood people's felt need to overthrow the Thaksin government but who nonetheless adopted the position that coups are morally reprehensible, also referred to this polarisation, especially with reference to the academic community. In particular, he was confronted by a negative response that his former teacher had made to an opinion editorial (op-ed) article about the coup that Chaiwat had published in the *Bangkok Post* English language newspaper shortly after the coup:

After I wrote that article the moral dilemma or "The moral enigma of a popular coup" there's all kinds of reactions, left and right, as you might imagine and people still got mad at me and people like it a lot and those things and I have not responded to all of them. I don't have the time to say what I wanted to say and I don't want to answer. But Sombat is different. I don't know whether you know but Sombat is my teacher. He is my teacher of philosophy and ... I would not have become an academic but for him. ... so when he said that I do not understand politics or I do not understand the political, what it is, then I feel that I have to respond. (Chaiwat interview, 25/11/09)

Chaiwat's motivation for writing his article, while more personal, still alludes to the cracks that occurred in the academic community. In contrast, Khien's paper strongly supports the actions of the coup leaders and condemns the actions of the Thaksin government. Khien did not explicitly refer to the divide in the academic community in his interview, but his text does give the reader a sense of the conflict that was occurring on the streets at the time of the coup, as he described the various groups and factions on different sides of the political divide. The texts, then, need to be seen as products of the authors' respective attempts to negotiate and respond to the complex social and political realities in which they found themselves.

To better understand the complexity of the forces and events that led to the 2006 *coup d'état*, and to appreciate the specific events and discourses that the three writers of this study were creatively responding to in producing their texts, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the background in which Thaksin and the Thai Rak Thai party (Thai love Thai, hereafter TRT) came to prominence in Thailand. It is also important to have some background knowledge of the various groups and actors who supported the

Thaksin government and the coalition of forces that eventually mobilised against the government to effect its downfall by *coup d'état*. The following section will briefly outline Thaksin's rise to political power in Thailand, describe how his rule evolved, identify his social bases of support and provide some discussion of the formation of the anti-Thaksin opposition. It will then briefly identify some of the major discursive debates through which different groups and social interests expressed their competing political positions. As shown below, each of the writers in this study engaged to varying extents with different combinations of these debates and so conveyed their own position vis-à-vis the legitimacy or otherwise of the events of 2006, and their understanding of the nature of the social actors and forces involved.

2.2.1 The rise of Thaksin

Thaksin Shinawatra rose to power in Thailand in the wake of the 1997 Asian economic crisis, which had brought an abrupt end to decades of rapid and uninterrupted economic growth. The crisis had a dramatic impact on farmers, workers, the domestic capitalist class as well as newly aspiring urban and rural-based middle classes (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, p. 62). To deal with the crisis, the government led by the Democrat Party was forced to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for financial assistance in return for which it had agreed to implement a range of structural adjustment policies (Hewison, 2013). This sparked a significant nationalist backlash as an alliance of domestic social forces and interests coalesced to oppose the government and its perceived surrendering of control over processes of policy making in favour of international business interests (Hewison, 2013). Thaksin Shinawatra, one of the most successful of a new generation of Thai capitalist entrepreneurs that had risen to prominence during the 1980s and 1990s, proposed a different way out of the crisis for both Thai business and for farmers, workers and the poor. Thaksin promised to reinvigorate economic growth through a new economic strategy that aimed to stimulate domestic demand, protect domestic business from the ravages of international competitors, and so provide them with the space to rebuild and restructure their operations. Thaksin also appealed to farmers and working class people who became attracted to new entrepreneurial incentives and a range of promised new social welfare programmes (Hewison, 2008; Pye & Schaffar, 2008). Through these measures, Thaksin brought together a set of disparate forces and interests opposed to IMF restrictions. Prior to general elections scheduled for early 2001, Thaksin's TRT party campaigned

specifically on three key policy areas: debt relief for farmers, a universal health care scheme and the establishment of village funds (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). This selection of social policy measures represented the making of a “new social contract” (Hewison, 2004) that was designed to deal with some of the impacts that the Asian crisis had on farmers and workers, but also secure social stability during a period when Thaksin committed Thailand to a process of economic restructuring that would further embed the country’s involvement within neoliberal globalisation (Pye & Schaffar, 2008).

2.2.2 Thaksin in power and the emergence of opposition, 2001-2005

Thaksin and his TRT party secured a landslide victory in parliamentary elections held in January 2001. During its first four-year term in office, the TRT government pursued a series of policy measures designed to bring about major economic, social, cultural and political reforms. Thaksin’s vision was to run Thailand as a business—to create a new outward looking and globally engaged nation, within which entrepreneurialism was to be fostered and rewarded, and where old ways of doing things were to be replaced with ‘new ways of thinking and acting’ that would be supported by the deployment of new knowledge and technologies (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009). As discussed further below, this proposed rapid restructuring of state, economy and society generated what was to become a significant oppositional movement comprising a range of different social groups, many of whom had formerly supported Thaksin and his party in the 2001 elections. Notably, however, Thaksin and TRT retained significant social bases of support, especially from voters located in the rural North and Northeast as well as from urban working class areas located in and around Bangkok (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009). A major reason for this lay in the fact that Thaksin and his party actually delivered on their pre-2001 election promises to implement a new social contract via a number of policy measures through which the living standards of some of the previously most economically marginalised people in Thailand were substantially improved. Interestingly, the notion of the social contract is a point that is taken up by Khien, who argues that the Thaksin government actually violated the social contract through corruption and his abuse of power. In an interview with Khien (5/1/12), he states that “even governments have to follow laws. If they break the law, I think other people who are under that government, they don’t have to follow

(them). This is called law of the jungle”. This is a key argument in Khien’s text on “The right to stage the coup”.

As opposition began to grow from some sectors of society, Thaksin targeted the urban and rural masses and increasingly brought “their demands and aspirations to bear on national politics” (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008, p. 72). In electoral terms, Thaksin’s increasing resort to populist policies and programs proved very effective as his government was returned to power with an increased parliamentary majority following elections in February 2005. Pitch alludes to this sense of political empowerment of the masses in his article when he argues that the coup represented the attempt by conservative forces to arrest this groundswell of participatory politics. In particular, he wanted to explain how the coup effectively turned these citizens, able to take part in electoral politics, into “modern state subjects”, or modern *phrai*.

Phrai is a term that originally referred to a particular social position within the pre-modern Thai social order. It thus carries with it feudal undertones that hark back to the time of the absolute monarchy (Haberkorn, 2010). Specifically, a *phrai* was a “bonded commoner” dependent on a master to whom he/she owed allegiance. In modern, colloquial Thai, the word *phrai* is used as an insult to depict a vile, base, uneducated person (Buchanan, 2013; Raatchabanditsathan, 2542/1999). Pitch states in his interview:

Both Thaksin and the new regime⁴ put you into *phrai* – both systems make you the ‘subject’. At least in Thaksin’s you can have a concept of citizen but in this one you can’t - ‘*tham hây phonlamuang klaay pen phrây*’ (it turns citizens into phrai) (13/1/12)

Although Thaksin and TRT were able to consolidate and extend their electoral bases of support within some sections of society between 2001-2005, the government had nonetheless become the target of a developing oppositional movement. Thaksin’s arrogance, his willingness to bypass parliamentary constraints on the exercise of executive power, his growing anti-democratic rhetoric and attacks against press freedoms, instances of corruption and cronyism, for example, in relation to the sale of former state-owned enterprises, a poor human rights record, exemplified in a national

⁴ The post-coup regime.

anti-drug campaign that led to more than two thousand extra-judicial deaths, as well as heavy-handed government interventions that reignited a long simmering ethnic and religious conflict in Thailand's southern border regions, had all become sources of major concern from various groups in Thai society (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008, 2009). This explains, then, Khien's concern with the Thaksin government's corruption and also Chaiwat's understanding of why people thought they needed to depose the government. Human rights groups, trade unions, business groups excluded from the tight network of entrepreneurs who retained links to Thaksin's sprawling business empire, as well as various pro-democracy civil society activists all became involved in expressing their opposition to the government (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009). Especially significant was the developing opposition that emanated from some of the most powerful sectors of society. Thaksin's attempt to consolidate his control over the state apparatus by, for example, appointing close supporters and relatives to key positions within the police and military, his endeavour to restructure the civilian bureaucracy, as well as his growing populism, which was perceived as a threat to the pre-eminent position of the monarchy as the focus of national political loyalties, had become sources of significant concern among powerful conservative elites that have long dominated Thailand's social and political order (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009).

In early 2005, this growing, albeit hitherto rather disparate opposition, began to coalesce into a more focused and better organised movement. This followed in the wake of the tax-free sale of Thaksin's family telecommunications business, Shin Corp, to a Singapore company for almost US \$1.9 billion (Hewison, 2010a). The sale of part of his large business empire sparked a furore with many calling on Thaksin to resign immediately. In February 2005, the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) was formed bringing together more than twenty different organisations that included a cross section of activists, groups and social interests that had to varying extents become involved in opposing the Thaksin government over the previous two years (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009). Between February and September 2006, PAD staged numerous rallies, sit-ins and demonstrations in Bangkok that, in some instances, drew hundreds of thousands of anti-Thaksin protestors out into the streets. Notably, as PAD escalated its activities, its leadership became increasingly dominated by representatives of elite conservative interests. As Phongpaichit and Baker (2009, p. 270) have noted, in

the space of a few months, “PAD had quickly become a largely middle-class movement with royalist overtones and covert protection from the military”.

The military, in fact, is a key actor in at least two of the three texts in this study. Each of the articles under analysis in this thesis refers to the military’s participation in various coups in Thai history including the 2006 coup. But the contrast between Pitch’s representation and Khien’s representation is stark. For Khien, the military in this latest coup is construed as an unwilling participant, stripped of its basic rights because of the nature of its role, but ultimately being forced into a position where it had to act against an amoral and antagonistic enemy. For Pitch, on the other hand, the military is depicted as highly agentive.

The growing opposition to Thaksin and TRT, particularly from elite conservative quarters, saw a marked increase in royalist propaganda, coinciding with the 60th anniversary of the king’s reign (Connors & Hewison, 2008; Pathmanand, 2008). The next section summarises some of the key discourses through which those forces united against the Thaksin government expressed their opposition. All these discourses appear in the three political science texts in different ways.

2.3 The Thai discursive context

During periods of political or social unrest, rhetorical language in the public sphere intensifies (Corbett & Connors, 1999). This was certainly the case in Thailand between 2001 and 2006 as competing social groups and interests, working through a range of different forms of media, expressed their separate positions by engaging in a number of key discursive debates. While this discursive context was very complex with various players involved, including government ministries and the Thai and foreign media (Hewison, 2007; Pawakapan, 2015), for the purposes of this study, three main discourses that focused on the topics of ‘monarchy’, ‘corruption’ and ‘democracy’ and invoking key social actors such as the king, politicians and the people are identified below. These discourses are commonly invoked across these various disparate forces, but they are appropriated in different ways to serve particular interests (see for example, Hewison & Kitirianglarp, 2010; Pawakapan, 2015). In their texts, each of the authors examined in this study engaged with these discourses by representing these various social actors, albeit to differing degrees and with differing rhetorical intent. In doing so

each expressed their different views with respect to the “quanta of change” in the ongoing flow of events (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 213), and so positioned their readers, aligning them with their particular stance and against others. By highlighting patterns in their construal of the various social actors, the events and the discourses, the writers assumed the persona of a “rhetor”, exercising their agency by “recontextualising” social practices (Fairclough, 2003; van Leeuwen, 2009) in their texts. The identification of these patterns offers important insights into how rhetors appropriate discourses as they exercise their agency at a time of considerable conflict and disharmony.

The institution of the monarchy, and especially the late king – King Bhumiphol Adulyadet [r.1948-2016], are potent symbols of nationhood and national identity in Thailand. The king is portrayed as the “highest authority”, a righteous, ethical and morally superior being, who theoretically at least, is above politics (Winichakul, 2008). The palace has long promoted an image of King Bhumiphol as a charitable and benevolent person possessed of exceptional gifts, who devoted his life to Thailand’s development, especially in rural areas. Ultimately, the king was “*the* champion of the downtrodden” (Hewison, 2010b, p. 129). This carefully crafted image is associated with royalist sponsored notions of the “sufficiency economy”, whereby common people are encouraged to make do as best they can with the resources that they have. Thaksin’s populist support for rural producers via his state-sponsored welfare programs came to be discursively portrayed by the monarchy and its supporters as a challenge to royalist ideology (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008) and the pre-eminent political position of the throne. The perceived threat to the position of the monarchy as the focal point of national loyalty and unity outraged conservative elite groups. In developing their response, these groups weaved together a series of discourses discussed below that aimed to undermine Thaksin and his government’s authority.

In contrast to the image of a pure and moral king, politicians in Thailand have long been depicted as corrupt and self-serving. Criticisms of Thai politicians often refer to their moral character rather than the social impact of their actual policies. An ancillary feature of this discourse on corrupt politicians is the idea that they only get into power by buying votes (Winichakul, 2008). This supposedly sets in motion a vicious cycle, for once they are in power, it is claimed that they need to use their public

office to accumulate ever more funds to recoup their investments as well as build war chests for future elections. Vote buying, “money politics” or the “patronage system” (Hewison, 2013, p. 178) has certainly been a characteristic feature of Thai elections, but the discourses that have condemned all politicians as venal and that portray the political process as inevitably tainted and corrupted, is overly simplistic (Winichakul, 2008). Nonetheless, these discourses of the politician as being corrupt and elections as being essentially bought formed a major component in the array of charges that pro-monarchy and conservative forces deployed to express their opposition to Thaksin. In doing so they began to effectively undermine the legitimacy of Thaksin’s government and the electoral process as a whole (Winichakul, 2008).

Another key element of this narrative of the corrupt politician who is only elected through buying votes is “the people”. Within this discourse, the people are simply divided into two broad groups: the rural and working classes and the urban middle and upper classes (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). The rural masses, the poor and the working classes are portrayed as propping up corrupt politicians because they are both morally lacking and are too ignorant or naïve to know better (Winichakul, 2008). The discourse holds that the masses are simply uneducated, and are victims that can be easily swayed by corrupt politicians (Walker, 2008). As voters they are only interested in personal, short-term gains and do not have the experience, education or understanding necessary to make informed electoral decisions (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008).⁵ The masses are therefore partly responsible for the failure of democracy in Thailand because of the role they play in the patronage system, cronyism and vote-buying (Winichakul, 2008). In contradistinction to the uneducated and ignorant masses, the middle and upper classes are portrayed in this conservative discourse as knowledgeable, enlightened and politically aware, and therefore more capable of making rational electoral decisions (Connors & Hewison, 2008; Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). Thus, within this discourse it is the farmers and the working class who are blamed for the failure of democracy, whereas the urban middle and upper classes are portrayed as the “champions of democracy” (Winichakul, 2008, p. 24).

⁵ In fact, it has been demonstrated quite clearly that these groups possess very keen insights into the political process and the meaning of democracy (Alexander & McCargo, 2016; Walker, 2008). Thaksin and the TRT’s support through welfare reforms showed them the power of electoral politics.

These three motifs – the king, the politicians and the people – combine to feed into a narrative about “clean politics”. Winichakul identifies four discourses that constitute this notion of clean politics, the first two of which have already been discussed above: “politicians are extremely corrupt”, “politicians come to power by vote buying”; “an election does not equal democracy”; “democracy means a moral, ethical rule” (2008, p. 25). Feeding into these perceptions is a “nationalistic conservatism that distrusts democracy because it is alien to Thai culture which honours hierarchical relations and venerates the monarchy as the highest authority in the land” (Winichakul, 2008, p. 27). It is these ideas that underpin and buttress the notion of a moral, ethical politics and a righteous king. The king always occupies the high moral ground. As Thailand’s political crisis escalated during the latter half of 2005 and early 2006, Thaksin repeatedly cited his electoral mandate as justification for his actions, against which the growing conservative opposition countered by deploying the discourse of clean politics.

Following the 2006 coup there have been repeated calls to reform Thai democracy to ensure that political decision-making remains in the hands of a royalist elite who knows what is best for the country. A western style democracy, it is argued, does not suit Thailand because it promises a “tyranny of the majority” (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008, p. 78, citing de Tocqueville). What works better for Thailand, it has been argued, is a “Thai-style democracy” in which “the highest moral authority with legitimacy equal to or surpassing that of an elected government is the monarchy” (Winichakul, 2008, p. 29). The notion of “Thai-style democracy”, or “democracy with the king as head of state” (Hewison & Kitirianglarp, 2010) was compared to Western democracy by General Prem Tinasulanond, the head of the Privy Council, in an interview with Far Eastern Economic Review journalist Colum Murphy only hours before the 2006 coup:

We are a kingdom. You [the West] are not. So you have to think some minor different ways to run your country. Normal people love the king very much, you know that. If you saw what happened on June 9 [60th anniversary of the king’s reign], you can tell how much we love the monarch. That’s something [...] different between your [country] and mine. (as quoted in Hewison & Kitirianglarp, 2010, p. 182)

The view that is promoted is that the monarchy is an inherent aspect of democracy. According to Winichakul, the Thai monarchy is even credited with being the purveyor of democracy to Thailand (2008, p. 23). This discourse of the moral and democratic king was embodied in the name of the post-coup governing body: the Council of Democratic Reform with the King as Head of State (Winichakul, 2008, p. 31). These various discourses were used to legitimise the staging of the coup by the military on 19 September. They achieved this by positioning the king as the moral, ethical, righteous ruler above the filth of electoral politics, by positioning the mandate of elected politicians as illegitimately gained, and by positioning the working class and farmers as “unsophisticated and easily manipulated” (Walker, 2008, p. 84).

The three writers creatively engage with these discourses in different ways. Khien, for example, reflects the pro-royalist position especially through his concern with moral politics and his use of binary distinctions. Following the conservative line, he explicitly invokes the idea that politicians are corrupt and democracy is more about a moral and ethical rule than respecting electoral outcomes, denouncing Western-style democracy as a “tyranny of the majority”. Chaiwat takes the opposite position to Khien, arguing that, despite Thaksin’s serious shortcomings, his was a democratically elected government and a coup is not the way to challenge a government in a democracy. Chaiwat also engages with the notion of morality, but in contrast to the conservative discourse of the morality of the king and “Thai-style democracy” to support a coup to rid Thailand of a corrupt and authoritarian government, Chaiwat’s concern relates more to the issue of non-violence, the coup being viewed as essentially a violent act. Pitch takes a similar line, regarding the coup as a violent act. He also taps into the discourses of “the people”, but his argument is that the people – citizens – had their democratic rights stripped from them through the staging of the coup, thus depriving them of their rights to participate in electoral politics.

At the time of the coup, another narrative emerged arguing that the 19th September coup was a “good” coup, the inference being that the coup was both good for Thai political development and that it enjoyed widespread public support. This view was propagated by the royalist-military and their supporters, including many of the Bangkok middle class and conservative elites, a large number of political activists,

including academics, and people from the south of the country and some business people (Connors & Hewison, 2008). Explanations abounded as to why the coup had to occur: it was necessary to free the country from the rule of the authoritarian Thaksin government (Connors & Hewison, 2008), that Thaksin was corrupt and had disrespected the king (Chachavalpongpun, 2014) and that because he had made the first move against PAD demonstrations, conservative forces had no choice but to defend themselves (ChangNoi, 2006). These ideas were all used to justify the coup. Both Khien's and Pitch's texts engage with this discourse of the good coup, but with different aims. While Khien's exposition on the coup directly took up the explanation of corruption, disrespect to the monarchy and disharmony in the country, Pitch's text questions the explanation that the coup was good and necessary to prevent violence and bloodshed. He states:

The problem was I was so angry with those kind of explanations. Basically I was trying to say that it was completely bullshit the way you make your reason, the way you make your argument because they say that ... I was trying to say that well this is some of the excuse to make the coup and one of the way to support the coup was that well the coup is necessary because if there was no coup there would be more violence because one of my friends said that Thaksin was trying to kill people. ... I was trying to show that oh you talk about violence and make- you make a bullshit claim that there was a situation that maybe would cause violence, so you make a coup. There is no violence you claim that that is good we make a coup so there is no violence. (Pitch interview, 13/1/12)

Pitch explains this as “coup hegemony”. Chang Noi contends that the third explanation cited above, that Thaksin's forces made the first move against the conservative-led PAD movement, is incorrect, as the coup makers themselves admit that planning for the coup began at least seven months prior to 19th September (2006; Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). Rather, this explanation came from “people who are surprised and a little ashamed to find themselves supporting a coup” (ChangNoi, 2006). Chaiwat also picks up on this phenomenon. In an interview he states:

I would not have written the first piece if those who came out in defence of the coup were those who have always been in defence of the coup, who have no track record of democracy, human rights, standing up against tyranny – it would be consistent – but it creates all kinds of interesting twists when people who came out aren't people like that – therefore it warrants a response – how to understand those people.”
(12/1/12)

This is a phenomenon that Chaiwat pursues in his “Aristotle” text also. Following on from his op-ed article, Chaiwat considers whether the responses of academics to the 2006 coup had any relationship with their experiences with other coups in the past or with other features of the Thai political context at the time, such as the lead up to the celebrations of the 60th year of the late king's reign, though he leaves the audience to decide for themselves what the answer might be.

The discourse of the “good” coup was also promoted semiotically. For example, in the televised broadcasts of the coup, tanks that had rolled out onto the streets were draped in yellow (the King's colour), adorned with flowers presented by those who supported the coup. Large portraits of the King and Queen formed the background for all televised announcements made by the coup group (Ferrara, 2014). Khien's description of the events in the opening paragraph of his text refers to this aspect of royal symbolism with references to the tanks on the street and the people offering flowers to military troops.

There is one more key feature of this Thai socio-political landscape that requires discussion. This is the draconian *lèse majesté* law, Article 112 of the criminal code. Article 112 has been part of the criminal code of Thailand since 1908, and has at various times been used against those who would challenge the conservative, and hierarchical nature of the Thai social order. *Inter alia*, Article 112 states that “whoever defames, insults or threatens the King, Queen or Heir-apparent or Regent shall be punished [with] imprisonment of three to fifteen years” (Streckfuss, 2011). Since 2001, the law has been used as a tool to silence political dissent and as a result, since around 2005 prosecutions have risen exponentially by over 1500 per cent (Streckfuss, 2011, p. 112). This law of course means that any action performed or claim propagated by the

monarchy cannot be openly contested. Royalist commentators and intellectuals have free rein to champion the royalist agenda in the public sphere but any open discussion or criticism of the monarchy or royal affairs is severely limited. Critics of the monarchy or of the ideas advanced by the monarchy or conservative elites must either self-censor their speech and writing, or find surreptitious ways to smuggle discussion or criticism of sensitive topics into their texts. A point to consider is whether and how this law impacted on the three writers. Both Khien and Pitch refer to the *lèse majesté* law in their texts, Khien in relation to Thaksin's transgressions. Pitch refers to the law in terms of its use as a political tool. While this law no doubt constrained what they could say about the monarchy or the King himself, at the time they were writing in late 2006 – early 2007, the full impact of the abuse of the *lèse majesté* law had not yet been realised. What a discourse analysis may be able to reveal is whether the monarchy is invoked, and if so, how it is incorporated into the discussion.

These competing discourses on the king, corruption, the people, democracy, and the “good” coup, competing notions of political legitimacy, and the *lèse majesté* law were important elements of the broader discursive context within which each of the writers discussed below produced their texts and which they drew on in various ways in their own construal of the coup. Different views adopted *viv-à-vis* these conflicting narratives reflected the different political positions adopted by competing social groups as they became involved in the process of political struggle. These struggles are also taken up in the rhetorical strategies through which various speakers, commentators, or intellectuals try to position their listeners or readers. The analysis of the three texts expects to provide insights into how the linguistic potential of Thai can be used to serve and promote the interests of these divergent positions.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided an account of the social and political context leading up to and at the time of the 2006 coup in Thailand. The chapter began by providing details of the rise of Thaksin and the TRT party in Thailand after the Asian financial crisis in 1997. During their time in power, they garnered support from a large proportion of the population who had hitherto been excluded from the political process – the rural population, the poor and the working classes – who became aware of the power of electoral democracy. However, at the same time, the government alienated the

middle and upper classes and the conservative elite, who saw their power bases eroding with the groundswell of popular support. The government also alienated NGO groups, for example through the government-sanctioned war on drugs that saw the extra-judicial killing of thousands of people. As well, the Thaksin government threatened the status of the monarchy. These forces and interests, drawn from conservative urban elites and civil society groups, ultimately came together to oppose Thaksin and the TRT party, an opposition movement that culminated in the coup of 19th September, 2006.

The opposition to Thaksin was expressed through four key discourses that were ramped up during the period of street protests against his government. First was the notion that politicians are extremely corrupt and that they coerce “the people” to support them through the buying of votes. The people on the other hand are too ignorant and naïve to know better. Second was the notion that the king is a moral, benevolent and ethical being who is above the rough and tumble of political life. These discourses feed into a third discourse of “clean politics” whereby the king is portrayed as the highest moral authority, and argues that what the country needs is to be rid of corrupt politicians. This leads to the call for re-establishing a Thai-style democracy to avoid the problem of a “tyranny of the majority”. A fourth discourse of the “good” coup emerged at the time of the coup that attempted to justify the staging of the coup by the coup group.

The events surrounding the coup and the accompanying discourses that were promoted over this period are construed in the three texts in different ways. The final section of this chapter introduced the writers and their texts, and suggested ways in which the writers exercised their agency as they were motivated by aspects of the conflict to construct their texts and represent events in particular ways.

The following chapter presents the theoretical foundations of the study. The chapter lays the groundwork through which it will be possible to analyse the texts to reveal how agency is expressed and construed.

Chapter 3

Theoretical foundations

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the study in a theoretical context and define the key concepts that will be employed to analyse the Thai data. It begins by defining agency and discourse in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 respectively as they will be used in this thesis. Section 3.4 then moves on to discuss a central theme of this thesis, drawing a distinction between two senses of agency: “rhetorical” agency and “represented” agency. To develop the conceptual framework required to identify and investigate agency in these two distinct but related senses, the thesis draws on SFL as a theory of language as a meaning-making resource (Halliday, 1978), presented in Section 3.5. Section 3.6 will consider genre as a means of rhetorical action in which expert members of a discourse community deploy genre in creative ways to realise a communicative goal. Section 3.7 considers the representation of social actors following van Leeuwen’s “sociosemantic network” (2008), and Section 3.8 presents the system of Transitivity as conceived in SFL and how choices within this system can be plotted on a “cline of dynamism” (Hasan, 1985) to identify the degrees of dynamism or, conversely, passivity of various actors construed in the texts. These analyses enable the analyst to explore represented agency, revealing how the three writers represented their inherently conflictual and polarised worlds at the time of the 2006 coup.

3.2 Agency

The concept of agency has been the subject of significant debate within the social sciences (see for example Archer, 2003; Bhaskar, 1989; Collier, 1994; Giddens, 1979). For the purpose of this thesis, agency will be defined as “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn, 2001, p. 356). This definition emphasises three aspects of agency that are relevant for this thesis. First, agency refers to various capacities or powers of human actors to initiate and perform particular tasks, including text production, so as to realise their specific objectives or interests. Second, actors always exercise their agency in particular sociocultural and historical settings – in particular places, at particular times, under certain, pre-given material conditions or circumstances. Thus, as emphasised by those drawing on the methods of critical

discourse analysis, capacities or powers to act can only be understood relationally—in relation to the broader context or structure of social relationships and the positions that different social actors occupy within these relationships (e.g., Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2009). Third, the particular structural or institutional settings need to be understood as both constraining and enabling of agency. This means that the social actions of agents may indeed shape the social context in which they occur in specific ways, but at the same time, the range of possibilities for the actual exercise of agency is limited by the structures that define the social context; there is a dialectical relationship between agents and the social structures within which they operate (Fairclough, 1992, 2003, 2009).

Ahearn's (2001) definition of agency cited above as the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act” can be developed further to provide more detail regarding the characteristics of agency. There are three essential characteristics of agency as it is exercised in and through language. These are intentionality, power and the capacity to shape discourse by presenting events from different perspectives.

First, agency manifests itself in the conscious intentions of social actors seeking to realise their goals. However, agency cannot be reduced to the conscious intentions of agents alone as this ignores the influence of social structures on agency (Ahearn, 2001, p. 114). Giddens (1979) acknowledges that intentionality is present in the way that humans can reflexively monitor their actions, but stresses that those actions are to some extent shaped by conditions in the environment that the agent may not be consciously aware of and also that those actions can have unintended and unplanned consequences. He further states “such intentionality is a routine feature of human conduct, and does not imply that actors have definite goals consciously held in mind during the course of their activities” (p. 56). Duranti (2004) argues that the notion of intentionality is problematic when it involves the idea of conscious planning. Duranti therefore cites not intentionality but “some degree of control” over one's own behaviour and actions (Duranti, 2004, p. 453) as a characteristic of agency. This takes into account, then, the fact that agents perform actions with varying degrees of intention and understanding of the likely effects of their actions, even if their goals may not be wholly specified within their own minds at the time of action. This notion of action also includes rhetorical actions, such as the creation of the texts of the three writers of this study who have

“some degree of control” over the way in which they deploy language to achieve their rhetorical purposes, but who are also constrained by particular configurations of power and interest which, for example, determine what is and is not acceptable to talk about in the Thai context.

Second, as indicated above, agency is necessarily about power, that is, the socially structured capacity to act (Isaac, 1987, p. 80). Giddens (1979, p. 69) argues that power occurs on two levels. First, there is the power or capacity of the individual, which can be understood as the ability of an actor to accomplish his or her goals that affect other actors with or without the approval or cooperation of others, including possible resistance from others. The second type of power comes from the collective, such as the power of institutions (or those who control them), which cannot be reduced to the sum of their parts. These two levels have to be taken together to understand power in agency (Giddens, 1979). This study looks particularly at the agency of three academics and public intellectuals as they craft their texts so as to intervene in the public debates about the coup. Their power is manifested in their expert use of the linguistic resources that they deploy in their texts. But their power/agency is also constrained by these same resources (for example, they may be constrained by the genres that they are able to deploy in this context). Their power/agency may also be constrained by institutional forces of power in Thailand, such as the monarchy, the army or the other arms of the state, for example in the way the state laws inhibit the ability to discuss any matters related to the royal family and their political role.

Power in agency also necessarily incorporates the idea of struggle, creativity and negotiation. That is to say, the successful exercise of power is never assured so the production and reproduction of power is always problematic (Isaac, 1987, p. 93). When an agent acts rhetorically, through discourse, he or she draws on a “meaning potential” (Halliday, 1978) that is deployed in strategic ways to enable the agent to act on the social environment as he/she takes part in social practices. This action entails the exercise of power, which van Leeuwen (2005a, p. 53) refers to as “personal authority, as exercised by people who... are in a position of power”. But this power relies on access to resources as the means to reproduce or possibly challenge prevailing relations of power and domination (Giddens, 1979, p. 91). While access to resources enables actors to exercise agency/power over others, this access is also constrained by context

and particular distributions of power. As access to resources is not always distributed equally, power always carries with it a feature of inequality, asymmetry or domination. Some actors have greater access to the resources available at that time and place so they have more power than other actors who do not have the same levels of access, or the same kind of access, to these resources (Blommaert, 2005). For example, individual actors, groups or institutions with more access to the powers of the state, for example the military or the monarchy in Thailand, are in a stronger position to shape the behaviour of others. The three writers in this study, noted intellectuals in the public sphere in Thailand (Sriyaranya, 2000), have access to highly valued resources, for example, the genres they deploy, which they can use in creative ways to intervene in the debates. This access grants these agents greater ability to intervene and shape the direction of debate in the public sphere (Bhatia, 2004; Fairclough, 1989, pp. 63-64).

A final characteristic of human agency is the capacity to anticipate either conditions that might be favourable to the successful realisation of an agent's intentions or, conversely, conditions that would inhibit this realisation (Archer, 2003). Agents have the capacity to act strategically. They can plan their actions in light of the particular conditions afforded by the context to attempt to achieve a particular outcome (Archer, 2003). Language, discourse and the production of texts constitute one major strategy by which agents can act on their environments. When agency is enacted in language, part of this planning process will involve the actor's strategic use of the available resources in order to present an argument from a particular perspective or to "spin" the content of the message in such a way as to represent particular interests and position other social actors (audiences) within discourse. Duranti (2004, p. 453) incorporates the notion of evaluation in his definition of agency. An integral aspect of this is that discursive agents can inject an evaluative stance into their texts, including the ability to mitigate agency, which is oriented towards an audience – in real time, face-to-face (or via other real time technological means) or as imagined, reader-in-the-text position. The crafting of a text, its orientation to audience and context (Herrick, 2009) and the ability to shape the text to create a particular effect is essentially rhetorical, which refers to the semiotic choices a writer makes to persuade a reader or interlocutor of a particular point of view or conclusion (Mauranen, 1993, p. 29). This shaping or crafting of the text expresses the agency of a social actor – or rhetor (Andrews, 2014, p. 14).

This study will relate these three aspects of agency to the interventions of the three rhetors. They are intentional in that they have particular, multiple purposes: to analyse the causes and consequences of the coup, to respond to colleagues, to challenge and debate alternative positions, or to suggest alternative courses of action. In the process, they deploy generic and linguistic resources to best realise their intentions, and negotiate any areas that limit their capacity to act, such as the need to self-censor in what can be said about the monarchy. Their interventions involve an exercise of power through their expert use of generic and linguistic resources to create their texts and take part in social practices. They are strategic in the way that they orient to their audiences by presenting a particular evaluative stance and anticipating how the audience will react.

3.3 Discourse

The account of agency presented in this thesis, concerned as it is with language use as social practice, requires an elaboration of the concept of discourse. Discourse has been defined in various ways depending on the particular theoretical approach adopted. For the purposes of this study, discourse refers to naturally occurring and extended pieces of spoken or written language that are used in particular social contexts (Thompson, 1984) to represent particular social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008, 2009) and the values, beliefs, attitudes and assumptions of a particular social group (Gee, 1999, p. 13). This view of discourse takes into account the interaction between a speaker or writer who produces a text and an addressee who interprets the text, where ‘text’ is understood as the product of this process (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3). Discourse is not merely concerned with language in and of itself, but with how language or other semiotic systems operate and are interpreted within particular cultural, social, political and historical contexts. Discourse is thus an important concept for this study as it forces us to consider how the texts of the three writers constitute certain kinds of social practice as well as how these practices are related to the particular socio-political context of Thailand at the time of the 2006 coup.

This understanding of discourse as involving the study of language use in specific socio-historical contexts has been central to the work of CDA. The key point that writers within this tradition emphasise is that language use or a language event is a social practice that is always embedded in, and needs to be understood and explained in

relation to, specific historical, spatial and temporal contexts. As such, discourse is necessarily shaped by and is a potential shaper of the relationship of power and interest that exists within different historical settings (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 272). Discourse relies on social practices and social conditions to imbue it with particular meanings.

Discourse is, then, the use of language within a specific context, realised in texts, which are the product of the agency of distinct kinds of social practice – incorporating language and other semiotic resources (Blommaert, 2005; van Leeuwen, 2008). Most notably, especially given this study’s concern with agency, Kress (1985) stresses that texts need to be viewed as sites of struggle:

No text is ever the text of a single speaker or writer. All texts show traces of differing discourses, contending and struggling for dominance. Texts are therefore the sites of struggle, and in being the sites of struggle, texts are the sites of linguistic and cultural change. Individuals ... are the bearers and agents of that struggle. (p. 32)

Kress (1985, 1989) also argues that texts are created out of the need to negotiate difference, to embrace or resist change or conflict in social or intellectual endeavours. Thus, agents produce texts as they take part in social practices, and these texts may impact in some way on the social context and, through the process of construing meaning, may contribute to change, for example in people’s beliefs, values, attitudes, in their social relationships with each other, and in the material environment. The construal and negotiation of difference is achieved through rhetoric as the “arts of discourse” (Andrews, 2014, p. 3).

Two other points made in CDA are worth emphasising. First, rather than just *discourse*, the emphasis is on the study of *discourses* to refer to specific instances of discourse, for example within different disciplines or fields of knowledge. Van Leeuwen (2008, 2009) views discourses as representations or ‘recontextualisations’ (following Bernstein, 1981, 1986) of social practices. These recontextualisations are ascribed certain values, purposes or justifications (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6). When a social practice is recontextualised, it will be sequenced in particular ways via linguistic

or other semiotic means as a genre (p. 12). The process of recontextualisation will transform the practice, depending on the particular aims and the context of the recontextualisation. For example, the events of the Thai coup may be recontextualised as news story, as official announcement or as academic article, and the social practice of the journalist writing the news story, the military general making the announcement or a political scientist writing an academic article realises their agency through the linguistic choices made in the representation.

The second point to emphasise is that discourses or discursive practices can be viewed as ideological. Thompson (1984, pp. 130-131) defines ideology as “the ways in which meaning... serves to sustain relations of domination”. Discourses may operate as ideologies in the sense that certain perceptions of the world or particular kinds of social relationships are presented as natural or normal rather than as inherently historical and contingent. In this way, discourses may “produce and reproduce unequal power relations between ... social classes, women and men, and ethnic/ cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). To look at discourse from an ideological perspective therefore considers how certain discourses or systems of meaning are used in the service of power or to subvert or challenge relations of power. As discourse refers to “contextualised language use”, it is through an analysis of linguistic choices in texts that we may be able to observe the operation of ideological processes at work in texts. Thus, we can talk about how discourse and discourses embody the struggle for change. If texts are sites of struggle, then the ways that meanings are construed through words, grammar or text, and so enforce, contest or subvert dominant structures of power and interest, form an aspect of the broader struggle for dominance or hegemony. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are a number of powerful, albeit highly contested, discourses concerning the institution of the monarchy, Thai politics and democracy, the people and the concept of “Thainess” that are offered as “normal” ways of looking at the social world in Thailand.

In light of the discussion above, the link between discourse and agency is clear. As Fairclough emphasises, discourse is defined as “language use as a form of social practice”, as a “mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation” (Fairclough, 1992, p.

63). The distinction that Fairclough makes here, of language use as action and as representation, is a key theme of this thesis. The study examines the agency of the three rhetors as they deploy genres of argumentation to intervene in the public debate and respond to their critics and as they represent people, places and events in their texts. These two dimensions of discourse, as both action and representation, are discussed further below in section 3.4.

This study is not the first to bring the tools and methods of CDA to bear on Thai discourse. For example, Gadavani (2002) conducted a critical discourse analysis of Thai parliamentary no-confidence motion debates, using a two-level analysis. At the macro-level, the study combined Fairclough's (1992) CDA approach and van Dijk's (1988) sociocognitive approach to look at the relationship between sociocultural practice and discourse practice and between discourse practice and text. At the micro-level, Gadavani analysed the texts within the frame of politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and identified discursive strategies employed in these debates. Chumpradit (2011) also undertook a critical discourse analysis of news reports on the September 19, 2006 coup from three Thai newspapers to determine the "construction of truth" in each newspaper. The analysis highlighted a number of topics, such as legitimacy, the coup event, control, and corruption, and analysed the way that each paper construed these topics over a two-week period, concluding that each newspaper construed these topics differently, depending on the ideological standpoint of the newspaper. Another study (Kongkaew, Klinnamhom, & Ruengrong, 2012) analysed the discourse of the king's royal speeches about the sufficiency economy, adopting a critical discourse approach following Fairclough, and identifying different language functions or text types, such as expressing opinions, telling a story, providing an explanation.

Some more recent studies have investigated the rhetoric of the Thai red shirt movement, which has emerged since the 2006 coup (Alexander & McCargo, 2016; Buchanan, 2013). These studies also deal with the way that these red shirt groups exercise their agency through discourse. Buchanan analysed the language of the Thai redshirt supporters during the protests in Bangkok in 2010, using a variety of different sources such as speeches from red shirt leaders, graffiti and slogans. The analysis showed how the rhetoric of the protesters challenged the commonly held notions of the

Thai elite that “the people” (especially those from the Northeast of the country) had no understanding of politics. In addition, the study found that the rhetoric of the red shirt protestors drew on less hierarchical language, effectively construing a greater degree of equality in a very hierarchical society. This can be considered a clear expression of the agency of these social actors. Alexander and McCargo’s study also investigated how meanings were assigned by marginalised red shirt supporters in the northeast of Thailand to the concept of “democracy” through intertextuality and presupposition, after Fairclough (2003). While the notion of agency was not explicitly discussed, their study demonstrated that a critical discourse analysis can reveal how these social actors express their dissent in a context where there was little or no political space for open public debate about contemporary arrangements of power. These two studies lend support to the argument that there is a pressing need to understand how social actors exercise their agency discursively.

This thesis aims to build on these useful, though limited, studies. In particular, it seeks to offer a more nuanced understanding of agency, its exercise, and how this is realised in three political science texts. Notably, the study will consider agency as involving both social practice and as representation of social practice. It will also consider how these two aspects of agency are mutually conditioning. As previous work has not drawn this conceptual distinction between rhetorical and represented agency, this distinction will be discussed more fully in the following section.

3.4 Two dimensions of agency

The present study focuses on the social, discursive practices of three Thai academics and the ways in which they exercised their agency during the period in which they crafted their work. The role of an academic is to teach as well as to produce research that contributes to knowledge about a topic. Academics also debate, argue and explain reasons for particular social and political phenomena. Writing is central to these practices of academics (Hyland, 2013). At the same time that these intellectuals represent the actors caught up in the events as agents impacting on other actors, the writers themselves also act as agents through the texts that they produce – entering into public debate through speeches, the media, online through various websites or social networking sites and through academic publications, seeking to persuade others or to call people to action through the strategic (or rhetorical) use of language. Thus, two

orders of agency of these social actors can be distinguished: one in which the writers or ‘rhetors’ act rhetorically through their construction of texts, intervening into the social context, seeking to align themselves with a particular position and a perceived audience, depending on the specific conditions and the relations of power that prevail within the socio-political context – taking a position vis-à-vis various intellectual, ideological, social and political debates. That is, these rhetors are themselves agents intervening to try to influence debates, for example by justifying the need for a coup, challenging the discourses about the good coup or responding to criticisms. At the same time, their accounts of events and social actors construe these events and actors in particular ways. For example, is Thaksin construed as agent or as affected by the actions of other agents such as the military or an event such as the coup, or is he omitted from the text altogether? This type of “rhetorical” agency, then, involves intervention at the level of the text as social action and is further exercised within the texts, for example through the representation of experience – or “represented” agency.

This distinction between two dimensions of discourse is, of course, not new. Previous studies have noted the dual nature of discourse in terms of the discursive act on the part of the speaker or writer as well as the actions of the participants that are represented in the text. As stated above, Fairclough (1992, p. 63) distinguishes between discourse as a form of action and as a form of representation. Halliday (1978, p. 146) also differentiates two levels of the field of discourse, that is, the social act of the rhetor and the social acts that make up the content of the text, as well as two levels of the tenor of discourse, that is the relationship between the rhetor and the audience on one level and the relationships between participants in the text on another level. (These terms: field and tenor, will be introduced in the discussion of SFL below.)

Van Leeuwen (1993, 2008, 2009) also distinguishes between these two aspects of discourse. He makes a distinction between what people *do*, or discourse as social practice, and how people *talk* about what people do, or discourse as representation. Representations, he argues, are based on practice; “all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices” (p. 4). The “primacy of practice” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 4) is a key element of Duranti’s (2004) conception of agency, as

“performance”, or how agency is enacted, and as “encoding” agency, or how agency is represented (p. 454).

Thus, in an investigation of agency in discourse, it is important to study texts at both levels of discourse, “as representations as well as interactions” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 4), to gain insights into how rhetors use discourse to achieve a communicative purpose. This is especially crucial in contexts where capacities to act may be constrained and involves a consideration of “discourse as an instrument of power” (van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). As discussed above, power is a key element of agency, and discourse analysis can uncover how discourse is used by agents in the service of power or, conversely, to challenge or subvert power. But while it is useful analytically to distinguish between both these aspects of agency, it is also important to recognise that these aspects are mutually constitutive (Duranti, 2004, p. 467). So, while we can analyse the creation of a text as a form of social practice by the rhetor, or we can analyse the linguistic choices that are instantiated in the text to identify who is represented as agent and who is affected by the actions of this agent, these two aspects of agency shape and are shaped by each other.

In the consideration of how actors take part in social practice, van Leeuwen (1993) emphasises the notion of genre as an analytical tool, particularly how it is theorised in SFL. In particular, the staging of rhetorical moves, elucidated through an analysis of generic stages (Coffin, 2007; Martin & Rose, 2008) and phases (Gregory & Malcolm, 1981; Malcolm, 2005), is one approach that can be used to analyse agency as social practice. A way to analyse the staging of the argument in a text is through an analysis of periodicity (Martin & Rose, 2007). In the three texts in this study, it is also important to consider each text as intertextual in the way that they draw on other texts, and interdiscursive in the way that they combine and embed different genres (Bhatia, 2010; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity can also be explored through the discourse semantic resources of engagement to identify which external voices are incorporated into the texts, and how they are deployed to convey the stance of the writer (Martin & White, 2005).

For the second dimension of meanings, discourse as representation, van Leeuwen (1993) looks again to SFL at meanings in the field of discourse. These

meanings are realised in the lexicogrammar, for example, through the systems of TRANSITIVITY and the complementary perspectives of transitivity and ergativity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). A transitivity analysis can elucidate not only how agency is represented in a text but also the significance of the mitigation of agency and how it may be represented linguistically (Duranti, 2004, p. 467).

As stated above, these two dimensions of agency are mutually constitutive in that the first dimension of agency, rhetorical agency, influences the representations of agency in the second dimension, and at the same time, representations of agency impact on the social practices of the rhetor. Each of these dimensions can be investigated by means of different discourse analytical tools, as outlined below in Table 3.1. Each of these analytical tools will be discussed in more detail below, after first introducing the theory of language in context as proposed in SFL.

Table 3-1 Analytical dimensions for investigating agency in discourse

Dimension	Focus questions	Analytical tools
1 st dimension – discourse as a part of social practice; “rhetorical agency”	How do actors take part in social practice? How do social actors intervene in the socio-historical context?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genre: higher order category that integrates meanings at lower levels • Interdiscursivity: the combination of genres and discourses as an expression of agency • Textual meanings through periodicity: to investigate the shaping and staging of genre • Appraisal: Engagement: to investigate intertextuality, external voices
2 nd dimension – discourse as representation; “represented agency”	How are actors represented in texts? How is agency/responsibility foregrounded, backgrounded or mitigated?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transitivity: Realised at the level of the clause or clause complex through experiential meanings • Cline of dynamism, • Representation of social actors)

Up to this point, the concept of context and its importance in an account of agency has been implicit. A more nuanced explanation of context and its interface with grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 24) will be provided below in the discussion of SFL.

3.5 SFL concepts relevant to the study

SFL has been termed an “applied linguistics” in that the theory has evolved to be applied to the study of language in use (Halliday, 1985; Matthiessen, 2012). This view of language as a socially oriented system is outlined below to identify several of its key analytical tools as they will be employed in this thesis.

3.5.1 Context

The notion of context in SFL was adopted via J.R. Firth (1935) from Malinowski (1923) (as cited in, Halliday, 1973, p. 49), who distinguished between two levels of context: context of culture and context of situation. Context of situation refers to the meaning potential available within the immediate environment in which language plays a part. Context of situation is theorised as comprising three variables: field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1994b; Halliday & Hasan, 1985, 2004, 2014). Field refers to what is happening in the particular situation and the particular topic that is represented. Tenor includes the people involved in the situation, the roles they play, the relationships they have with others, and the particular values (i.e. “neutral or loaded, positively or negatively” – Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 33) that they hold and that they portray (cf. “tarnishing and burnishing”, Hao & Humphrey, 2012) in their interpretations of the situation. Mode includes the role that language and other forms of meaning play – that is, whether it accompanies some material action or it is the action itself, whether it is spoken or written, and whether it is interpersonally immediate or distant (Eggins, 1994). These three variables combine together as the register of a text (Eggins, 1994; Martin & Rose, 2007). Context of culture refers to the total meaning potential of a culture, the “broader background against which the text has to be interpreted” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 46). Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2008) interpret context of culture semiotically, locating genre as a key element of the context of culture. This thesis adopts Martin’s view of genre as a superordinate semiotic structure in the context of culture. By undertaking an analysis of context as it is theorised in SFL, through genre at the level of context of culture, and in terms of field, tenor and mode at the level of

context of situation, it is possible to show how the two dimensions of agency – rhetorical agency and represented agency – are encoded in the three texts.

However, this study diverges somewhat from the Martinian notion of context of culture. It argues for the need to include in a conception of context pre-existing elements that combine to provide a concrete social situation. This includes the physical/material setting, such as time or place, the participants, their roles, relationships, powers or capacities, and their aims, values, attitudes and competing ideological positions (Hay, 2002, p. 94; van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). Halliday and Matthiessen (1999; Matthiessen, 2012) theorise a hierarchy of systems: 1st order (physical systems), 2nd order (biological systems), 3rd order (social systems) and 4th order (semiotic systems). The 3rd order social systems include social, anthropological and ethnographic analysis and discourse as social process. Given the focus of this study on agency, structure and discourse as a social practice, it is necessary to include a consideration of these 3rd order social systems. Conscious actions that occur in any given context do not occur as isolated, voluntaristic acts, but need to be understood as a flow of events, including speech events or discourse, or as “interventions” by agents in the course of their daily lives (Giddens, 1979, pp. 55-56). Voloshinov argues for the interdependence of context and agency, especially as this is concretely expressed through language or discourse:

Language competence is not simply the production of grammatically-correct sentences, but rather indicates the creative and reflexive adaptation of a given speech act by particular social agents to fluid and changing social situations. A language system does not, therefore, enforce a particular usage, regardless of the social context involved. This system is brought into line with the concrete socio-historical conditions within which it is produced through a continuous process of ‘linguistic praxis’. (as cited in Gardiner, 1992, p. 11)

Social structures provide actors with the various capacities that allow them to participate in social practices within different social contexts and at the same time, they are also a result of past social practices. Therefore, social practices are always “situated” in time and space (Giddens, 1979, p. 54). Social structures, including language, offer

particular sets of rules and resources that agents draw on to take part in creative social practices, or what Fairclough (1992, p. 72) calls “members’ resources”. As discussed above, these resources both enable and constrain an agent’s capacity to act. For example, the context in which the three writers of this study produced their texts positioned them in specific ways and shaped their capacities for acting on their environment. This notion of context is essential in discourse analysis because language or discourse is not only produced within a specific place and time but is also interpreted in relation to the social context (Blommaert, 2005, p. 41; Fairclough, 1992, p. 81). Thus, the analysis of the discourse of the three writers of this study must recognise the significance of the time and place and prevailing material conditions in which the texts were produced. Some of the material aspects of the Thai socio-political context that obtained at the time of the 2006 coup and are necessary in the interpretation of the texts were discussed in Chapter 2.

3.5.2 Stratification

SFL theorises language as a stratified system on a cline of realisation in which the social context is realised in language. In order to analyse agency within the texts, it is necessary to more fully understand this process of stratification in language. Language is a stratified system embedded within a socio-cultural/socio-historical context. Language can be divided into a content plane and an expression plane. The content plane is divided into two strata: a higher order stratum of semantics (or discourse semantics in Martin, 1992) and a lower order stratum of lexicogrammar. Lexicogrammar is a term that encompasses both lexis and grammar as Halliday views these as a cline. Words are as much a part of the grammar of a language as clause structure and grammar beyond the clause. The relationship between the two content strata is a natural one in that meanings in the semantic stratum are realised in a natural (as opposed to arbitrary) relationship to wordings in the lexicogrammar. The lexicogrammar is then realised in the expression plane as phonology (composition) and phonetics (sounds). This relationship of ‘realisation’ between the strata is one of abstraction (e.g., Martin, 2007; Martin & Rose, 2007). Context is at a higher level of abstraction than semantics, and semantics is at a higher level of abstraction than grammar (see Figure 3.1).

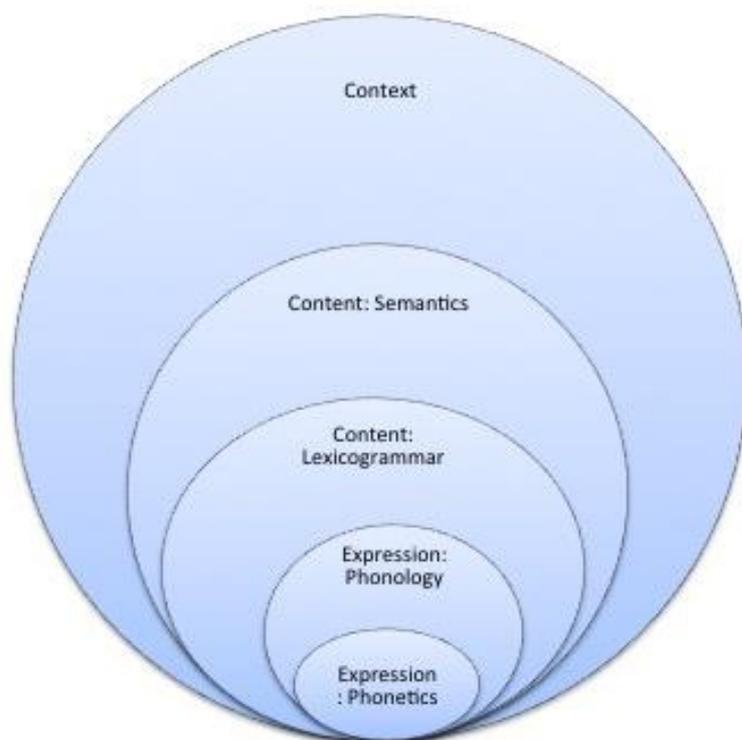


Figure 3-1 Stratification of language as content and expression embedded in context (after Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 26)⁶

This stratified model of language makes it possible to interrogate texts from the macro- to micro-levels and at different levels of abstraction which, it is argued, is necessary to bring to light the various ways that agency can be realised in discourse. The following section introduces the metafunctional view of language as theorised in SFL.

3.5.3 Metafunctions

Language has evolved to perform two major functions: to represent experience of the world and to interact with others in the environment. A third function has also evolved to organise these two functional meanings in language. These metafunctions map onto the three variables of register: field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1978; Martin, 1992). Field is realised as ideational meanings. These meanings construe experience, including experiential meanings in the sense of what is happening, who is doing what, to whom, when, where, why, and logical meanings in the sense of how these are all related to one another. In the three texts of this study, ideational meanings construe, for example, relations between participants such as the Thaksin government and the military, with one impacting on the other or characterised in a particular way.

⁶ cf. Martin (1992) who stratifies the content plane further as discourse semantics and lexicogrammar.

Tenor is realised in language as interpersonal meanings. Interpersonal meanings are concerned with how people interact socially and how they convey evaluative meanings. At the level of discourse semantics, the systems of Appraisal offer a rich set of resources to interpret interpersonal meanings beyond the clause. One such system, the system of ENGAGEMENT (Martin & White, 2005), offers a valuable analytical resource with which to account for dialogism, heteroglossia and intertextuality in texts (Bakhtin, 1986). For example, to achieve a desired response from their audiences, the writers of the three texts of this study align themselves with or disalign themselves from other texts and from their audiences, real or imagined. The Appraisal system of ENGAGEMENT allows the analyst to account for intertextuality in the texts, in the way that other texts are implicated, implicitly or explicitly, in a text, and the strategies used to position an audience (Martin & White, 2005).

Mode is realised in language as textual meanings. Textual meanings organise a text into a coherent whole (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example, at the level of discourse semantics, periodicity organises the flow of information in a text by packaging meanings as Theme at the level of the clause, hyperTheme at paragraph level and macroTheme over larger stretches of text to predict what is to come in the text, and as New, hyperNew and macroNew to look back over a text and distil meanings that have come earlier (Martin & Rose, 2007). While this thesis is concerned for the most part with the analysis of the field of discourse, aspects of mode and tenor are discussed in terms of how they work in conjunction with field and genre to create a rhetorical effect. Figure 3.2 below represents the metafunctional organisation of language in relation to social context.

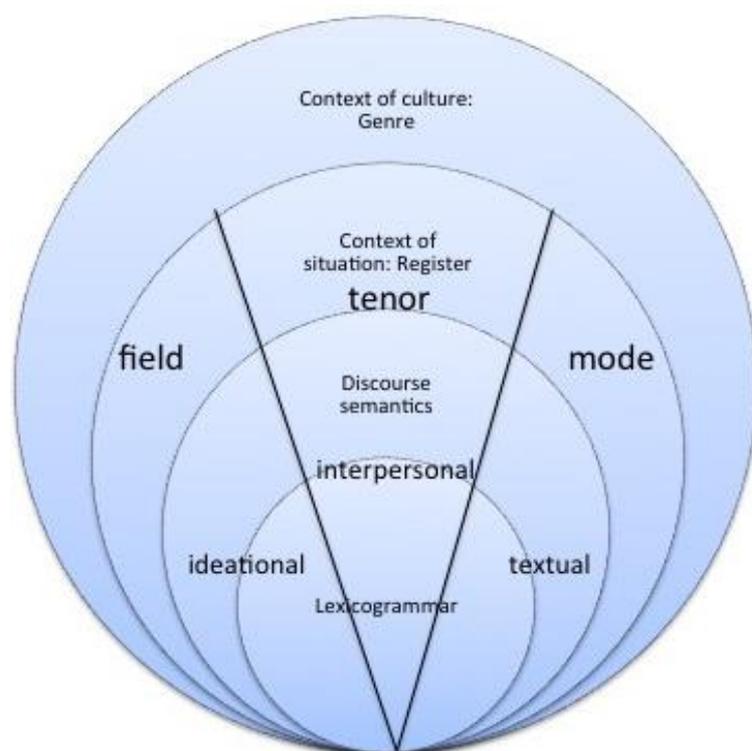


Figure 3-2 Metafunctional organisation of language in relation to social context (Martin, 2011, p. 103)

SFL views language as a resource for making meaning, which provides sets of options, or systems, for a speaker/writer to draw on in the construction of texts. This is the ‘systemic’ aspect of SFL. The systemic aspect means that, as a resource for making meaning, language is made up of networks of systems offering either-or choices (Halliday, 1973, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Each of the metafunctions comprises a number of different systems that come into play depending on different contextual or registerial variables. For example, experiential meanings are realised in grammar in the systems of TRANSITIVITY, PROCESS TYPES or AGENCY. Interpersonal meanings are realised at the level of grammar in the MOOD system and textual meanings are realised in the system of THEME (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The investigation into “represented agency” focuses on experiential meanings in the three texts, and textual meanings are analysed as an aspect of “rhetorical agency”.

3.5.4 Instantiation

As well as understanding language as a stratified system linking context, meanings and wordings in a process of realisation, language also needs to be understood in terms of instantiation where language as system is instantiated as text (Halliday & Matthiessen,

2014; Martin, 2010). The relationship of language as a network of multiple systems to an instance of language, a text, is likened to the relationship between climate and weather. Climate represents the totality of weather events whereas weather is an instance of the climate (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). We could say, therefore, that climate is instantiated as weather just as system is instantiated as text. This relationship can be represented as a cline, moving from a more generalised system of meanings to an instance (see Figure 3.3 below):

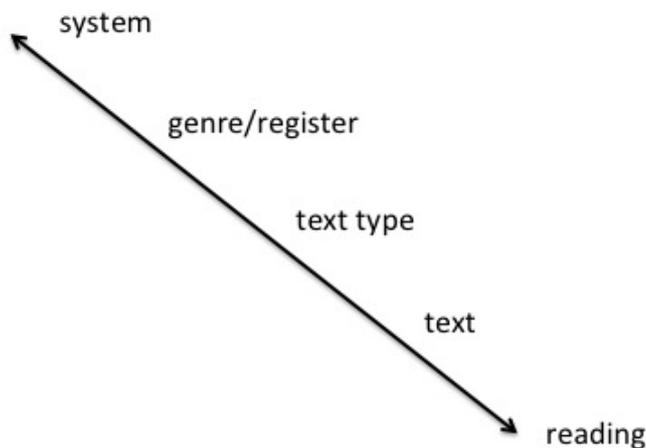


Figure 3-3 Cline of instantiation, after Martin (2010, p. 18)

Halliday argues that in order to understand the system, we need to analyse individual texts or else we cannot make any comparisons between texts, and we cannot account for the system. At the same time, we cannot account for instances of the system without studying the system as a whole. “Both system and text have to be in focus of attention” (Halliday, 1994b, p. xxii). This study looks particularly at agency in three texts, that is, how the three writers of these texts make choices from the various systems of meanings that are instantiated in their texts. By looking at the particular choices made in these three texts, we can start to gain a sense of how agency may be construed in Thai, for example, how writers indicate who does what to whom in their texts.

3.5.5 Systemic typology and topology

While SFL has traditionally presented language in typological terms as a network of systems of the resources available to make meaning, Martin and Matthiessen (1991) and Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, pp. 68-71) propose an alternative to

typological systems to explain language. On typological systems, Martin and Matthiessen explain that “[a] typology makes explicit how phenomena are related; it is a way of interpreting agnation” (p. 346). A system may have simultaneous systems; for example, the system of TRANSITIVITY comprises three key systems: agency, process type and circumstantial systems. However, there are some cases where particular language features from different strata or different ranks realise the same meanings and this use of different resources from different strata or ranks is not captured by a typological description. For example, features of language such as grammatical metaphor provide resources for particular meanings outside the clause, so system networks do not catch the differences in realisation, which carry similar meanings because the construal occurs in different grammatical environments or at different ranks (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991, p. 353). This highlights the need to take into account both text and context as it is theorised in SFL. As Martin and Matthiessen point out, “systemic relations at all levels within language can be projected onto a model of context in such a way as to bring out further dimensions of agnation” (p. 353). A typological perspective will not account for this aspect of a language. Rather, what is needed is a topological approach to capture diverse realisation of meaning. The realisation of agency is one such meaning that cannot be fully accounted for by typological description alone, for example through the system of TRANSITIVITY. Rather, it is dispersed in its realisations and cannot be explained by analysis of a single system.

A combination of analyses, enabled by a topological approach, is needed to explore the complementary ways that agency is construed in and through these texts. For example, at word and group level, agency can be construed in the nominal group and through ideational metaphor; in the clause, agency can be construed through experiential meanings, in effective material clauses, in which the action of one participant in the clause impacts on another participant. Alternatively, lack of agency can be represented through middle clauses. Verbal group complexes and clause complexes in Thai are also an area of interest in the way that agency of a participant appears to be distributed along the clause or even across clause boundaries in the clause complex. An analysis of genre, the staging of genres and also intertextual relations in the texts also can highlight aspects of rhetorical agency – how rhetors exercise their own agency as they deploy genres as a form of social action and incorporate the words

and texts of others. The following sections will discuss in more detail the linguistic resources that may contribute to in the analysis of agency in the three Thai political science texts. Table 3.2 below outlines possible realisations of agency in Thai that may occur across grammatical boundaries.

Table 3-2 Topology of realisations of agency in the Thai texts

Genre	Clause complex	Clause	Group
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genres of argumentation • Periodicity (genre staging) • Engagement (intertextuality) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • logical relations between series of clauses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant–process configuration • Circumstance • Embedded clause 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grammatical metaphor; • Nominalisation • Nominal group/modification • Representation of social actors

Each of these categories for investigating agency in the three texts will be discussed below.

3.6 Genre and rhetorical agency

3.6.1 Genre as an expression of agency

The association of genre with rhetoric is an important link to make and adds weight to the argument that the deployment of genres is fundamentally connected to the exercise of agency by social actors. As stated earlier, rhetoric is the use of language to persuade an audience to accept a particular position. As such, the rhetor plans and organises the discourse in particular ways, taking into account the context as well as the audience – a process that is therefore both situated and dialogic (Herrick, 2009). Genres provide members of a community with a relatively defined set of cultural resources that they can deploy to achieve a desired aim. The way those resources of genre are organised to produce a particular effect is essentially rhetorical (Andrews, 2014, p. 59; Frow, 2005, p. 9). Martin’s characterisation of genre as a “staged, goal-oriented social process” (1992, p. 505) encompasses this notion that genres are rhetorical in that they are structured – or staged – in particular ways, directed towards achieving a particular goal and configured as social practices. To this end, Schryer and Spoel (2005) argue for a “rhetorical genre theory” to explore the relationship between texts and social practices.

The exercise of agency can be observed through an analysis of genre as social actors creatively deploy the resources of genre that work together to realise particular rhetorical goals. Genre in SFL has been defined as “a recurrent configuration of meanings ... that ... enact the social practices of a given culture” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 6). Thus, genres are seen as cultural resources that social actors draw on to interact with other actors in various ways in different social contexts to fulfil particular purposes. Martin (2009, p. 12) argues that the function of genre is to “coordinate resources, to specify just how a given culture organizes this meaning potential into recurrent configurations of meaning, and phases meaning through stages in each genre”. The choice of genre reflects the social purpose of the rhetors and thus can be said to be an expression of agency. They are directed towards achieving particular goals, for example to purchase some goods, to tell a story, to explain a procedure, to argue for a particular point of view or to urge people to action. To this end, genres comprise functional stages of relatively consistent patterns of meaning that lead the speaker or writer to their end point in their attempt to reach their goal (Martin & Rose, 2007). Therefore, one way that genres realise social practice is through the schematic structure or staging of texts. That is to say, the context into which a text is inserted, the purpose for which the text is used and the social process that the text enacts influences its schematic structure. As an example, an exposition is an argument genre whose social purpose is to advance a point of view. The prototypical structure of an exposition genre is Thesis[^]Arguments[^]Reinforcement of thesis where thesis (the point), arguments (supporting evidence) and reinforcement of thesis (restating the point) unfold sequentially to realise this social purpose (Coffin, 2006a).

A more delicate analysis of the staging or rhetorical moves in a text can be achieved through an analysis of phases. Phase has been defined as a “moment-by-moment description of the dynamic shifting of metafunctional consistency” (Malcolm, 2005, p. 64). That is, a discourse phase refers to parts of an unfolding text where particular ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings cluster together (Gregory & Malcolm, 1981, p. 8). While the stages of a genre tend to be more predictable and stable, phases tend to be more variable (Martin & Rose, 2008). Phase is a useful construct in that it allows for a more detailed analysis into the dialogic nature of a text, whereas the stages of a genre provide the major moves within the text (Macken-Horarik, 1996, p. 213), akin somewhat to Swales’ (1990) rhetorical moves and steps.

Phases can be identified by use of marked Themes, for example, through a change of participant, or a change of time or place, signalled by the use of circumstances or conjunctions in Theme position in the clause.

As stated above, Martin (1992) models context on two planes where context of culture is modelled as genre and context of situation is modelled as register, to resolve a dilemma in the theorising of genre in SFL. For example, Halliday models genre as an aspect of mode but adds that some genres may also have some connection with other variables of register such as field (Halliday, 1978, p. 145). Martin (1992, 2008) argues that the reason for this uncertainty is because, in fact, genre must be realised as a combination of all three variables of register, and not just mode and/or field. For example, a key aspect of genre is its rhetorical purpose, such as requesting, recommending, instructing, or arguing. This rhetorical purpose is achieved with recourse to the resources of all three metafunctions and is in turn realised in patterns of choices in discourse semantics and lexicogrammar (Martin, 1992, p. 501). Martin argues therefore for genre to be considered as a level above register (context of situation) – as an aspect of the context of culture (p. 502). In this sense, there is a “genre potential”, which can be described as the possible configurations of register variables allowed within a given culture at a given time” (Eggins, 1994, p. 35). This means that, to members of a community, a genre is recognisable because of its basic structure and the patterns of field, tenor and mode, realised as patterns of language.

Genre also incorporates an element of power which can be both enabling and constraining for social actors. As a meaning-making resource, knowledge of genres, of their historical, cultural and social functions as well as their form, can empower social actors (Lemke, 1988, 1994). Knowledge of genre allows the expert user to exercise agency by constructing, shaping and exploiting genre for his or her own purposes, or “private intentions” (Bhatia, 2004, p. 18) as well as to be creative with new generic forms. However, as discussed earlier, power relies on access to resources, and so agency is constrained for non-experts without knowledge of a genre, meaning that these actors can be excluded from social practices. The manifestation of power in genre means that the deployment of genre is indeed an exercise of the agency of a rhetor.

Though generic structures may be fairly predictable (or constrained), there is scope for creativity or innovation. Rhetors can shape generic structures in order to create a rhetorical effect, to position an audience in a certain way in relation to their stance on a given topic. This innovation includes the combination or blending of genres in novel ways to create a text (Bhatia, 2004). In this way, the particular choice of genre, or indeed the configuration of genre stages (or rhetorical moves), signals the writers' discursive acts, their exercise of rhetorical agency to intervene into the public debate, for example about the coup and the current state of Thai politics.

3.6.2 Genre studies in English and Thai

There has been substantial work on identifying and modelling genres and generic structures within SFL. For example, the generic structure of service encounters was an early focus of genre studies within the SFL tradition. An early paper by Mitchell (1957, as cited in Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 8), though not strictly coming from an SFL tradition, identified schematic structures for different types of service encounters in Libyan market places. Hasan's work on genre (Halliday & Hasan, 1985) also identified the schematic structure for service encounters in an Australian context. Hasan's work built into the theory the notion of "generic structure potential" (GSP) so that optional stages and recursion were also accounted for in her theory. Ventola developed a flowchart model for service encounters when she found that Hasan's linear GSP model could not account for the more dynamic nature of natural interactions (Ventola, 1989). Plum (1988) analysed the generic structure of spoken narrative texts, and Eggins and Slade (1997) analysed casual conversation; both studies used Martin's model of genre and register. A considerable amount of the research on written genres has developed out of investigations into the texts valued in school subjects or the teaching of English as a second language (ESL). Much of this work has been on genres in English. Of particular relevance for this thesis is Coffin's work on the genres of history (Coffin, 1997, 2006a, 2006b; Coffin, Hewings, & North, 2012) and Martin and Rose's work on genre relations (Martin & Rose, 2008). They identified a range of related genres of argumentation in English, and within these genres a number of distinct stages that can be identified on the basis of particular lexicogrammatical patterns. The insights that this body of work provides about genre families and the schematic structure in different genres have been a useful point of departure for the analysis of these three texts to

complement the work on genre and discourse in Thai. The schematic structures identified in this work will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

While it is acknowledged that there may be differences from English in the genres that are available for Thai speakers, or in the schematic structure of particular genres, there do appear to be similarities in the basic structure of some of the genres in use in academic contexts. For example, instruction manuals on academic writing in Thai outline the Introduction-Body-Conclusion structure for academic essays (Laksanasiri & Imsamran, 2008) and for academic research articles (Suwantada, Mosikrat, & Sangsri, 2010). Suwantada et al. (2010) also provide an account of the characteristics of other genres and text types, such as the Introduction-Methods-Result-Discussion (IMRD) structure for research reports. However, these manuals do not provide a detailed description of the functional staging from a linguistic perspective. They are written more as a guide for non-expert student writers than as a linguistic study of these genres. It is also possible that these manuals have been written based on genres and text types imported from English-speaking countries, as many Thai academics, including the three academics in this study, have pursued their studies overseas such as in the USA and England (Manomaivibool, 2015; Sriyaranya, 2000).⁷ Studies by Jogthong (2001) and Kanoksilapatham (2007) investigated the structure of research articles in Thai, adopting Swales' (1990) CARS model for analysis. Jogthong investigated the structure of Thai research article introductions in Education and Medicine while Kanoksilapatham compared the IMRD staging of biochemistry research articles in Thai and English. Both these studies uncovered differences in organisation of the Thai research articles. For example, Kanoksilapatham found that some moves were delayed in the Thai texts in comparison with English and both authors found that moves in English research articles that involved any critique were missing from the Thai articles. The authors attributed this to Thai culture and the preference to avoid criticising others.

A study by Burusphat (1986; 1991) investigated the structure of Thai narrative following the work on discourse by Longacre (1983) and van Dijk's notion of macrostructure (1977). A key point that she made in her study is of the need for more

⁷ Indeed, in an interview with a Thai academic (Suchai, 25/11/09) he stated that he learned his craft of academic writing, including the statement of thesis at the beginning of the text, when he was studying for his PhD in Australia. In an interview with Pitch, he stated that he learned his academic writing style from Suchai, who was one of his first political science lecturers.

text-based studies of Thai. She also discussed the use of zero anaphor, or ellipsis, of the main participant when that participant occurred in the position of Theme. This strategy is a key aspect of Thai discourse and is clearly evident in the texts of the present study.

A number of studies analysed expository discourse (Hinds, 1990; Kanoksin, 1989; Khanittanan, 1988b; Vongvipanond, 1988, 1992), hortatory discourse (Suppharatyothin, 1989) including Buddhist sermons in Thai (for example, Chalermchai, 1995; Person, 1993, as cited in Somsongse Burusphat, 2002). Vongvipanond explored features such as information structure, cohesion and ellipsis in expository discourse, loosely based on Halliday and Hasan (1976) amongst others. Khanittanan considers the use of nominalisation and embedding in the nominal group in Thai academic writing, arguing that this could have been influenced by academics returning from studying abroad, who need to represent new, abstract concepts and technical words in Thai. In fact, this is a phenomenon that occurred also in scientific English – the process of grammatical metaphor, explained by Halliday (1993) as a strategy to represent complex arguments and ideas as Theme or New information in the clause, and contributing to the texture of the text and the unfolding of the argument⁸ (see section 3.6.4 below for a more detailed discussion of grammatical metaphor). This is a common strategy in the texts of this study and has implications for the construal of agency in the clause. This style of writing in academic discourse also can be linked to the exercise of power and agency by social actors. As Khanittanan notes, this feature of academic discourse “is used mostly by educated people or those who know English well and this style of language has been exerting its influence over other people in Thai society, for it is those educated people who control the written channel of communication” (Khanittanan, 1988b, p. 126). Hinds (1990) identifies an inductive style in Thai expository discourse with a delayed statement of thesis. This will mean, then, that it is possible that the staging of some academic texts in Thai will not include the thesis early in the text, but will introduce it later.

There is some work on genre in Thai from an SFL perspective. For example, Pattama (2006) has explored narrative genres in Thai folktales and also persuasive discourse in Thai advertisements (2008). Knox and Patpong (2008) have also used SFL

⁸ Interestingly, Halliday argues that a similar process occurred in Chinese. That is, when Chinese translations of scientific scholarship from Europe reached China in the twentieth century, the use of grammatical metaphor in Chinese evolved quite quickly (Halliday, 2008, p. 103).

genre theory to compare the rhetorical structure of news stories in Thai and English on a violent event in Thailand, and appraisal theory to compare the way in which each article evaluated this event and the social actors involved. Their analysis sought to unpack the ways that the different newspapers in different languages construed the events. They found that each news story offered different representations of actors and events, depending on the values and politics of the newspaper and readership as well as the different linguistic choices afforded by the different languages. Though the authors did not make the link, the choices made by the newspaper editors can be said to be an expression of rhetorical agency. In a later multimodal analysis of the front pages of two Thai language newspapers reporting the same event (Knox, Patpong, & Piriyasilpa, 2010), the authors found that both newspapers aligned their readers in similar ways through the coupling of human participants and negative judgement. They discussed their findings in relation to instantiation, individuation and affiliation, and suggested that linguistic and multimodal analyses can contribute to the study of the social practices of the media. Once again, though the link was not made in their study, the findings from this second study can be interpreted as the exercise of agency by the newspaper editors.

Nevertheless, both articles acknowledge that further research is needed in Thai into the generic structure, patterns of appraisal, and the co-occurrence of functional features in multimodal news reports (Knox & Patpong, 2008; Knox et al., 2010). The available research on genres of argumentation in Thai is still rather sketchy, and there has been nothing from an SFL genre theory perspective. Therefore, the insights of the “Sydney School” into genre staging can complement the Thai research to inform this study. This is because the work on genre theory and the identification of different genres and their schematic structures has produced quite comprehensive descriptions of a range of different genres. In addition, the work on macrogenres in SFL, and interdiscursivity in the CDA literature offer insights into why and how genres may be combined. This literature has a bearing on this study as the three texts combine different genres, and the boundaries between them are not always obvious. The following section introduces the concepts of macrogenre and interdiscursivity as they apply to this study.

3.6.3 Macro-genre and interdiscursivity

While much work on genre in a systemic functional model of language has identified single, elemental genres made up of fairly predictable stages, in practice, not all texts are made up of one single, contained genre, and academic writing can be highly complex, drawing on a range of genres as well as a range of other texts. Bakhtin (1986, pp. 61-62) distinguishes between primary (simple) and secondary (complex) speech genres and notes that secondary genres include written scientific or academic texts such as the three texts of this study which, “[d]uring the process of their formation, ... absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres ... These primary genres are altered and assume a special character when they enter into complex ones”. Therefore, we need to also look at how elemental genres such as the *Position ^ Arguments ^ Reinforcement of position* stages of an exposition genre, or the *Identification of issue ^ Arguments for ^ Arguments against ^ Conclusion/Recommendation* stages of a discussion genre (Humphrey, Droga, & Feez, 2012) may be combined in larger texts, and to what ends.

This phenomenon of mixing genres has been explored by Martin who has termed such complex combinations of genre as “macro-genre” (Martin, 1994, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2008, 2012), made up of complexes of genres in relationships of expansion and projection or else embedded within another genre (Martin, 1994). Martin suggests that the relationship of genre to macro-genre is equivalent to that of clause to clause complex, and so the logical relations between the parts can be analysed in the same way as the logical relations between the clauses in clause complexes. These notions can be used to elucidate the strategies that the writers employ in the staging within and across genres to make their case and achieve their rhetorical goals.

While the notion of macro-genre focuses on the complex structural relationships between genres as they combine in a text, there is a tendency within the systemic functional model of genre towards a reified or reductionist view of genres and macro-genres. A more fluid, socially oriented perspective on this phenomenon is embodied in the concept of interdiscursivity. For Fairclough (1992, 2003, 2013) and Bhatia (2004, 2010, 2012), texts that combine different genres and discourses are interdiscursive. Fairclough (1992, p. 104) distinguishes between “manifest intertextuality”, where other texts are overtly referred to in a text, for example through the use of citations in academic writing, and “constitutive intertextuality”, or interdiscursivity, where texts are

constituted by mixing various discourses and genres. Bartlett (2012, p. 224) refers to interdiscursivity in terms of the way distinct voices may be brought together in a text, as opposed to intertextuality where specific parts of one discourse are used in another.

Interdiscursivity encourages a view of agency in terms of social practice. Bhatia defines interdiscursivity as the “appropriation of generic resources, primarily contextual in nature, focusing on specific relationships between and across discursive and professional practices as well as professional cultures” (2010, p. 33). This definition stresses the importance of contextual elements in professional or social practice, and the interrelationship between professional/social practices and discursive practices. This definition also implies the exercise of agency in interdiscursivity in that social actors may consciously appropriate these different resources to realise a particular goal. Thus, as with genre, the concept of interdiscursivity is also rhetorical. A characteristic of interdiscursivity is that the combination or mixing of different genres and discourses may produce texts where the boundaries between the elements are more or less distinct (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 68-69). For example, Fairclough gives the example of television chat shows as interdiscursive because they combine conversational genres with entertainment genres. Infomercials are also interdiscursive, combining the advertisement genre with a reporting or explanation genre.

Essentially, these two notions, macro-genre and interdiscursivity, offer different perspectives on the same phenomenon. Martin’s exploration of macro-genre orients more towards the linguistic features in the text, the patterns of metafunctional meanings and logical connections between the elemental genres. The concept of interdiscursivity focuses more on the appropriation of different genres or discourses and the social practices that the genres enact, such as to respond to critics, to justify a course of action, or to expose dissimulation in the reporting of events. The linking together of multiple genres and discourses expresses the writer’s capacity for creativity within the confines imposed by the particular structural constraints inherent in the context. Moreover, the analysis of interdiscursivity in the texts provides a means by which we can link linguistic analysis to social analysis (Fairclough, 2013). For example, by analysing texts for the way that they represent the same social situation and noting which participants are included in the text, the grammatical relations that pertain between these

participants, and also which participants are excluded, we can draw some conclusions about whose interests the texts may be serving.

Martin (2001) argues against the notion of genre mixing for two reasons. First, it conflates genre, which is a resource at the level of system, with an instance of this system at the level of text. Nevertheless, it is possible to think about the mixing of genres as the product of writers drawing on the resources of two or more genres at the same time, mixing, blending or combining selected features of each that suit the purpose and context, and then instantiating these blended resources in their texts. Second, Martin argues that the concept of a mixed genre does not appreciate the various strategies that are deployed when a variety of genres are instantiated in a text. These include combinations in relationships of expansion and projection. This type of blending, Martin here equates with macro-genre. He also identifies other types of combination or blending such as embedded, hybrid, multi-modal texts (Martin, 2001). It would appear, then, that in this article cited above at least, the term macro-genre refers to just one type of blending amongst several. Martin and Rose (2012, pp. 3-4) state that “genres are categorically distinct kinds of discourse”, so they argue that “there can be no such thing as a ‘mixed genre’”. They go on to say that “we may need to speak or write ‘mixed texts’ consisting of a series of genres, in order to accomplish our social goals”. However, this notion that genres occur in a series does not capture the fluid nature of interdiscursivity such as the television chat show or the infomercial. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 149) argue that the concept of interdiscursivity is necessary if we are going to be able to relate grammatical processes with wider social processes. They argue that “SFL does not itself provide a conceptual and analytical framework for systematically addressing the shifting articulations and recontextualisations of discourse”. This idea of interdiscursivity as facilitating an exploration of the link between agency and genre as a social process will be explored in this study.

Of course, as stated above, a comprehensive analysis of genre, and also of macro-genre/interdiscursivity, involves a metafunctional analysis of the structural patterns of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings and how they work together in phases and stages in discourse. The next section discusses the discourse semantic notion of periodicity. Periodicity organises the flow of information in a text, and is realised at the level of grammar in the system of Theme. Choices of Theme and New allow the

rhetor to direct the audience's attention to what is salient in a text, and so these choices are an expression of the rhetor's agency.

3.6.4 Periodicity

An analysis of the textual metafunction of a text through the system of periodicity and patterns of Theme and New can help to identify how meanings are organised within a text (Martin & Rose, 2008, pp. 34-35). Theme in SFL is seen as an enabling resource, allowing the speaker or writer to organise information by facilitating ideational and interpersonal meanings (Halliday, 1978; Matthiessen, 1995). Theme-Rheme relationships form larger patterns of thematic progression in a text (Daneš, 1974; Fries, 1995). As such, Theme contributes to the method of development of a text that guides an audience through a text, directing attention to what is salient (Fries, 1981). These patterns of Theme form a hierarchy of periodicity (Martin & Rose, 2007) that manages the flow of information. Halliday (2014) proposes two interrelated systems within the textual metafunction of language: thematic structure and information structure. Thematic structure organises the message from the speaker's or writer's point of view, and the Theme is seen as the "point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned" (Halliday, 1994b, p. 37). Information structure on the other hand reflects "the tension between what is already known or predictable and what is new or unpredictable" (Halliday, 1994b, p. 296) and is realised as Given and New information, signalled through the intonation system in English. Given information refers to that part of the clause that is shared knowledge (Bloor & Bloor, 1995, p. 66) and can be recovered from the text or context. New information occurs towards the end of the clause in the unmarked form (in English and also in Thai) and highlights what the speaker or writer considers to be "newsworthy", what they want the listener or reader to attend to in the message. An analysis of the textual metafunction offers the ideal method to understand how the argument unfolds in a text.

The interaction of Theme and New in discourse creates the flow of information through a text. Fries (1981) first considered the notion that the use of Theme in English functions to manage the flow of information and present the main point of the text. This has been described in terms of "waves of information" (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 188) and "provides a powerful resource for constructing and developing an argument" (Halliday, 1994a, p. 140). The interplay between Theme and New can also be found at

higher levels in a text. Hyper-Theme refers to one or more clauses that predict the method of development in a phase of discourse; it looks forward in the text, beyond the level of the clause to larger stretches of discourse. Hyper-New collects and synthesises this information (Martin, 1993b, p. 245). Martin (1993b, p. 247) suggests that patterns of hyper-New constitute the point of the text. For example, an academic paragraph begins with a topic sentence – the hyperTheme – that predicts what will follow in the paragraph; the main point is made in the concluding sentence of the paragraph – the hyperNew. Further up the textual hierarchy, higher-level Themes, or macro-Themes, predict hyper-Themes. The macro-Theme in English discourse looks forward in even larger stretches of text and contains the thesis of an argument. Meanwhile macro-News gather together the threads of the argument to form the point in the concluding paragraph of the text or section (Martin & Rose, 2007). The writer manages the reader's interpretation of the text using these higher-level Themes to frame the argument and juxtaposes these with higher-level News to extend or elaborate on the topic and ultimately collect and synthesise the various elements of the argument for the reader. Periodicity thus provides a powerful resource for writers to shape their texts in particular ways and powerful tools for the analyst to analyse the staging and organisation of elements in a text.

As stated above, a phenomenon that occurred historically in scientific English (Halliday & Martin, 1993) and also more recently in Thai academic writing (Khanittanan, 1988b) is the greater use of nominalisation or grammatical metaphor. The use of grammatical metaphor in discourse realises a number of functions, one of these being the ability to “package a complex phenomenon into a single semiotic entity” (Halliday & Martin, 1993, p. 60). The nominalised form can then function, for example, as Theme of the clause. In this way, rhetors can attribute agency to complex phenomena, including ideas and beliefs, in their attempt to position their audiences. This and other functions of grammatical metaphor will be discussed more fully in the following section. As will be seen, this approach to staging and information flow in a text proves powerful in the analysis of rhetorical agency.

3.6.5 Grammatical metaphor

Grammatical metaphor is a common feature of academic, scientific, and bureaucratic discourse, particularly written texts. It provides a powerful resource for the

construction of argument by reclassifying complex ideas as abstract entities that can then be deployed as part of the clause, positioned in logico-semantic relation to other entities in the clause as key elements in the unfolding argument (Halliday & Martin, 1993, p. 60). Grammatical metaphor expands the potential for knowledge production by creating technicality and the ability to construct a logical argument where ideas and concepts can build on previous ones (Halliday, 2008, p. 97). It is thus a key resource for the work of academics and public intellectuals in the construction of their texts. At the same time, though, the use of ideational metaphor can make a text highly abstract, and this abstraction can effectively exclude many from these discourses of intellectuals and government officials (Martin, 1992). Human agency is suppressed and processes are represented as states or abstract concepts, acting on their own without human agency (Kress, 1985, pp. 57-58).

Grammatical metaphor refers to the process whereby meanings in the semantic stratum (discourse semantic stratum) are reclassified in the grammar in a non-congruent form, as a different grammatical class. Two basic categories of grammatical metaphor exist: interpersonal metaphors and ideational metaphors. Ideational metaphors can be further classified as experiential metaphor and logical metaphor (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 698-731; Martin, 1992, pp. 406-417). Most pertinent for this thesis are the ideational metaphors which abound in academic discourse, in Thai as well as in English. For example, in a literal or congruent construal of meaning, a process in the semantic domain of language such as the action of exploding is realised as a verb in the lexicogrammar: explodes, exploded, exploding. Similarly, participants are realised as nouns, circumstances as adverbial or prepositional phrases, qualities as adjectives, and the logical relations between processes as conjunctions (Halliday & Martin, 1993, pp. 79-80), as in the sentence below:

1. The police exploded the bomb so many people died.

Participant + Process+ Participant + Conj. + Participant + Process

The congruence between the strata is represented below in Figure 3.4:

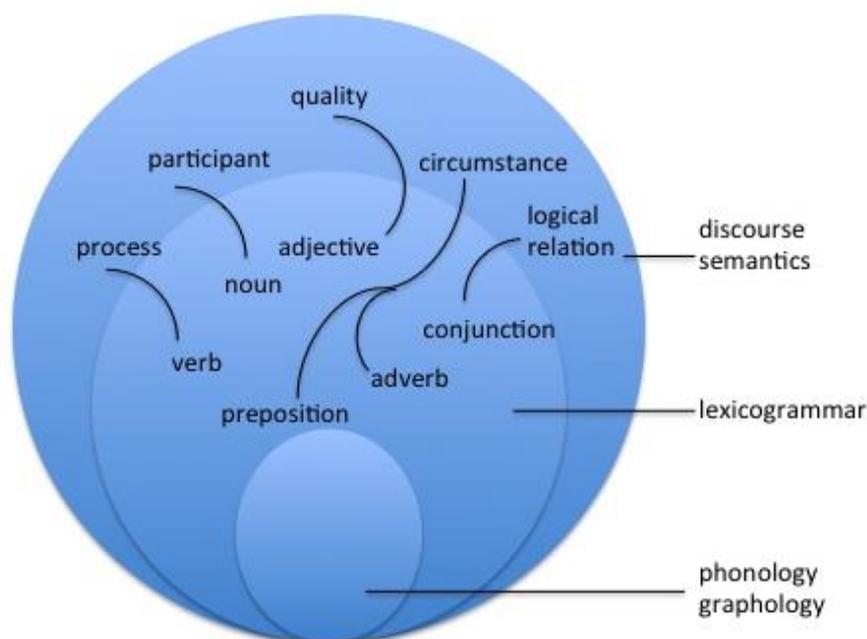


Figure 3-4 Congruent representation between strata (after Devrim, 2015, p. 12; adapted from Martin, 1993a)

Grammatical metaphor occurs when processes are instead realised as nouns, qualities as nouns, and conjunctions as processes, nouns or prepositions (see Figure 3.5) as in the following sentences, reconstrued from example 1 above:

2. *The explosion killed many people.*

Participant + Process + Participant

3. *The explosion resulted in the death of many people.*

Participant + Process + Participant

In example 2, the material process, ‘explode’ has been transformed into a noun, ‘explosion’ and the semantic feature of causation between the two clauses expressed in 1 by ‘so’ has been repackaged in the process ‘kill’ (that is, cause to die). In example 3, ‘die’ has been expressed as a noun ‘death’ and the conjunction ‘so’ is expressed in the phrasal verb ‘result (in)’. This process of transference of meaning or “transcategorisation” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 242) has been described as creating “inter-stratal tension” (e.g., Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 39): the realisation in the lexicogrammar of concepts in the semantic stratum is incongruent. Grammatical metaphor has implications for both ideational and textual structure (Martin, 1993b, p. 241). For example, ideationally, it can be deployed to bury reasoning and textually, it can be used to organise text. In this way, rhetors are able to exercise their agency by

deploying grammatical metaphor to represent complex ideas as agent in the clause, affecting other participants in the clause, and can also disguise the agency of social actors if they choose to. Grammatical metaphor is an important resource for a more abstract representation of agency, and hence for transcategorisation of the kind that the rhetors, particularly Pitch, employs in his account of the coup.

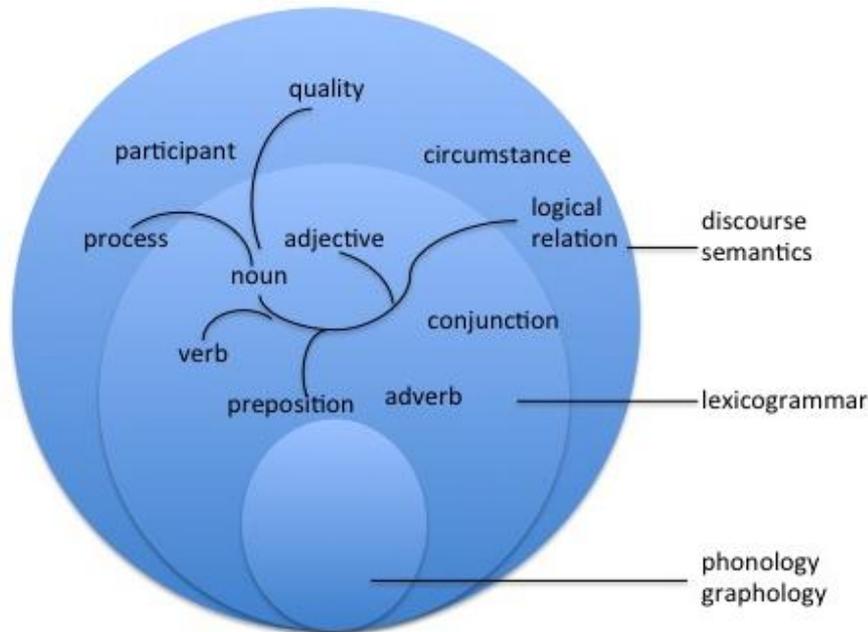


Figure 3-5 Incongruent representation: Interstratal tension (after Devrim, 2015, p. 12; adapted from Martin, 1993a, p. 152)

The use of ideational metaphor has implications for the textual metafunction. It is a resource for organising texts through patterns and sequences of Theme and New in a text in abstract or technical ways. It is grammatical metaphor that allows a writer to construct higher-level Themes that frame the argument, that are then juxtaposed with higher-level News that extend the topic and finally synthesise the various elements of the argument (Martin & Rose, 2007). Grammatical metaphor packages information that is “taken for granted” in Theme position in the clause, followed by New information. It is presented in this way to make its status in the argument clear (Halliday & Martin, 1993, p. 81). According to Martin,

New elaborates the field, developing its meanings – fleshing out the construction of experience with which the text is concerned. Looking

upwards to context, Theme is genre-oriented, angling a text in relation to its social purpose; New, on the other hand, focuses on field, developing the institution at hand. Deployed effectively, grammatical metaphor in writing is a powerful resource for getting a text's angle right and for elaborating its experiential focus in appropriate ways. (Halliday & Martin, 1993, p. 244)

The approach adopted in this study follows Martin's insight here, integrating an analysis of periodicity with genre analysis. This use of grammatical metaphor as a resource for packaging information is deployed by the writers in this study, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

A further consequence of this use of grammatical metaphor can be seen in examples 2 and 3 above; the metaphor presented as Theme has resulted in the deletion of 'the police' in sentence 1. The agent responsible for the explosion has been erased from the clause, which is described by Fairclough (2003, p. 13) as the "mystification and obfuscation of agency and responsibility". This abstraction occurs in the process of nominalisation that is, transforming a clause or process into a noun. Unpacking the nominalisations to recover the processes or activities may reveal those agents that are involved in the action of the verb (Martin & Rose, 2007). Sometimes, the agent may be suppressed by the use of the nominalised process, so it is possible to be recovered, either when the nominal group is unpacked or from elsewhere in the text, but sometimes the agent may be excluded from the text altogether (van Leeuwen, 2008). The deletion of the agent from the clause may be because the agent is assumed knowledge (the writer assumes the reader is familiar with who the agent is), but may also be because it is in the interests of the rhetor to render the agent anonymous (van Leeuwen, 2008).

It may also be the case that it is not possible to attribute responsibility to a social actor – perhaps for fear of reprisal or punishment. To position their audiences in particular ways, or to align themselves with the views of their intended or assumed audience, rhetors might foreground or background agency in the clause. For example, Trew (1979a) showed how the use of nominalisation in news reports about the shooting of unarmed demonstrators in Rhodesia effectively erased the responsibility of the police and foregrounded the "rioting" of the black protesters. Trew suggested that this incident

was reported in this way in order to suppress the use of violence by authorities and justify continued white rule in Africa. The use of nominalisations not only eliminates agency in the clause. It also means that the nominal group can be expanded in a number of ways, including through embedding and qualifying the nominalised process with evaluative lexis. For example, an *explosion* could become a *deadly explosion* or *two deadly roadside explosions*. This provides the opportunity for the writer to “spin” ideas to position audiences in particular ways (Martin & Rose, 2007).

Grammatical metaphor also has consequences for the interpersonal meanings in the clause. As stated above, ideational metaphor transforms processes into participants, which can then be used textually as Theme or Rheme in the clause. When analysed in terms of the Mood element in the clause, the Theme maps onto the Subject of the clause. The Subject represents the “modally responsible participant” (Martin, 1992, p. 476). This means that the Subject is responsible for the action encoded in the Process – it is the “nub of the proposition” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 150). However, when a clause is realised metaphorically as a nominal group, it loses its propositional status and is therefore inarguable. It is portrayed as something that is immutable, and must be accepted as is (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 718). For example, if we return to example 1 above, *the police* is coded as Subject of the first clause and is modally responsible for the action of the verb *explode*. We can answer *Yes, they did* or *No, they didn't* to a tag question *didn't they?*. However, if this clause is metaphorised as *a deadly roadside explosion* or *an accidental roadside explosion* or *the deaths from an accidental explosion*, the police are no longer modally responsible for the action of the verb, and the modification and evaluation in the nominal group (*deadly, accidental*) are also inarguable. The same phenomenon of inarguability occurs with embedded clauses (Martin, 1992, p. 486). For example, in the following clause, it is the protestors that are modally responsible, not the police:

4. *The protestors saw [[the police exploding the bomb]], didn't they?
Yes they did.*

In the case of the three texts of this study, the influence of a highly constrained and politically fraught context is likely to impact on the way that the writers construe sensitive aspects of the political situation, which may contribute to the use of nominalisation and embedding in their representation of ideas.

An investigation of the use of grammatical metaphor in the Thai texts examined in this study will highlight its use in Thai, functioning as Theme or New to organise the flow of ideas in the text by looking forward and looking back, to delete agency in the clause or to render a proposition or proposal inarguable.

3.6.6 Appraisal: Engagement

Writers also exercise agency when they adopt a stance and attempt to position their readers in relation to the views that they construe in their texts. One way they may do this is to draw on the discourse semantic resources of Appraisal. As noted above, the Appraisal framework, particularly Attitude and Engagement, has been applied to the analysis of media discourse in Thai (Knox & Patpong, 2008; Knox et al., 2010). This study extends this analysis to academic writing in Thai by looking particularly at the way that the writers draw on the system of ENGAGEMENT to expand or contract the dialogic space and create solidarity with the audience by aligning or dis-aligning them with respect to other texts and voices. Engagement theorises the strategies that writers use to draw other voices into a text. It offers resources to identify the reason for including an external text and how strongly rhetors align themselves or not with actual or potential respondents (Martin & White, 2005). The system of ENGAGEMENT as developed by Martin and White (2005) has been developed to account for how this alignment or dis-alignment is represented linguistically. The theory draws on the work of Bakhtin and Voloshinov (e.g., 1994) and the notions of dialogism and heteroglossia. In this view, all texts are heteroglossic – populated with the voices and texts of others. Dialogism refers to the way that texts respond to and anticipate other texts in a process of intertextuality. Bakhtin argues that:

all our utterances (including creative works), [are] filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-ownness,' varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework and re-accentuate. (p. 89)

In addition, texts anticipate the likely reactions or responses of the addressee or putative reader. Addressivity, also from the work of Bakhtin, refers to the way that texts (Bakhtin's utterances) are shaped in relation to the expectations of an addressee – real

or imagined. Even written texts such as academic texts are produced with an imagined audience in mind – anticipating their responses or reactions to the content of a text. As Bakhtin states, the speaker or writer will actively shape their texts in order to pre-empt any objections or possible counter-arguments (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 95).

An aim of the academic research article is to situate an argument in relation to other knowledge and other voices (Hood, 2010) and to guide the readers to adopt particular interpretations over others (Hyland, 2004). In addition, the highly contested nature of the socio-political context in Thailand after the 2006 coup meant that the discursive context abounded with discourses, as discussed in Chapter 2, intended to create particular views and understandings of the Thai monarchy, Thai politics and democracy and the need for a coup. It is necessary to consider how the three writers engaged with other voices and other discourses in their texts as this engagement is clearly a further expression of their rhetorical agency.

3.7 Representation of social actors

Another aspect of rhetorical agency occurs in the way that lexical choices are used to refer to participants in the texts. Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) maps the choices for including and excluding social actors from discourse as a system network. This network provides a useful tool to analyse how agency is (or perhaps is not) construed within the texts. In addition, the choices made can be understood as an exercise of agency by the three rhetors in order to situate themselves and position their audiences. This section will discuss van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network as a tool for identifying social actors and the exercise of agency in the texts.

As a text unfolds, the rhetors provide a picture of the context, that “unevenly contoured terrain” (Hay, 2002) that makes space for portrayals of some social actors and closes the space to others. Therefore, the writers need to deploy resources strategically in order to communicate meanings that position participants in a certain light, or meanings that seek to contest elements within the context without transgressing the boundaries of social and political acceptability. Van Leeuwen's “socio-semantic inventory” (2008) provides a comprehensive set of tools that allows the analyst to explore these representations. The inventory has been developed to analyse texts in English. However, it has been possible to use it to also investigate the representation of

social actors in the Thai texts. At the entry level, the inventory makes selections based on exclusion of social actors or inclusion. The systems for inclusion allow for increasingly delicate choices as well as the possibility of selecting choices simultaneously from different systems in the network. Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network is outlined in more detail in Chapter 4. At this point, it is important to mention that in an analysis of social actors, there is not always an exact match between what can be considered an agent in the sociological sense and what is construed as agent in linguistic terms. Van Leeuwen states:

There is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories, and if critical discourse analysis, e.g. in investigating agency, ties itself too closely to specific linguistic operations or categories, many relevant instances of agency might be overlooked. One cannot, it seems, have it both ways with language. Either theory and method are formally neat but semantically messy (as in the dictionary: one form, many meanings), or they are semantically neat but formally messy (as in the thesaurus: one concept, many possible realisations). (2008, p. 24)

For this reason, van Leeuwen's inventory recognises that there may not be a one-to-one correspondence between sociological conceptions of agency and agency realised linguistically (p. 24). This relates back to the definition of context provided earlier that takes into account material, non-linguistic conditions, including the 3rd order social systems (Matthiessen, 2012, p. 452). An example of this divergence occurs in the following clause:

5. *They received support from the government.*

In this example, the grammatical role of Actor-Medium in the clause realises the sociological role of "patient" or "affected" participant (*they*), while the sociological agent is realised in the circumstance *from the government*⁹. In van Leeuwen's network this is an example of "circumstantialisation", where the agent is "activated" in relation to *support*. Therefore, by just focusing on the linguistic categories, we miss out on realisations that are encoded in non-typical and non-congruent ways and not all

⁹ See Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (2010, pp. 127-128) where they distinguish between Agent and Manner: means. If a participant in a circumstance can be instantiated as agent, as in *the government supported them*, then it needs to be considered as agent.

instances of agency will be highlighted in the analysis. Van Leeuwen argues that “[w]hat we can do... is investigate which options are chosen in which institutional and social contexts, and why these choices should have been made” (2008, p. 33).

In the first stage of an analysis of represented agency the identification of social actors that are included in the text is essential and enlightening (Thompson, 2008, p. 16). These social actors may be individual or collective, groups or institutional actors exercising their agency (Hay, 2002, p. 114); they may be construed as powerful actors impacting on the environment and on other actors, or they may be construed as powerless. The types of representation and who is or is not instantiated in each of the texts indicate how each of these writers conceives the semantic field (Martin & Rose, 2007). That is, the three writers populate their texts with various participants that make up the field of discourse – people, groups, and institutions interacting in events such as the coup, and with other abstractions such as the constitution, violence or politics. Through such linguistic choices in the texts, their construal of the socio-political context can be inferred.

Social actors are represented in different ways in the three texts. That is, the various participants taking part in social processes are represented as acting in some way that may or may not impact on another participant, as being acted upon, or as peripheral in some way to the ongoing processes. For example, a participant may be represented as imbued with agency, as affected by the actions of someone or something else, or as benefitting or not from the actions of others. Participants may be made explicit in the text in personal or impersonal representations; they may be categorised in particular ways or perhaps omitted from the text altogether (Fairclough, 2003; van Leeuwen, 2008). Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 17) argues that transformations occur in the process of recontextualising social practices in text whereby social actors may be substituted by other semiotic elements that bring some actors into focus and generalise or objectify others. Therefore, if not absent or omitted, these participants or their actions can be represented in a particular light – for example, positively or negatively – to evoke particular reactions and to align the audience to a particular view or interpretation of the actions or ideas. For example, equating the actions of the Thaksin government with the actions of Hitler frames the Thaksin government in a negative light. While this construal of the content of the discourse is another way in which the writers can shape

their rhetoric, thus comprising another aspect of the rhetorical agency of the rhetors, it warrants an analysis separate from the analysis of rhetorical agency. That is because the analysis moves away from a consideration of genre and genre staging, from the “performative” nature of the text (Duranti, 2004), to an exploration of the construal of field in the three texts. The analysis thus focuses on the construal of agency (or degrees of agency) of the social actors represented in the texts.

To ensure that the analysis of the three texts uncovers the various social as well as linguistic manifestations of agency, this study will proceed with an analysis of the representation of social actors in Chapter 6, following van Leeuwen’s network. While the socio-semantic inventory provides analytical categories to investigate the representation of social actors (and their agency), each category involves specific linguistic systems (p. 53). One of these systems identifies the roles of participants in the clause, and can be explored specifically through an analysis of transitivity in the clause. Transitivity has been a key object of investigation in this thesis as it provides a detailed account of who does what to whom and under what conditions. An analysis of transitivity roles shifts the focus onto more linguistic representations of agency, which will be the focus of Chapter 7.

3.8 Transitivity

3.8.1 Transitive and ergative analysis

The study of transitivity outside SFL has typically taken a semantic or functional approach. Hopper and Thompson (1980) view transitivity as a feature that can be observed either in the morphological marking, syntactic configuration or through the semantics of the clause. Similar to the notion in SFL of directed action and effectiveness of the clause, Hopper and Thompson argue that transitivity involves the transfer of action or force from one participant to another. They identify ten parameters that define transitivity. These include the number of participants in a clause (with two or more participants increasing the likelihood of greater degrees of transitivity), the type of action or state encoded in the verb, whether the action has been completed, whether there is a transitional phase between the beginning of the action and the end, the degree of purposeful action or intentionality of the participants in the clause, polarity in the clause (negative polarity suggests that the process is not effective), whether the clause encodes a real event and whether the participant is high in agency (e.g., a soldier as

opposed to a rifle). Their framework also includes the perspective of the affected participant, that is, to what extent the object of the clause (in SFL, this would include participant roles such as Goal, Range, Phenomenon) is affected by the action of the verb and also the extent to which a participant represents a distinct or discrete participant or object. For example, human, animate or concrete participants are more likely to be affected by the transfer of action than inanimate or abstract participants. Each of these parameters of transitivity should be viewed as a continuum rather than an all or nothing feature of the clause. However, Hopper and Thompson (1980) point out some consequences of their framework, such as cases where a one-participant clause as in *he ran* possesses more of the above features of transitivity than a two-participant clause as in *he likes ice cream*. In fact, much of the research on transitivity wrestles with the problem of more or less agency of the actor and notes how the impact varies depending on the affected participant. This problem is accounted for in SFL in the system network for TRANSITIVITY. In this system, the case cited above makes the ‘like’ clause middle-ranged rather than effective, and so the degree of agency is accounted for.

While Hopper and Thompson’s contribution to the theoretical debate on transitivity makes it possible to see transitivity as a “grammatical resource for construing ‘quanta of change’” (Matthiessen, 1999, p. 3), there are problems that have emerged with their approach. For example, LaPolla et al. (2011, p. 473) state that there may be cases where several of the parameters that they propose may be in conflict. Martin and Matthiessen (1991) and also Matthiessen (1999) state that, while a strength of Hopper and Thompson’s work is that it bases its interpretation on a paradigmatic organisation, it does not “model these parameters by means of an explicit form of representation such as the system network and thus [does not] operate with more or less delicately specified parametric distinctions” (Matthiessen, 1999, p. 3). In SFL, the system of TRANSITIVITY is a key system within the experiential metafunction of language, providing the resources to construe our experience of the world. It does this through the patterning of different processes, the participants directly involved in those processes and the various circumstances that cluster around these participants and processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Halliday (1967a, 1967b, 1968) and Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) relate transitivity specifically to the clause. Transitivity systems depend on the types of processes, the participants, the circumstances and the attributes that are expressed in the clause; consideration of whether a participant is animate or

inanimate; and what type of process has been selected. Process types fall into different experiential categories, namely doing, being, sensing and saying, and each type involves different participants in the process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, pp. 150-151). Different realisations of participants at the level of the clause convey differing degrees of agency, impacting to various degrees on a second participant in the clause, if present. Clauses will be either effective or middle. Effective clauses are those with directed action, for example, *the military toppled the government* where the action of the military extends along the clause to impact on the government. Middle clauses, on the other hand, represent non-directed action, as in *the government fell*, where the action begins and ends with the actor of the clause.

Different types of clauses involve different degrees of directed action. Directed action will necessarily involve two or more participants (Halliday, 1967a, p. 39). The greater the degree of directed action, the greater the degree of transitivity and, possibly, agency. Compared to the effective clause above (*The military toppled the government*), a clause like *the people obeyed the law* is more like a middle clause because the action of the people does not impact on the law in any way. In SFL the second participant in the example above is analysed as the Range (or Scope, after Martin et al., 2010) in a material process clause, and so the clause is coded as a middle-ranged clause and the Actor of the clause, *people*, is not the Agent of the clause. Transitivity systems assign particular features to participants in the clause (Halliday, 1967a, p. 45) and with Range, the process is one of non-directed action (p. 58). What is important in terms of transitivity, according to Halliday (1968, p. 182), is “the actual distinction between clauses which contain a goal, or rather (an important difference) a feature of goal-directedness, and those which do not”. Therefore, a model of transitivity is one of extension, looking at whether and how the participant impacts on another participant in the clause and to what degree the second participant is affected by the action. According to Davidse (1992) and Lemmens (1998), transitivity is concerned with the grammar of the clause from the perspective of the agent. It sees the action of the process extending from a participant to impact on another participant. There are varying degrees of transitivity, so the impact will occur to a greater or lesser extent or not at all. The degree to which transitivity – or agency – is ascribed to participants in the clause is a key aspect of the analysis of represented agency in the three texts and will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.8.2 in relation to the “cline of dynamism” (Hasan, 1985) below.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2014), the system of TRANSITIVITY comprises two complementary perspectives: the transitive perspective and the ergative perspective, and one or the other may be foregrounded across different registers. The ergative perspective is one of causation from the perspective of the medium or affected participant, which may (or may not) involve an external agent and is realized in the system of AGENCY. According to Halliday (1968, p. 185),

Instead of a ‘transitive’ form of organisation, based on extension, where the question is whether the action extends beyond the actor or not, the alternative being considered is an ‘ergative’ form of organisation, based on causation, where the question is whether the cause is external to the action or not. In the former, where the structural functions are obligatory actor and optional goal, clause types are distinguished according to whether the action is or is not goal-directed; in the latter, with obligatory ‘affected’ and optional ‘causer’, they are distinguished according to the extent to which there is a tendency for the causer of the action to be identical with the affected.

This latter type refers to middle clauses like *the bomb exploded* or *the prisoners marched* in English where the participant in each of the clauses is the affected participant – the Medium through which the process is enacted, and the causer of the action is omitted. What Halliday points out here is that when these clauses are recast as effective clauses as in *the military exploded the bomb* or *the police marched the prisoners*, both *bomb* and *prisoners* still remain the affected participants in the clause, and what has been added in each case is an external causer: *military* and *police* respectively. Thus, from an ergative perspective, clauses comprise a nucleus with Medium plus process that may or may not be impacted by an external causer, the Agent or Instigator of the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 154).

While the transitive perspective provides a “particularistic model” in that it distinguishes between various process types, each one with distinct participant roles, the ergative perspective provides a model of construing experience that generalises across all process types and participant roles (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). Halliday argues that “[t]he ‘affected’ function ... makes it possible to generalize from among several

more specific transitivity functions” including material, mental and relational processes, and that the process may be caused by an external agent (1968, p. 195). That is, from an ergative perspective, the key participant in the nucleus of the clause is the affected participant – the Medium. The process of the clause is actualised through the Medium. This actualisation may be construed as being brought about by a participant that is external to the nucleus of Medium and process. The external participant is the Agent. The difference between the transitive and ergative perspectives is whether one participant is acting on another or whether it is causing another participant to act.

The ergative model is thus concerned with degrees of effectiveness, or agency, as opposed to the transitive model that focuses on process types and in which there is a semantic relation of extension. In the SFL model, any clause can be analysed from both a transitive perspective and an ergative perspective, but “the critical question is which perspective has more power to generalize in any given instance” (Matthiessen, 2004, p. 607). It is argued, for example, that some registers in English such as scientific English, concerned as they are with processes of cause and effect, tend to foreground the ergative perspective (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 285). Patpong (2006) briefly examines the complementary models of transitive and ergative perspectives in Thai, and also notes that one or the other will be foregrounded across different registers in Thai (p. 410). Halliday (1997/2009, p. 47) explains this phenomenon in terms of “complementarity” in language. This is the notion that two views on language exist side by side, for example:

If there are two participants involved in a process, is the one acting on the other, or is it causing the other to act? One might say: in any given instance it may be either, but the two are contradictory – the same phenomenon cannot be both. Yet the grammar wants to have it both ways: not only does the system as a whole accommodate both perspectives but many processes are construed as a tension between the two.

In this respect, Halliday argues for “transitive and ergative as theories of agency and causality” (1995/2009, p. 52). He equates transitive with action: +/- goal, and ergative as realization +/- agency, for example:

6. *they're building – what are they building?*

7. *they're breaking – what's breaking them?* (1993/2009, p. 48).

In example 6, the participant is most logically Actor from a transitive perspective, and in example 7, the participant is more logically Medium from an ergative perspective.

Ergativity is also studied extensively in other theories of linguistics, but the approach to analysis is quite different from SFL. For example, Dixon (1979, 1994) takes as criterial the syntactic elements of S (subject of an intransitive verb), A (agent of a transitive verb) and O (object of a transitive verb) and the pattern of syntactic or morphological marking on these three elements of the clause. In Dixon's model, languages are divided along the lines of whether they take overt marking to distinguish nominative-accusative relations in the grammar, where the S and A functions are paired and the O is overtly marked, or ergative-absolutive grammatical relations, where the S and O functions are paired and the A function is overtly marked in some way. Both Ahearn (2001) and Duranti (2004) cited above follow this model of transitivity/ergativity. Davidse (1992) and Lemmens (1998) make the point that Dixon's approach allows only for what Whorf (1956) calls "phenotypes", that is, only what is expressed overtly in the grammar, such as overt marking for nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive relations. It does not take into consideration the "cryptotypes", or what may be coded covertly in the grammar. Davidse (1992, p. 106) writes "the categories and models of grammatical semantics are realised by the more obvious phenotypical patterns as well as by a whole array of cryptotypical reactances". For example, she demonstrates how an analysis of material processes in English uncovers two distinct patterns: transitive processes that extend only to the right to the Goal and ergative processes that open to the left towards an instigator. Examples (6) and (7) above illustrate this point. Compare:

6a. *They're building. – They're building a house.* (transitive)

with

7a. *They're breaking. – You're breaking them.* (ergative)

Therefore, transitive and ergative material processes have different directionalities in the English clause. If we only look for overt marking, these patterns will be missed.

Similarly, if we only look for agency in the grammar, we miss other representations of agency through other grammatical or linguistic means. Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 23) makes this point by arguing for the need to look for other reactances in the grammar besides the grammatical role of Agent to identify agency in a sociological sense.

Transitivity analysis has long been a tool used in Critical Linguistics and CDA studies. For example, Trew (1979b) analysed transitivity structures in two different British newspapers reporting on the same event, a riot involving police and teenaged youths. The study uncovered differences in the representations of agency, with one newspaper representing the youths as agents and the other not representing human participants as agents. Trew argued that the discrepancies in the representation for each newspaper were a result of ideological differences. More recently, Saki (2016) used a transitivity analysis to analyse a speech of the former French president, Nicolas Sarkozy. The speech had been delivered in Dakar, and was widely criticised for its racist overtones amongst other things. The analysis showed how the speech construed Africa and Africans as ineffectual in that they did not act, but were acted upon. Caffarel-Cayron (2016) also used a transitivity analysis to investigate the language that Simone Beauvoir used in her existentialist philosophical writings to inspire her readers. She found that words to do with language and writing occurred often as Actors in material clauses, giving these meanings agency in the text. These (and other) studies show clearly the value of a transitivity analysis to investigate the exercise of agency, or lack of agency by actors, as they are represented in texts, and how writers might use transitivity to imbue language itself with power.

One point to consider in the analysis of agency through choices in transitivity is that, as Caffarel-Cayron (2016) found, non-human actors can occur as Agent in the clause. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between the categories of social actor and participant. Social actor is a sociological category. Social actors are human or institutional, taking part in social practices as agents or affected by actions or events. Participant is a grammatical category. In semantic terms, participants may be human, institutional, or non-human, including meanings or events. The point to keep in mind is that, in sociological terms, other non-human participants including meanings cannot exercise agency. Only human actors can exercise agency. But one way that human actors exercise agency – rhetorical agency – is by assigning different levels of agency

realised in the grammar not only to human actors but also to other grammatical actors including meanings. That is, meanings or semiosis, realised for example as meta-semiotic nouns (Martin, 2003) such as *explanations*, *reasons* or *ideas*, can be represented as impacting on human or institutional actors, influencing their subsequent action or reaction, for example, through causative constructions, verbal group complexes or clause complexes. The actor in a causative construction is subjected to some external force such as an event or some form of semiosis that makes the actor (an individual, a group or an institution) act in a certain way. This is a rhetorical strategy to position people, institutions and meanings in particular ways in the construction of an academic argument.

If we are to take account of the ways in which agency is construed in the texts – one that can provide a more nuanced account, particularly of the different roles ascribed to social actors in the clause, and the other that can provide a more general description of agency and external cause in the texts, both a transitive and an ergative analysis are necessary. Chapter 4 illustrates the analysis of transitivity and ergativity in Thai and some specific clause types that express causative relations. The next section returns to the concept of the cline of dynamism, briefly referred to above, which can be used to compare transitivity patterns across a number of texts.

3.8.2 Cline of dynamism

An area covered in much of the research on transitivity and agency in language is the scale or cline from animate to inanimate participants which affects the degree of transitivity in the clause. Hopper and Thompson's (1980) framework for investigating transitivity in language included parameters concerned, for example, with the effectiveness, intentionality and agency of participants. Dixon (1979) refers to the "potentiality of agency scale" (p. 85), which is a cline ranging from first person references to human, animate then inanimate nominal groups. According to Dixon, the move from those participants that would function as more controlling agents down to those with less controlling agency or lack of agency can impact on the way that a language overtly marks the S, A and O functions of the clause. That is, a participant that is less likely to act as agent (for example an animal) would be more likely to be overtly marked if functioning as agent in the clause. DeLancey (1984) also identifies a scale of directness in causation, starting with a volitional agent, which directly affects events at

one end of the continuum, and causes that enable an effect at the other end. He argues that “[i]t is possible to interpret agentivity entirely in terms of such a scale” (pp. 206-207). In each of these, transitivity or agency is conceived of in terms of a scale or cline from higher to lower degrees of agency.

From an SFL perspective, Hasan (1985) introduces the concept of the “cline of dynamism” as an analytical tool that can be used to judge the degree of dynamism of various actors in the clause. Hasan (1985, p. 45) defines dynamism and the importance of transitivity in this cline as follows:

If we define effectuality – or dynamism – as **the quality of being able to affect the world around us, and of bringing change into the surrounding environment**, the semantic value of the various –er roles must be seen as distinct. This distinction correlates with two factors: (1) the nature of the Process configuration into which the –er role enters.... and (2) the nature of the carriers of the roles, other than the –er role under focus. (my emphasis)

This definition, particularly the text in bold, incorporates elements that are very close to those features of agency discussed earlier in this chapter. Hasan’s cline of dynamism takes account of the process types and participant roles in a text in order to assess which participants are more dynamic and which are more passive. This process is not so difficult if the analysis is restricted to material clauses because the roles of actor and affected are more easily discerned. Hasan uses the distinction between –er and –ed roles to extend patterns of dynamism to all process types (p. 37). Thus –er roles include Actor, Behavior, Sensor, Sayer and Carrier whereas –ed roles include roles such as Goal, Range, and Recipient. These roles can be plotted along the cline, ranging from dynamic at one end to passive at the other. Hasan also takes account of whether a participant is human or not. For example, an Actor in a material clause with human (or animate) Goal will have more dynamism than an Actor in a material clause with an inanimate Goal (compare the examples above *The military toppled the government* and *The people obeyed the law*). This notion of a cline and degrees of dynamism is also taken up by Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 173) in terms of “involvement”. They argue that:

The “degree of involvement”, in the sense of how deeply some element is involved in actualising the process that is construed by the figure, can thus be represented as a cline: the difference appears not only between participants and circumstances as a whole, but also within each of these primary categories, so that there is a continuum from one to the other along this scale.

It appears here that Halliday and Matthiessen are referring to the same notion of degrees of dynamism (involvement) in the process. Human actors are of course a key element of agency as understood in this thesis, but as we will see in the coming chapters, in academic writing, representations of the real world are written in a very impersonal and objective style, and social actors may be replaced by abstract concepts that are ascribed grammatical agency in that they impact on another participant or cause another participant to act.

Another point of interest to note is the degree of force that Hasan ascribes to participants in different types of causatives. For example, to explain the difference between the sentences *he sent me to London* and *he made me go to London* Hasan states, “it is as if just because causation has been spelt out, so the fact of domination is also spelt out” (p. 48). The second clause is an example of the analytical causative that is used quite frequently in the Thai texts. This clause type will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4. However, it is worth mentioning briefly here because in the Thai texts, it is not only the domination of human participants that is involved but also the influence of ideas and ideologies on groups of people (populations, social groups, readers in the text). According to Hasan, an animate Actor will have more impact acting on an animate Goal, than, for example, an animate Actor in a ranged/ middle clause. The Actor in a ranged or middle clause will in turn have more impact than a Goal, which is affected rather than effective and placed at the passive end of the cline. Therefore, in operationalising Hasan’s cline of dynamism, it will be necessary to take into account the type of participants as well as the grammatical roles that they realise.

According to Thompson (2008, p. 16), the cline of dynamism can be used in studies in CDA to identify unequal power relations as they are instantiated in texts. For example, Hasan’s cline of dynamism was the focus of analysis in a recent study by

Garcia-Marrugo (2013) on the reporting of violence in the Colombian press. Garcia-Marrugo found that guerrillas were more likely to be construed as dynamic, in a negative sense, than the paramilitaries, whose responsibility in the conflict was obscured. In the current study, the cline of dynamism will allow for a comparison across the three texts to see how each writer construes the exercise of agency of the various social actors involved in the 2006 coup in Thailand. By comparing the representations according to where they occur on the cline, it may be possible to make some predictions about the values that each writer promotes and the interests that they serve. Chapter 4 will operationalize the cline of dynamism, and explain the adaptations to Hasan's cline that will be necessary for this study.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed a range of concepts that may inform the analysis of two dimensions of agency as exercised in and through language: the rhetorical agency of three Thai political scientists caught up in the events of the 2006 coup and the representation of agency in their academic articles. A number of key points have emerged from the review of the literature in this chapter. First, it is important to investigate these two dimensions of agency in discourse to understand something about the social practices of social actors and their production of discourse in difficult and fraught contexts, and how texts come to mean what they do. Rhetorical and represented agency can be explored using the tools of systemic functional linguistics and van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory.

Second, when social actors use discourse they exercise their agency to realise their aims. This can be investigated in the texts through genre analysis. Genre was defined as a "staged, goal oriented social process", following Martin, that coordinates the register variables of field, tenor and mode, realised metafunctionally as fairly consistent patterns of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. Textual meanings can be explored through periodicity. An analysis of periodicity in terms of patterns of Theme and New, hyperTheme and hyperNew and macroTheme and macroNew can elucidate the pattern of organisation of the texts. These patterns of Theme and New may be managed through the use of grammatical metaphor to package meaning that look forward and back over stretches of the texts. In addition, intertextual relations in the

texts can be analysed through the system of ENGAGEMENT which indicates how the writers align with other texts, providing clues about the stance of the writers themselves.

Third, the concept of interdiscursivity is highly relevant to the analysis of rhetorical agency. The point was made that it is necessary to understand texts as interdiscursive as rhetors may not deploy single, clearly defined genres, but instead may combine social practices to achieve particular goals. Interdiscursivity was defined as the appropriation of genres and discourses, and this appropriation is an aspect of the social practices of these academics. It was argued that we need to view the texts as interdiscursive to account for the hybrid and fluid nature of texts and their use as elements of social practice. It was also argued that genre and genre mixing need to be understood as a form of rhetorical action.

Fourth, the analysis of represented agency can be achieved by first identifying social actors as they are represented in the texts. To this end, van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory provides a useful framework to analyse the exclusion and inclusion of social actors through various linguistic means. The identification of grammatical metaphor is useful in this respect to highlight how social actors and their agency are suppressed or obscured, for example through nominalisation. Agency in the clause can also be determined through an analysis of transitivity and ergativity. These two complementary perspectives are concerned with who does what to whom and in what circumstances. The identification of patterns of processes and participant roles, in terms of whether the process extends from one participant to another participant (transitivity) or whether the process is actualised through a Medium which may or may not be impacted by an external causer (ergative), can provide insights into the construal of agency in the texts. Further to this, the degree of agency or dynamism can be compared across texts by plotting the realisations of participant roles on a cline of dynamism. This can provide insights into the worldviews of the writers and the values they promote. The use of transitivity and dynamism, along with the other theoretical concepts reviewed in this chapter for the analysis of the three Thai texts, will be detailed in Chapter 4, the methodology chapter.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology for this study. First, it describes the data sets used in this study, including the process of data collection and transcription. Second, it provides the steps undertaken to analyse the construal of agency in the three texts of this study.

4.2 Data sets

The study drew on three sets of data: (1) three Thai political science texts on the topic of the 2006 Thai coup; (2) interviews with the three writers of the texts as well as with seven other Thai academics and with two editors of the Thai journal *Faa Diaw Kan (Same Sky)*; (3) other published analyses of the Thai historical, political and discursive context. These three data sets established a “triangulatory approach”, specifically data triangulation that drew on three or more data sources to study agency (Hastings, 2012). These methods included textual data, ethnographic data and socio-historical data that could inform the broader, non-linguistic contextual framework of the study, a necessary aspect of CDA work (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 93). Adopting a triangulatory approach can enhance the credibility of a research project and add validity to the project by not limiting the research to only one source of data (Burns, 1997). The texts constituted the main source of data and were analysed from different perspectives (to be discussed below). The interviews provided ethnographic material that supported and complemented the interpretations about the exercise of agency by the three rhetors and provided clues to their motivations for writing the texts. The socio-historical data provided key information about the context in which the three writers were working and the prevailing discourses that were circulating and that were drawn on in the creation of their texts.

4.2.1 Text selection

Three texts were selected for analysis. At the very beginning of this research project, the aim was to study the rhetorical structure of the Thai research article. Therefore, before a planned trip to Thailand, a number of Thai friends and colleagues in

Thailand and Australia were contacted to ask whether they would consent to an interview on their academic writing practices, or whether they could suggest any particularly influential or well-written academic articles in Thai. One of these contacts emailed two younger academics working at Chulalongkorn University. One of these academics, Dr Naruemon Thabchumpon, replied with suggestions of a number of academic articles and well-known writers. One of these articles was the text by Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand, “Aristotle and the 19 September coup”, originally presented as a keynote speech to the 7th Annual Meeting of Political Science and Administration at Ramkhamhaeng University, Bangkok, on 29 November, 2006. It was subsequently published in a special coup edition of the political science journal *Faa Diaw Kan (Same Sky)* (2007). Ajarn Naruemon named this article as being one that she considered to be influential in Thai political science. As this article was both accessible and highly recommended, it was chosen as the first text to analyse.

The second academic from Chulalongkorn University, Associate Professor Pitch Pongsawat, replied, consenting to be interviewed about his academic writing in Thai. Pitch had an article published in the same issue of *Faa Diaw Kan* as Chaiwat, “The coup of 19 September 2549¹⁰ turned citizens into *phrai*”, so this was the second text chosen for the study. *Faa Diaw Kan* is an independent, scholarly journal, not affiliated with any university. The editors of this journal stated in an interview that the journal was initially established to cater for activists in the university sector who wanted to publish in a non-mainstream publication where they would be able to debate social issues, free from the constraints imposed by university published journals. The readers of *Faa Diaw Kan* at first comprised mainly activists and NGOs, but the popularity of the journal spread, and in 2009 at the time of the interview the journal attracted a much more widespread section of the Thai community including students, researchers, and business and professional people. The type of articles published in the journal varies, and includes research articles and opinion pieces (Interview, *Faa Diaw Kan* editors, 4/12/09).

As Chaiwat’s and Pitch’s texts were both argument texts on the 2006 coup, it was decided to find a third text also on the topic of the coup. Since the first two articles took a stance against the legitimacy of the coup, it was hoped that the third text would

¹⁰ 2549 is the Buddhist year, equivalent to 2006 CE.

take a position in support of the coup. It was Pitch who suggested the article by Professor Khien Theeravit, “The right to stage the coup”, which Pitch had referenced in his own text. Khien’s text was published on the *Thai World* website by the Institute of Asian Studies at the prestigious Chulalongkorn University. The managers of the site did not respond to emails requesting an interview, but the website stated that its aim was to promote an understanding of Thailand for foreigners, and promote a better understanding of international affairs for Thai people. Khien is on the board of advisors of this site, and many of his articles are published on this site (Thai World Affairs Centre, 2012). Khien’s text completed the corpus for the textual analysis.

An initial analysis of transitivity choices in Pitch’s and Khien’s texts suggested that an investigation of agency in the texts would prove a fruitful form of analysis, changing the focus of the study to how agency might be represented in the texts. Chaiwat later advanced the idea of his own exercise of agency by engaging with his mentor in his text. He commented that the purpose of his text was that he was “addressing Ajarn Sombat – so there is an agency in that...” (Interview, 12/1/12). Later, in a follow up email (21/5/12), Chaiwat elaborated on this idea of a rhetorical agency:

There have been many who criticised me for what I said or wrote about the 2006 coup. But I chose to respond only to A. Sombat who was my political philosophy teacher. I was intellectually brought up in that school. He is a Straussian and I was later trained in political philosophy by Eric Voegelin's student. By choosing to respond to his critique I am reaffirming my sense of self as a student of political philosophy, also his student – but that did not stop me from responding to him, also my "agency" does not cease there but continue to grow with my education – hence Voegelin's influence. As you can see – the presence of agency emerges not only in relation to the Sombat-Chaiwat nexus, but also the Strauss-Voegelin exchange. ... Perhaps there are many agencies at work here.

It was this comment that the writers were exercising their own agency in producing their texts that led to the concept of rhetorical agency as developed in this thesis. This new perspective necessitated the focus on genre analysis.

As the data set is restricted to just three texts, patterns that are revealed in the analysis cannot be generalised across a large corpus of texts or to the linguistic system as a whole. In order to write a grammar description, it is necessary to view language from both perspectives: that of the instance and of the system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 29-30). Analyses at the text end of the cline of instantiation are as important as those at the system end of the cline. If the analysis of discourse is based on a larger corpus, then the focus on patterns of meaning that unfold within a single text can be lost because “[w]hat is unique about a specific text may be just what matters” (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 312). Moreover, the in-depth analysis that is required to reveal the different realisations of agency in the texts needs to be done manually and is time consuming. Therefore, a larger corpus would have been unrealistic for this project.

4.2.1.1 Transliteration of Thai texts

The three Thai texts were transliterated from the Thai script into phonetic script following the phonetic alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (IPA) (1949).¹¹ The process of transliteration here can be viewed as a representational process (Bucholtz, 2000) in that decisions only had to be made regarding how to represent the data in a form that could be read by non-Thai speakers. As the texts were written texts, decisions about interpretation – what to represent – did not need to be made. Initially, because of the length of the texts¹² and the detail required for a transitivity analysis, only selected portions of the Thai texts were transliterated into phonetic script and parsed into clauses for analysis. However, following the decision to include an analysis of genre to investigate rhetorical agency in the three texts, the complete texts were transliterated because this was necessary for tracking the unfolding argument through the texts. (See Appendix A – genre analysis – and Appendix B – transitivity analysis.)

As Pitch’s text was extremely long, the analysis was restricted to the introduction and the first section of the text because this could stand as a complete text in its own right as it included an introduction, a preview of the main points, a body and a conclusion. Pitch’s text consisted of 49 paragraphs and 408 clauses. Chaiwat’s text

¹¹ Thai has a system of five lexical tones: mid, low, high, rising and falling. They are indicated in phonetic script by the following diacritics: ` (low); ´ (high); ˘ (rising); ˆ (falling). The mid tone is unmarked, as noted in the IPA manual (1949, p. 18).

¹² Khiem’s text is approximately 3,590 words, Chaiwat’s text approximately 5,500 words, and the section selected from Pitch’s text approximately 5,180 words.

consisted of 37 paragraphs and 500 clauses. Khien's text consisted of 21 paragraphs and 389 clauses.

The phonetically transliterated data for the transitivity analysis was glossed in English, provided under the transliterated Thai data. Each paragraph was numbered and each clause within the paragraph was also numbered. To refer to a specific clause or a series of clauses in the thesis, the initial of the author, the paragraph number and clause number is provided. For example, P10.3 refers to clause number 3 in paragraph 10 from Pitch's text. The genre analysis was presented in a table format with the Thai transliteration in the left column and a literal English translation in the right column. The translations were made to ensure that those who do not understand Thai could follow the analysis and discussion. However, the actual analysis was based solely on the Thai texts. The translation in English was deliberately very literal to retain as many of the features and characteristics of the Thai language as possible. For example, prominent Themes from the Thai texts were retained in the translation, even though the English may sound awkward. Ellipsis in the Thai was indicated in both the Thai and the English translated text with Ø and the ellipsed word in brackets when it was possible to retrieve it from the context/co-text. As I am not a native speaker of Thai, but would rate my proficiency level as that of a "competent user" of Thai (IELTS, 2016), and to ensure correct interpretation of the Thai, three native Thai speakers assisted at various stages of the project with the translation and interpretation of the texts. All three of these Thai speakers were university trained and highly proficient in English. They were also familiar with Thai academic writing, and two of them were familiar with writing in political science.

4.2.2 Interviews

Thai academics, including the three authors, and editors of the journal *Faa Diaw Kan* were interviewed for the initial project into the rhetorical structure of the research article in Thai. Ethics approval was sought from and granted by the University of New England's Human Research Ethics Committee (See Appendix E).

While this interview data was not formally analysed in the same way as the written texts, the interviews should be seen as a form of ethnographic data that informed the interpretation and understanding of the writers as they engaged in the social

practices of academics. This adds an important dimension to the CDA methodological approach as it provides the analyst with knowledge about the social relationships, beliefs and values of the social actors (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 62). The writers in this study spoke, for example, about their reactions to the coup, the deep fault lines that divided the academic community, and hence their motivations for writing the texts. The interviews have been referred to in Chapter 2 to help illustrate how the work of these writers attempted to shape and was shaped by the Thai socio-political context. The interviews (and follow up email from Chaiwat) have also been drawn on in this chapter to illustrate how the project evolved into one on rhetorical agency. The interview data will also be drawn on where necessary to illustrate points in the analytical chapters to follow.

Both Chaiwat and Pitch were interviewed twice in person, first in 2009 and then again in 2012. The interviews were conducted in English and audio-recorded. The first set of interviews adopted a semi-structured interview protocol on the following broad topics:

- Academic language background and publication history
- Institutional requirements/constraints regarding publishing of academic research
- Discourse community; research projects; mentoring; editing
- Genre; disciplinary differences; text organisation
- Rhetoric; stating the thesis; methods of citation; linguistic features

A list of questions were prepared, but these were used as a guide rather than a strict schedule to permit greater flexibility for the interviewees to discuss topics of greater significance to their own practices (Burns, 1997, p. 330). The editors of *Faa Diaw Kan* were also interviewed in this round. Interview topics for the editors focused on institutional requirements/constraints, their readership, editorial role and the types of articles that their journal accepted rather than their own writing practices. The interview with the editors was conducted in Thai. The interview schedule can be viewed in Appendix F. The follow up interviews with Chaiwat and Pitch in 2012 were again semi-structured and conducted in English. By this stage, a preliminary transitivity analysis had been conducted. Questions therefore focused specifically on their texts, including particular linguistic choices that they made and clarification of meanings for sections that I was unsure of.

The transcription of Chaiwat’s and Pitch’s interviews needed to be considered as both an interpretative process and a representational process (Bucholtz, 2000). That is, at the interpretative level, we need to consider what is transcribed (the content that is heard in the recording and included in the transcription) and how this content is represented in the transcript (p. 1440). The transcriptions included just the comments that were relevant to their roles as academics and public intellectuals and their writing practices and experiences. The transcriptions followed their speech as closely as possible, including any grammatical errors. However, grammatical errors were fixed for quotes used in the thesis. As the interview data was not analysed in and of itself, there was no need to include features of intonation or other phonetic features of the spoken language in the transcription. The interview with the editors was in Thai and was not fully transcribed. Only salient points were translated that were useful for placing the texts of Chaiwat and Pitch into their editorial context. The basic transcription convention was adapted from Egging and Slade (1997, p. 5), presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4-1 Transcription conventions

Symbol	Meaning
. (full stop)	Completion, certainty
, (comma)	Non-completion of sentence
! (exclamation mark)	Surprised intonation
? (question mark)	Question intonation
WORDS IN CAPITALS	Emphatic stress
() (empty parentheses)	Words are unclear, cannot be transcribed
...	Pause in speech, hesitations
(laugh)	Non-verbal information
- (dash)	False start or rewording
[words in square brackets]	Researcher’s edited text to finesse the grammar if necessary

Khien was interviewed only in 2012. Two short interviews were conducted in Thai by phone. As I was unable to meet Khien in person, the aims of the project were described to him on the phone and consent to use his words could only be obtained verbally. Therefore, the interviews were not recorded and instead notes were taken. The interview with Khien was not as successful as those with Chaiwat and Pitch because Khien did not appear to be as willing to speak in detail about his writing. The phone interviews attempted to cover some of the topics that were covered with Pitch and

Chaiwat in the first interview, as well as more specific questions about his article “The right to stage the coup”. However, Khien did not remember that article specifically, but he was able to provide some general comments about his writing as well as his thoughts about the coup. As the *Faa Diaw Kan* editors had been interviewed in 2009, the editors of the Thai World website were contacted. However, they did not reply to the emails that were sent.

4.2.3 Other socio-historical data

The Discourse Historical Approach advises the analyst to draw on a range of evidence and background information to support the analysis and interpretation of discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). To this end, secondary sources of social, political and historical analysis were used to complement the non-linguistic aspect of the study. First, the study drew on published articles about the Thai academics to gain further insights about the three authors (Dorairajoo, Kersten, & Scupin, 2008-9; Manomaivibool, 2015; Satha-Anand, 2008-9; Sriyaranya, 2000). Second, the study drew on some of the extensive recent literature available on Thai history and politics. This was in order to provide a background analysis of the political situation in Thailand leading up to the 2006 coup and to identify the various discourses that became ‘sites of conflict’ during this period (Kress, 1985, p. 32). These sources were used in Chapter 2 to situate the agency of the three rhetors in relation to the broader social, political and discursive context of which they were a part and in which they intervened. In this way, these data sources contribute in a small way to the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, a necessary aspect of the methodological approach of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). While the study cannot be considered interdisciplinary in a real sense, it adopts a “centralist model” of interdisciplinarity (van Leeuwen, 2005b) in the way that it draws on the work of other disciplines to provide the background context.

4.3 Methods and procedures for data analysis

To address the research questions, a range of analytical tools is required. It is useful at this point to reproduce an edited version of Table 3.1 here as Table 4.2 to review how the tools from SFL and van Leeuwen’s socio-semantic network connect with the different stages of analysis. Each of these analytical tools will be explained in the following sections.

Table 4-2 Analytical dimensions for investigating agency in discourse

Dimension	Analytical tools
1 st dimension – discourse as a part of social practice; “rhetorical agency”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genre: as a “staged, goal oriented social process” • Periodicity: the shaping/ staging of genre • Interdiscursivity: the appropriation and combination of genres and discourses • Intertextuality: through engagement choices
2 nd dimension – discourse as representation; “represented agency”	Realised at the level of the clause or clause complex through experiential meanings (e.g., transitivity, cline of dynamism, representation of social actors)

4.3.1 Identifying generic structure and interdiscursivity

The three texts comprise a range of genres. To identify the genres and map the unfolding stages, each transliterated text was first parsed clause by clause for annotation. The clauses were indented as necessary to indicate rankshifted clauses. Basic conventions were adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. x).¹³ These are presented in table 4.3.

Table 4-3 Conventions for annotating data

Annotation symbol	Unit of grammar
///	Clause complex boundary
//	Clause boundary
[[[]]]	Embedded clause complex
[[]]	Embedded clause
alpha clause //	
beta clause///	Hypotactic rankshifted clause in clause complex

The process types were represented in the colours that they appear on the cover of Halliday’s second edition of *An introduction to functional grammar* (1994b) as follows:

¹³ The conventions do not strictly follow Halliday and Matthiessen because I misread the model text that I followed when analysing the data and so used the forward slash to indicate clause boundaries rather than the upright slash.

Process types:

Material

Mental

Relational

Verbal

Behavioural

Existential

The texts were then analysed to determine whether they could be classified as one particular genre or another by initially taking a broad view of the content and the pattern of argumentation, and by considering the rhetorical purpose of the authors as stated in their interviews as well as gleaned from the argument conveyed in the texts. The systems of genres and genre families outlined in sources such as Coffin (2006a), Humphrey et al. (2012) and Martin and Rose (2008) guided this process of identification. This is because these sources offer detailed and comprehensive descriptions of different genres and their schematic structures. Coffin (2006a), for example, has mapped a number of argument genres that she identified in school history assignments. Such detailed and differentiated descriptions of genres were not available in the literature on genres of argumentation in Thai. However, it became clear quite quickly that the analysis needed to go beyond just an analysis of single, elemental genres. What emerged was that these texts comprised a combination of genres and stages from a variety of different genres that reflect the very dynamic and creative nature of the interventions by each of these rhetors. Nevertheless, in order to arrive at this point, it was necessary to first identify the elemental genres before analysing how exactly these different combinations of genres were deployed. The argument genres that proved to be relevant for this thesis are briefly introduced below. The schematic structures were arrived at drawing on the three sources cited above (Coffin, 2006a; Humphrey et al., 2012; Martin & Rose, 2008) and comparing their suggested schematic structures with the actual staging in the texts of this study.

Argument genres

Analytical exposition: to put forward a particular argument to persuade an audience to think in a certain way. To this end, the text moves through the following stages (Coffin, 2006a, p. 92). Stages appearing in brackets are optional.

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(Background) ^ Thesis ^ Arguments ^ (Counter-arguments) ^ (Concession) ^
Reinforcement of thesis

Hortatory exposition: to put forward an argument to persuade an audience to act in a particular way. The schematic structure of the hortatory exposition has been identified in different ways. For example, Humphrey et al. (2012, p. 192) propose the following structure:

Appeal ^ Arguments (suggested actions) ^ Reinforcement of appeal

Coffin (Coffin, 2004, p. 236) proposes the following schematic structure of the hortatory exposition:

Thesis ^ (Recommendation) ^ Arguments ^ (Counter-arguments) ^
(Reinforcement of thesis) ^ Recommendation

For the purposes of this thesis, it was helpful to combine the two proposed structures to account for the data. That is, it was useful to include both the Appeal stage and the Recommendation stage in this genre. The appeal captured the sense that the rhetor is making a request to be heeded on a topic. The recommendation is not so much a request but a suggestion or proposal for a course of action. Therefore, the schematic structure applied to the analysis of the texts was as follows:

Appeal ^ Arguments ^ Recommendation ^ (Reinforcement of appeal)

Challenge: to refute an established position. The following schematic structure was proposed (Coffin, 2006a):

(Background) ^ Position challenged ^ Rebuttal argument ^ Anti-thesis

Discussion: to argue an issue that involves two or more positions with the aim to make a judgement or conclusion supporting one position over the others (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 121). The staging of a discussion genre applied to the genre analysis was as follows:

(Background) ^ Issue ^ Arguments/Sides ^ Position/Resolution

There are two more genres that need to be introduced here. These are examples of what Martin and Rose (2008) group together as “story genres”: the exemplum and the critical response.

Exemplum: to interpret an event while also making a moral judgement about some aspect of the story such as the behaviour of one of the characters (Martin & Rose, 2007, 2008). The schematic structure is as follows:

Orientation ^ Incident ^ Interpretation

Critical response: to challenge the message of a text. The schematic structure of this genre is:

Evaluation ^ Deconstruction ^ Challenge

The analysis of genre staging is illustrated in a table as follows. Genre stages were labelled in the left-hand column and the linguistic features that assisted in determining whether a stretch of text comprised a stage were listed in the right-hand column. Each paragraph was assigned to one row in the table, though it must be noted that the stage boundaries did not always correspond to paragraph boundaries. Table 4.4 provides an example of this analysis with a truncated version of the beginning of Khien’s text:

Table 4-4 Genre staging in Khien's text

Genre stage	Thai text	English translation	Linguistic features
Title/Thesis	<i>Sit nay kaantham rátthaprahāan</i>	<i>The right to stage the coup</i>	Nominal group
Background	<i>rátthaprahāan [[thiī kàət khún nay prathêet thay muā wan thiī 19 kanyaayon 2006]] mécæ ø ca prasòp khwaam sām̀rèt// dooy mí? dāy sūun sīa lúat nuā ləəy kō taam// tə̀cæ khwaamsàpsǒn dāan khwaamkhít khwaamkhāawcay kiaw káp panháa [[thiī kàət khún nay mùu khon thay]] nán kō yaŋ mii yùu máy nǒy/// ...</i>	<i>The coup [[that occurred in Thailand on 19 September 2006]] even though (it) met success// by not losing flesh and blood at all// but the confusion of opinions and understanding about the problem [[that occurred in the group of Thai]], there is not a little//</i>	Absolute Theme; Material clauses predominate; Lexis: coup, political groups
Argument 1	<i>nay khanà? thiī fāay [[thiī hěn chǒp]] lé? fāay [[tǒtāan]] kaan tham rátthaprahāan khǒŋ thay khráŋ ní yaŋ khon tóothiǎŋ kan yùu dooy māy mii khǒŋ yùtì?// tə̀cæ khāaphacāw ʔeəŋ mii khǒŋ sarùp léæw///</i>	<i>While the side [[that preferred]] and the side [[that protested]] the staging of this Thai coup are still arguing with there being no end// but I myself have a conclusion...</i>	Concession followed by claim; Personal reference

Interdiscursivity was a key aspect of the agency of the writers. They shaped their arguments along lines that were culturally and semiotically available and deployed them in agentive ways. To identify interdiscursivity in the texts, it was necessary to begin with the elemental genres as outlined above. When a genre was identified, taking note of the overall purpose and the stages that the text moved through to arrive at the end point, points of difference between the “ideal” generic structure and characteristic linguistic features of stages in, for example, an analytical exposition and what actually appeared in the texts were noted. This comparison of the “ideal” forms and the actual forms helped to reveal stages in the texts where one genre was expanded by, blended into or embedded within another genre. For example, a series of exempla were

embedded in a challenge stage in Chaiwat's text. A shortened version is reproduced below to provide a sense of how these were identified as embedded.

Table 4-5 Embedded exempla in Chaiwat's text

Genre stage	Thai text	English translation	Linguistic features
33. Position challenged 3 [[Exemplum]] Orientation...	<p><i>aacaan sōmbàt còp còtmāy khǒṅ thân dūay nānsuǐ khǒṅ William Styron ruāṅ Sophie's Choice//</i></p> <p><i>sūṅ pen ruāṅ raaw khǒṅ sophie, nákthót chaaw Jew nay khāy kàk kan chalāy khǒṅ Nazi.//...</i></p> <p><i>ʔaacaan tāy kham thām thǔṅ khāaphacāw //</i></p> <p><i>wā thā khāaphacāw pen sophie,//</i></p> <p><i>khāaphacāw ca tham yàayray //...</i></p>	<p><i>Ajarn Sombat concluded his letter with the book of William Styron, Sophie's Choice</i></p> <p><i>which is a story about Sophie, a Jewish prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp...</i></p> <p><i>Ajarn posed the question to me if I were Sophie//</i></p> <p><i>what would I do?//...</i></p>	<p>Lexis: people named, self-reference; Nazi topic;</p> <p>Sombat/Ajarn as Theme</p> <p>Interrogative Mood; condition: concessive</p>
34. Rebuttal [[Exemplum]] Orientation Incident Interpretation	<p><i>khāaphacāw mǎy mī kham nēʔnam hāy sophie //</i></p> <p><i>léʔ mǎy chuá dūay //</i></p> <p><i>wā ca mī khay //</i></p> <p><i>hāy kham nēʔnam "chǎṅ pàtibàt" kǎe thǎ dāy.//...</i></p> <p><i>khāaphacāw mī ruāṅ lāw càak khāy kàk kan nazi lǎy ruāṅ //</i></p> <p><i>maa lāw hāy ʔaacaan sōmbàt faṅ, chēn ruāṅ raaw khǒṅ Filip Muller.//</i></p> <p><i>chaay phūu nī yūit ʔòk káaw tháaw ca dǎn khāw pay nay hōṅ gas.//...</i></p> <p><i>ruāṅ raaw lāw nī tham hāy hēn dāy //</i></p> <p><i>wā Ø pen pay dāy //</i></p> <p><i>thī ca mǎy yǒm camnon tǎo khwaam chūa ráay mǎe krathāy nay khāy kàk kan nazi //</i></p> <p><i>léʔ khwaampen pay dāy nay kaan luák bon thǎan thaay sīlatham damron yūu mǎe nay sathāanakaan [[thī hōtrāy luá pramaan]]//</i></p>	<p><i>I don't have any suggestion for Sophie// and I don't believe// that there is anyone// who can give a "practical" suggestion to her//...</i></p> <p><i>I have many stories from Nazi concentration camps // to come and tell Ajarn Sombat for example, the story of Filip Muller//</i></p> <p><i>This man readily and fiercely walked into the gas chamber//...</i></p> <p><i>These stories let (us) see//</i></p> <p><i>that (it) is possible// to not surrender to evil even in a Nazi concentration camp//</i></p> <p><i>and the possibility of fundamental moral choices exists even in circumstances [[that are extremely brutal]]//</i></p>	<p>I as Theme; people named; Nazi topic</p> <p>Evaluative lexis</p>

The genres and their schematic structures outlined above provided a useful starting point for the analysis of the three texts in this study. However, the stages for these genres have emerged from research on English texts. While the modelling of genres in English has provided great detail regarding metafunctional features to identify stages and movement to a new stage that could be applied to the analysis of the Thai texts, the texts of this study did not always “conform” to the existing descriptions. There may be several reasons for this. It may be because they are Thai texts, and not English texts, and there are features of the Thai that have yet to be accounted for by research. Pitch, however, raised in his interview the following point about the hybrid nature of Thai academic texts: “A lot of academic[s] in Thailand [are] educated abroad, so the way they got their idea[s] shape[s] their way of thinking. It’s not completely super indigenous Thai. They mix up a lot” (Pitch interview, 20/11/09). Also, the genres are based on ideal models for texts valued in schools, not on “real-life” academic texts produced in professional contexts. It is important, then, to realise that Thai academic writing is highly influenced by non-Thai academic genres. But there are also differences in the way that these genres are structured. For example, a delayed statement of purpose seems to be a characteristic of some argument genres in Thai. In an interview with another Thai academic, this point was raised:¹⁴

Because I think we- usually Thai people when we speak or when we write we try to make it indirect. It’s like- you know we will not say we think that, we do that, we want to do that, we have the desire or- you know, but we try to have something done to us and we are victim (laughs) of the consequence of the context or of other people’s actions. Maybe it’s the worldview, Thai worldview and it shows in the writing too I think. (Prajak interview, 26/11/09)

This “inductive” style of writing has been noted, for example by Hinds (1990), but this has not yet been confirmed by comprehensive, empirical data. Alternatively, the “non-conformity” may be because the boundaries between genres, particularly those that have

¹⁴ The initial project was to investigate academic writing in Thai and the practices of Thai academics. To this end, interviews were conducted with a number of different Thai academics, not just the writers of the texts. It was not until after the first round of interviews that the focus of the study became an investigation of agency. However, some of the comments from the other academics, such as this one from Prajak and the editors of *Faa Diaw Kan* have informed this study and so are worthy of inclusion.

been classified in English as belonging to a particular family of genres (e.g. history genres, story genres, reports and explanations as discussed in Martin and Rose (2008) and Coffin (2006a; 2006b)), are “fuzzy” and so the staging sometimes seems to slip from one genre and into another. For example, what starts as a challenge genre, with *Position challenged ^ Rebuttal ^ Anti-thesis*, may morph into a discussion genre, presenting the two sides of an argument. Or a challenge to the words or ideas of another may embed an exemplum to illustrate a point. These are rhetorical strategies to achieve a particular purpose, where the texts are moulded to create a certain rhetorical effect. The identification of these acts of creativity through the combining of different genres was a way into documenting how interdiscursivity worked in the texts. That is, the analysis of genre staging reveals the interdiscursive nature of the texts, and it is the interdiscursivity and creative shaping of their arguments that point to the expression of agency of the three rhetors.

An analysis of genre staging is a crucial way to investigate how writers exercise their agency. As discussed in Chapter 3, the deployment of genre is fundamentally a rhetorical act to realise a particular communicative goal. While genre stages are relatively stable in form, there is room for creativity, and this creativity is an expression of the agency of the writers. In genres of argumentation, a key resource that the writer draws on is periodicity. As discussed in Chapter 3, periodicity helps organise the text into stages, and in the process, direct the attention of the audience to what is salient through the strategic use of Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme to predict what is coming in the text, and through New, hyperNew and macroNew to accumulate points. The following section describes the key features of periodicity in Thai and the process of identifying Theme and New in the three texts.

4.3.2 Identifying periodicity

The analysis of periodicity in the texts began with an analysis of Theme. The analysis of Theme was performed manually, clause by clause along with the transitivity analysis (explained below). Theme in English occurs initially in the clause and may be conflated with the grammatical subject of the clause, or may be realised by a marked Theme, for example, by a prepositional phrase or an adverbial group (Halliday, 1994b, p. 38). In Thai at clause level, Theme is also realised in initial position. Multiple

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Themes can occur, with the sequence in the clause realised as follows (Patpong, 2006, p. 182):

(textual) ^ (interpersonal) ^ topical ^ (textual)

Theme in Thai can therefore organise and signal logical connections through textual Themes, indicate evaluative stance through interpersonal Themes and focus on participants in the text through topical Themes. Marked topical Themes introduce new episodes in discourse that serve to move the text forward. For example, the use of a circumstance of time can be used to signal a chronological sequence of events (Pattama, 2006, p. 226) or to “scaffold discontinuity” (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 179).

The analysis of Theme in this study assisted with the analysis of genre stages. For example, a distinct stage may be characterised by a recurring topical Theme. A move to a new stage may be characterised by a marked Theme. That is, in cases where the first ideational element of the clause is not the Subject of the clause, but another participant role or a circumstantial element, there is a “peak of textual prominence” (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 189), realised as a marked Theme. Marked Themes are deployed as signals in a text, either of movement from one stage or phase to another or to frame a key point that is crucial to an argument. A marked Theme in Thai can occur when a non-Subject participant or Circumstance occurs in the position of Theme, or it can occur as an absolute Theme. An absolute Theme is an element that plays no role in the transitivity structure of the clause, but serves a purely textual function, providing the topic or subject matter of the ensuing text (Patpong, 2006, p. 224), a textual “subject matter” (p. 233). The absolute Theme is often picked up in the following clause, for example by a pronoun reference, or it may be ellipsed. In the sentence

As for the Thaksin government, it was ousted in a coup d'état.

the Thaksin government is absolute Theme. In Thai, the absolute Theme may be marked by a number of prepositions, such as *sàan* or *sǎmràp* – *as for* and may be followed by a thematic particle such as *nán*, as in

sàan rátthabaan Thaksin nán.... – As for the Thaksin government...

Absolute Theme also occurred with no overt marking in the Thai data. The use of absolute Theme allows the rhetor to change, re-specify or foreground a particular participant in the unfolding discourse (Patpong, 2006, p. 245). Figure 4.1 sets out the system of THEME MATTER, following Patpong (2006):

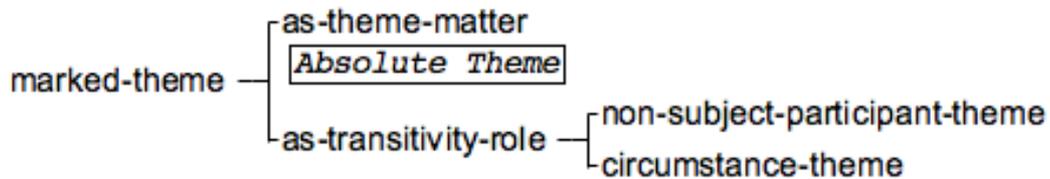


Figure 4-1 System of THEME MATTER (after, Patpong, 2006, pp. 212, 225)

Two other textual resources were also identified in the texts that assisted with the identification of rhetorical moves in the genre stages: thematic equatives and predicated Themes. A thematic equative is a textual resource whereby the Theme is identified or equated directly with the Rheme in an identifying clause. Thematic equatives introduce a semantic notion of exclusiveness into the meaning in the clause; the Theme is “this and this alone” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 95). In the unmarked form, a nominalisation functions as Theme. A marked form also can occur in which the nominalisation occurs as Rheme (p. 95). The following is an example of an unmarked thematic equative: *thî kàaw khũũ – what is relevant is ...* A predicated Theme is another grammatical resource that also carries with it a semantic feature of exclusiveness, as in \emptyset (*khũũ*) *kham thăam nî ?eey// thî... – (It is) this very question that...* A predicated Theme is highly marked as it maps New onto the Theme, thus foregrounding the information (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 122). These are key thematic resources that help to highlight staging and track the unfolding argument in the texts.

New information in spoken Thai is more difficult to determine. In the unmarked form it tends to occur towards the end of the clause, as in English (Patpong, 2006). In English New information is marked by tonic prominence in the intonation pattern of the clause. Therefore, it is more easily distinguished in speech but may be difficult to identify in writing (Martin, 1992, p. 452). However, to identify where New occurs in the written mode, we need to take the cue from the spoken mode. In Thai speech, New may be signalled by a combination of pause, stress and intonation (Luksaneeyanawin, 1998).

Though Thai has both a system of lexical tone and intonation contours in speech, Luksaneeyanawin found that the two systems remain fairly distinct. In speech, the message is broken up into information units defined by phonological pauses. In the unmarked form the last content lexical item of this group will be prominently stressed, marking “end-focus” (p. 387). Thus, New information in the unmarked form in Thai can be said to fall on the last content lexical item of the clause. Luksaneeyanawin also noted that there are a number of methods by which speakers can signal “expressive” information. This can be interpreted to mean marked instances of New information which are assigned special salience in the clause. Luksaneeyanawin states “[w]hen expressive information is added to the information unit, there are many linguistic mechanisms that speakers use, for example, division of the syntactic structure by phonological pause, choice of lexical items, and placement of the phonological prominence or tonic” (1998, p. 389). While it is obvious that more work is needed in this area, following Luksaneeyanawin’s findings addressed above, this thesis will analyse New in the Thai data in the unmarked form as the final constituent carrying content meaning in the clause. New information may also be marked by the presence of grammatical or lexical features, which would not typically occur in that context, and the use of evaluative expressions (Fries, 1994).

The patterns of Theme and New occur at higher levels of the text as hyperTheme and hyperNew. In the analysis of genre stages, the hyperThemes and hyperNews were identified to track the unfolding argument in the text. These patterns also repeated at a higher level in the texts also, as macroTheme and macroNew. To identify these elements of the hierarchy of periodicity, it was necessary to look at introduction and conclusion paragraphs and also at titles and sub-titles in the texts. MacroThemes were more difficult to identify in the texts due to the delayed statement of thesis (Hinds, 1990).

The use of grammatical metaphor serves two purposes: it is a means to organise information but also, in some cases, a strategy to suppress social actors in the text. The analysis of Theme and New in conjunction with grammatical metaphor is a key resource in the unfolding of an argument and thus needs to be accounted for in this data in the analysis of Theme and New. One way that nominalised forms can be identified in Thai is through the use of the noun-forming morphemes *kaan-* and *khwaam-*. *kaan-* can be

added before a verb to form an action noun as in *kaan-pòkkrṵṵ* – governing from *pòkkrṵṵ* – govern. The morpheme can also be added before a verb plus noun group as in *kaan-tham rátthaprahăan* – the staging of the coup from *tham* – do and *rátthaprahăan* – coup. When *khwaam-* is added before a verb or adjective, it forms an abstract noun as in *khwaam-khithĕn* – opinion from *khít* – think and *hĕn* – see and *khwaam-chṵṵp-tham* – legitimacy from *chṵṵp-tham* – lawful. As with *kaan-*, it can also be added before a verb plus noun group as in *khwaam-khṵṵpkhun thahăan* – thanks to the military from *khṵṵpkhun* – thank and *thahăan* – military.

The discussion above looks at the macro-level of the texts – the unfolding of text through genre staging and through genres that are combined through relationships of expansion and embedded genres. There is another level that can be investigated to provide a more delicate understanding of the logogenesis of a text. This is the meso-level phasing of a text. The consistency of lexis and semology (that is the realisation of metafunctional meanings) in the texts has been used to identify some phases in selected sections of the texts. For example, in Chaiwat’s first challenge, a series of three Position challenged ^ Rebuttal sequences occur, marked by mental or verbal clauses such as *ṵaacaan sṵmbàt hĕn...* – *Ajarn Sombat thinks...*, *kranán, khâaphacâw kṵ hĕn...* – *nevertheless I think...* Rather than viewing these as new stages they have been coded as phases within the first challenge because of the consistency of lexis. Each of these phases refers to the *coup* and *democracy* and this lexis recurs throughout this stage.

4.3.3 Identifying Appraisal: Engagement

The analysis of engagement first arose out of the phasal analysis discussed in the previous section. The dialogic nature of the phasing in Chaiwat’s text needed to be accounted for in other ways than just the movement through phases and stages. The engagement framework offered the means to explain the phasing in terms of the expansion and contraction of the dialogic space. There were also sections in the two other texts, the purpose of which defied explanation until the notion of dialogic positioning was considered. For example, Khien’s first paragraph contains a multitude of competing voices. The Engagement framework facilitated an analysis of how these different voices were incorporated into his text, and which ones he sought to align the reader with or disassociate the reader from. The engagement analysis also provided explanations for statements that appeared to contradict Khien’s stance. For instance, a

clause in which the military is portrayed negatively did not seem to fit with the overall positioning of the military as a force for good in Khien’s text. The application of engagement helped with the analysis of these and other strategies of dialogic expansion and contraction in the three texts. The realisations as presented in the system network in English were applied to the Thai. For example, clues about the strategy were gleaned from the use of modals, negative polarity, concessional and adversative conjunctions. The analysis also revealed another aspect of the rhetorical agency of the three rhetors. The system network is presented below in Figure 4.2.

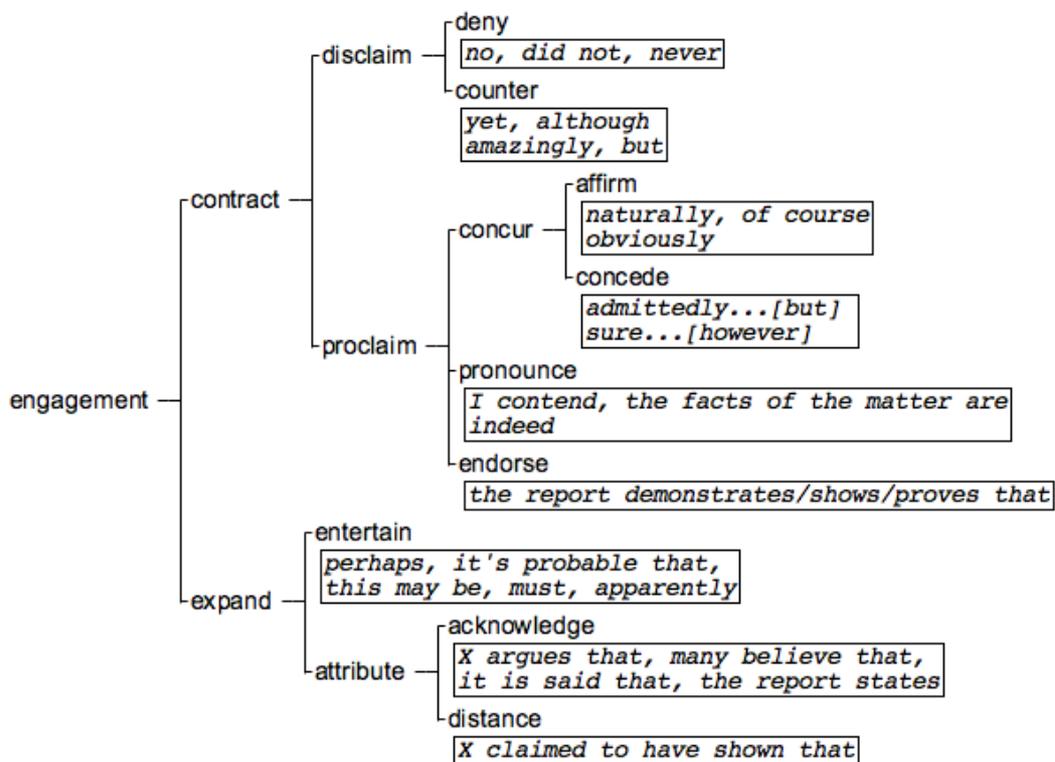


Figure 4-2 System of ENGAGEMENT (Martin & White, 2005, p. 134)

The analysis of engagement in the three texts was applied to the following paragraphs to illustrate how the writers managed other voices to support their positions: Khien – paragraphs 1-4 and 8-12; Chaiwat – paragraphs 15-17 and 34; Pitch – paragraphs 8-13, 16, 21 and 42. The analysis highlighted the following choices, including expansion and contraction.

Dialogic expansion:

Entertain: the author presents a position as one of a range of possible positions, invoking alternative positions. Entertain is signalled by the use of modals of probability or modal attributes such as *duu muǎn wâa – it seems that....*

Attribute: acknowledge: the author acknowledges alternative positions by explicitly referencing other sources, but does not indicate own position. This choice can be signalled by the use of reporting verbs as in *nay sǎay taa ʔiik camnuan mâak nán yan thui...* *in the view of many (they) still believe....*

Attribute: distance: the author explicitly distances him/herself from the source. This can be signalled by use of the reporting verb *claim* or the use of scare quotes.

Dialogic contraction

Disclaim: deny: the author invokes an alternative position in order to reject it. Denials are signalled by negative polarity.

Disclaim: counter: the author invokes an alternative position to reject another proposition through concession. This formulation can be signalled by concessions and adversative conjunctions as in *tàæ khâaphacâw ʔeeŋ mii khôw sarùp léæw – but I myself have a conclusion.*

Proclaim: concur: the author invokes a position assumed to be held by the audience. This formulation is signalled by adverbs such as *naturally, obviously.*

Proclaim: pronounce: the author overtly intervenes in the text to state a position. This can be signalled by explicit use of the author's voice, as in *I propose....*

Proclaim: endorse: the author states a position of an external source that is aligned with the author's position. This choice can be signalled by reporting verbs such as *show, demonstrate, point out.*

4.3.4 Identifying social actors

Agency is exercised by means of or through the text. It is also exercised in the texts by means of representations of social actors as agents and the participants that they impact on. In this thesis, social actors include individuals, groups and also institutional actors.

Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory was used to identify social actors in the texts and the exercise, or not, of agency. The most basic distinction to be made is

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whether a social actor is included in or excluded from the text (van Leeuwen, 2008). The inclusion or exclusion of a social actor in a text can be elicited through different linguistic means. Examples to illustrate each representation type are drawn from the Thai texts. A modified version of van Leeuwen's social actor network as used in this thesis is produced below as Figure 4.3. The reason for the modifications is explained below. The categories that were identified in this thesis are circled.

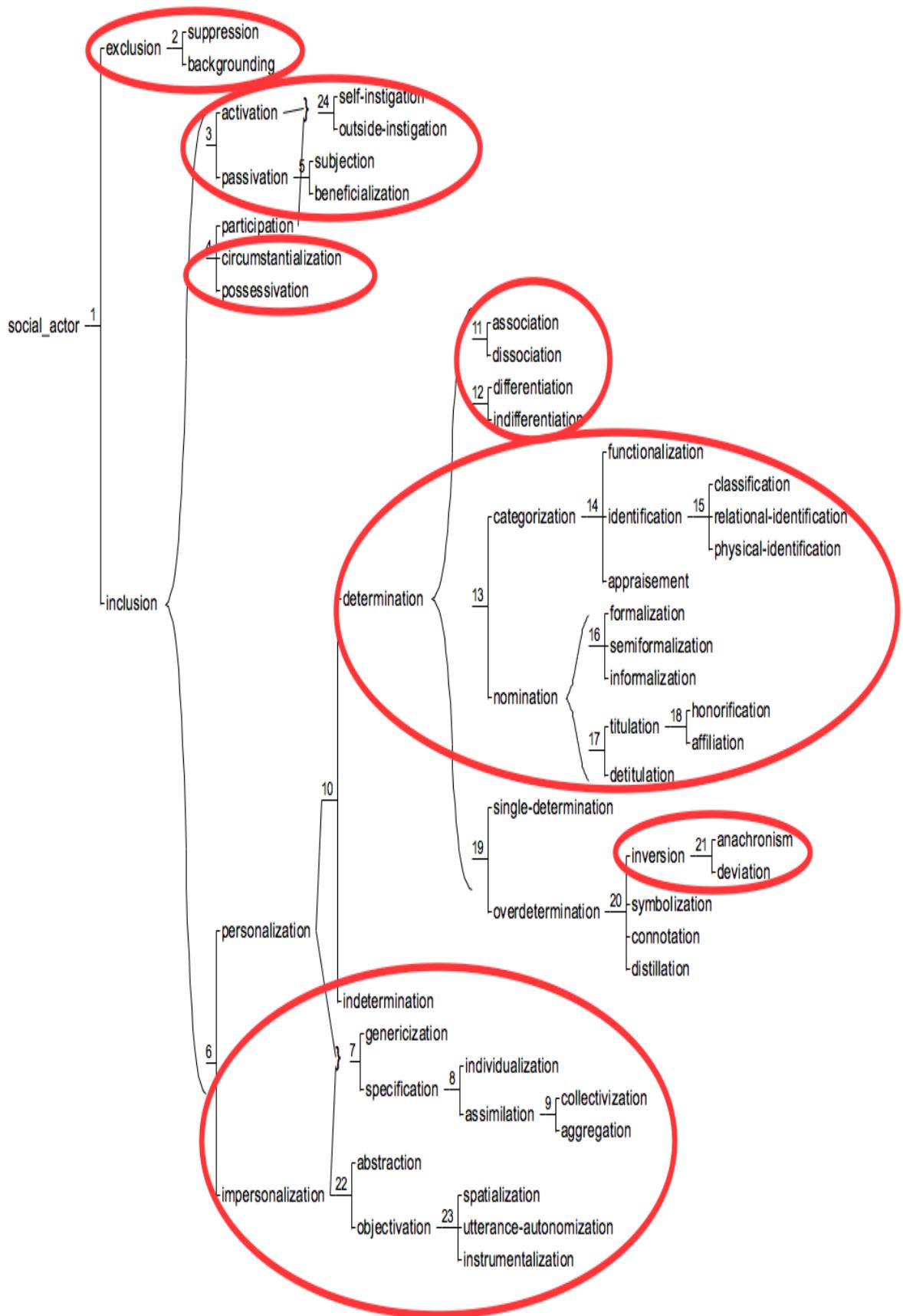


Figure 4-3 Social actor network (adapted from van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52)

4.3.5.1 Inclusion

The analysis began by identifying those social actors that were included in the texts. Social actor representations were analysed clause by clause, applying the descriptions from the social actor network to the representations for each category that emerged. Each of the categories is described in turn.

4.3.5.1.1 Active-Passive

If included in the discourse, participants may be represented as active and dynamic. The roles that are assigned to different social actors as activated or passivated and as participating, circumstantialised or beneficialised are explored through a transitivity analysis of the texts. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). A transitivity analysis reveals the semantic categories of Agent (those participants initiating a process) and Medium (those participants affected by either events or the actions of agents). For example, the Thaksin government is represented as active in the following clause:

(1) K14.2

<i>wāa</i> that	<i>rátthabaan Tháksīn</i> Thaksin government	<i>dāy lámāət</i> <i>perf. asp.</i> violate	<i>sānyaa</i> <i>prachaakhom</i> social contract	<i>sám léəw sám lāw</i> again and again
	Actor	Pro. Mat.	Goal	Extent: frequency
	Agent	Process	Medium	Extent

...that the Thaksin government violated the social contract again and again.

In the following example, the social actor *that group* is realised as beneficiary in a passive clause, in which case it is construed as subjected to the actions of others or as “beneficialised”, in van Leeuwen’s terms:

(2) K10.15

<i>təə</i> but	<i>phúak khǎw</i> that group	<i>tōŋ thūuk tət</i> must PASS. cut	<i>sīt</i> rights	<i>nay kaanphūut rǎn sadæəŋ tua</i> in speech or expression
	Client	Pro. Material	Goal	Matter
	Beneficiary	Process	Medium	Matter

But that group (the military) must have (their) rights cut in (terms of) speech or expression.

A transitivity analysis of these three texts reveals different, sometimes conflicting construals of participants and responsibility for events. It is thus first

necessary to identify the social actors that are construed in the texts. In order to do this, van Leeuwen's social actor network offers a range of other means for representing social actors lexically in discourse. Some of these choices that were identified in the texts are briefly summarised below.

4.3.5.1.2 *Impersonal-Personal*

Social actors may be represented as personal or impersonal. When social actors are represented by impersonalisations, in semantic terms, they are not represented as human (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). They may be represented as abstractions. Thaksin is represented in the following example not as a person but in terms of the abstract political/economic policies with which he is credited:

(3) K1.31
tèæ “rábðəp Tháksĭn” nán nâakliət kwàa//
but “Thaksinomics” is uglier.

The following representation is also an abstraction referring to underground opposition groups working against the interim government:

(4) P10.3
lè? mii kaan sakàtkân “khlâun tây náam” tàŋ caŋwàt//
and there is the cutting off of “undercurrents” in the provinces

Alternatively, an impersonalisation can be objectified, that is, represented through metonymical reference such as by means of an instrument by which the social actor carries out an action, as in:

(5) P31.8
Ø pen phiŋ khêæ sàttraawút rǔu khrûaŋ-muu khǒŋ rát
(Phrai) are just weapons or tools of the state.

or by means of an utterance that can be credited to a social actor. Van Leeuwen calls this kind of representation “utterance autonomisation” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). Utterance autonomisation may be realised as metadiscourse (after Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 119, for example) such as *explanation* or *question*, or may be realised as a specific text produced by a social actor, as in the following example:

(6) C22.3

rưâṅ đạṅklàaw praakòt màak nạy nắṅsuṅ ʔiik lêm nùṅ khuu Ethics.
*That topic appears more in **another book, that is, Ethics.***

In this example, Aristotle is represented through his work *Ethics*. This category of utterance autonomisation can also be extended to the representation of the ideas of social actors. In the following example, Aristotle is realised in terms of his thoughts or ideas:

(7) C5.5

khwaamkhít khḍḍṅ Aristotle
Aristotle's idea

4.3.5.1.3 *Generic-Specified*

Social actors that are personalised can be represented in several ways. For example, they may be represented as generic or specified. Generic reference involves the representation of a class or type, as *phrai* is in the following clause:

(8) P1.1

phrây (n.): (Ø khuu) chaaw-muṅ, phonlamuṅ-săaman; khon leew
Phrai (n.): (is) a civilian, commoner, bad person

or as the military in the following clause:

(9) K8.1

thahăan pen kḍḍṅ kamlay tít ʔaawút khḍḍṅ rát
The military is the armed force of the state.

Social actors may be represented as specified individuals such as *Aristotle* or “*the Philosopher*” in the following example:

(10) C4.6-4.8

...thâa mii khray [[klàaw thḥṅ “The Philosopher”]]// Ø kô sâap kan thûa // wâa Ø
măay thḥṅ Aristotle thâwnán//
...If anyone mentions “The Philosopher”, everyone will know that they refer only to Aristotle.

Alternatively, specified social actors may be assimilated in groups. Assimilated actors can be further represented as a collective, for example *phûu-khon* or *prachaachon* – “*the people*”, representing a homogenous group, thinking, acting or behaving as one, or

aggregated in representations of quantified groups or statistics, as in the following example:

(11) K1.34

wâa khon thay thǎy 83.89% hěn chǎp [[thī mii kaanpatìwát]]
that 83.89% of Thai people approved of the revolution.

4.3.5.1.4 *Differentiated-Indifferentiated*

Social actors may be differentiated. This means that the social actor is explicitly differentiated from other social actors from similar groups. This includes the difference between *rátthabaan* – *government* and *rátthabaan Tháksǎn* – *the Thaksin government*.

4.3.5.1.5 *Determined-Indeterminate*

Personalised representations can also be determined or indeterminate. Determination occurs when social actors are specifically identified in some way in the text, and indetermination occurs if a social actor is represented as anonymous (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 39), as in the following example:

(12) C10.2-10.4

kranán kǎ yan̄ mii baay khon [[hěn //wâa khâaphacâw sanàp sanǔn rátthaprahǎan19 kanyaa...]
Nevertheless, there are still some people who think that I support the 19 September coup...

In this example, *some people* are anonymous social actors, as it is not the actors but what they think that is foregrounded by means of the embedded clause.

4.3.5.1.6 *Named-Categorised*

If determined, social actors may be named specifically, or categorised. A social actor can be represented formally, semi-formally or informally. A named social actor may also be titled. If titled, the name may include an honorific. The following is an example of a named social actor construed as both formal and titled with honorific, after van Leeuwen's network:

(13) C9.4

sàatraacaan Sömbàt Cantharawoŋ

Professor Sombat Chantharawong

Alternatively, a social actor may be categorised. Categorised social actors may be functionalised, represented in terms of the function they perform, such as:

(14) K2.13

pràat khǎŋ lóok tawan?ǎk lé? tawantòk thaŋ thrútsadii rátthasàat sàk 4-5 thàn¹⁵

4-5 Eastern and Western philosophers of political theory

or they may be identified in terms of what they are (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). If identified, a social actor may be classified according to social or institutional structures, for example in terms of class, race, ethnicity or gender, as in examples (8) (P1.1) and (9) (K8.1) cited above. A social actor may also be represented through choices that are more interpersonal than experiential. Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 45) has termed this category “appraisalment”. The appraisal of a social actor may be positive as in example (14) or negative, as in “*thǎrarâat*” – “*tyrant*”.

4.3.5.1.7 Overdetermined

Determination also includes a choice between single determination and overdetermination. Van Leeuwen defines overdetermination as occurring if social actors are represented as participating simultaneously in more than one social practice and he identifies various categories within this system: inversion, symbolisation, connotation and distillation (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 48). As an example, inversion occurs when social actors are connected to two conflicting practices. Van Leeuwen increases the delicacy of this network by identifying two further categories of inversion: anachronism and deviation. Deviation occurs when social actors are represented as taking part in activities that they would not usually perform. Thus Pitch’s construal of modern citizens as “*phrây samăy mây*” – “*modern state subjects*” is an example of this. That is, the role of a *phrai* is not commensurate with the role that a citizen performs. As it turns out, this marked choice is crucial to Pitch’s argument.

¹⁵ *thàn* is a polite second and third person pronoun (Cooke, 1968) and also a numeral classifier used when counting high-ranked individuals (Haas, 1942). The use of *thàn* here as a numeral classifier for *pràat* – *philosopher* gives the representation a sense of the eminence attributed to these sources.

4.3.5.2 Exclusion

Finally, social actors may be excluded altogether through suppression, or they may be backgrounded, that is, not immediately retrievable from the surrounding co-text¹⁶ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). If excluded altogether, there may be absolutely no trace of those actors in the text. In this case, social actors may be retrievable to those who are familiar with the social and historical background. This underscores the need for a CDA methodology that situates discourse in its material and historical context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2002). Social actors may also be suppressed through linguistic choices such as the deletion of the agent in a passive construction, in which case there is a trace of the social actors, despite not being explicitly named in the text, or they may be suppressed through nominalisation where the process is construed as a noun. Alternatively, social actors may be backgrounded, retrievable from elsewhere in the text through participant tracking and ellipsis.

The boundaries between the categories that van Leeuwen proposes above are loose; the choices made in discursive practice may not necessarily be one or the other of those given in the network. For example, van Leeuwen states that “[b]oundaries can be blurred deliberately, for the purpose of achieving specific representational effects, and social actors can be, for instance, both classified and functionalized” (2008, p. 53). That is to say, the rhetor exercises his or her rhetorical agency to create particular meanings, and this can involve blurring the distinctions between these choices. For example, citizens can be considered as both classified in terms of class (in relation to *phrây*) and also as functionalised in terms of their role as political agent. The application of this network to the choices made in the texts of the three rhetors of this study, however, is not only to expose the use of discourse in the service of power, but may also be able to uncover strategies to challenge, avoid or circumvent the various constraints on what these writers can write about in the Thai context. The analysis of social actor representations will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.3.5.3 Lexico-grammatical realisation of socio-semantic categories in Thai

While the starting point for this social actor network is to define sociological categories of importance for a critical discourse analysis, there are some consistent patterns of language choices made within different clusters of systems (van Leeuwen,

¹⁶ See (Halliday, 2007/1991, p. 269) for the distinction between context and co-text.

2008). For example, as mentioned above, the systems of activation-passivation and participation-circumstantialisation-possession can be analysed through transitivity. Exclusion is realised through the voice system and also through nominalisation. That is, participants can be excluded by deleting the agent in a passive construction, such as in example (2) above where it is unclear who exactly has taken away the rights of the military. Actors can be excluded through grammatical metaphor, for example through nominalisations such as *kaantham rátthaprahāan – the staging of the coup* where the coup-makers remain unnamed. Other systems of inclusion such as personalisation, determination and genericisation are realised as different elements of the nominal group such as in systems of identification/reference and also in the choice of lexis and the use of metaphor (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 53).

In Thai, there may be some aspects of the network that are similarly realised. Indeed, the examples presented above to illustrate the various categories demonstrate that van Leeuwen’s network can be applied to the Thai data. As this framework was applied to the data, it was assumed that there would be some differences. As many of the categories that van Leeuwen identifies in his social actor network are realised through various aspects of the structure of the nominal group (van Leeuwen, 2008), it is important to note some of the structural differences between the nominal group in English and Thai. The nominal group in Thai consists of a head noun with optional modifiers. Unlike in English, the head noun in Thai must precede any modifying elements as Head ^ Modifier (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 61; Patpong, 2006, p. 35). In example 14 (K2.13) cited above, the head noun, *pràat – philosopher*, precedes the modifiers in that nominal group. The head noun can also be modified by an embedded clause functioning as qualifier, similar to the English nominal group, as in:

(15) K1.6

phûak [[thîi níyom “rábðɔp Tháksĭn” yàaŋ khlâŋkhláy]] camnuan nĕŋ
group [[that prefer “Thaksinism” crazily]] CLF one
the one group that crazily favours “Thaksinism”

The Thai nominal group does not have articles/determiners, so categories such as genericisation-specification will not depend on the use of definite or indefinite articles. The examples of generic participants in (8) and (9) above were assigned this classification through the meaning in the clause. However, they could equally be

considered as an instance of classification, referring to institutional and social categories. Another difference in the Thai nominal group is the use of numeral classifiers. Halliday and McDonald (2004, p. 318) use the label “measurer” for this class of lexical item, but the label “classifier” (CLF) is used in this thesis following Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) and Patpong (2006). Thai words do not have any inflectional morphology, and modification for singularity and plurality, definiteness and indefiniteness, and deixis are expressed through the use of a numeral classifier, as in (15) above and the example below:

(16) C13.18

phûukhon thàŋ sǎŋ klùm nîi
people both two group/CLF this
both of these groups of people

However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to develop a network that may be more suitable for Thai. Van Leeuwen’s categories are drawn on only as they are observed in the three texts. In doing so, some minor additions have been made that add delicacy to the system of activation, where a choice has been added between actors whose actions are self-instigated and actors whose actions are instigated by some outside force, both human and non-human. Outside-instigation includes instances of causative constructions such as in the following examples:

(17) P21.9

<i>wâa</i> that	<i>rát ʔeeŋ</i> state itself	<i>tàŋ hàak</i> separately	<i>thîi</i> that	<i>tham hây</i> cause	<i>phonlamtɯaŋ</i> citizen	<i>pen</i> be	<i>phrây</i> phrai
	Assigner	Manner: Quality		Pro. Ident.	Token	...Pro.	Value
	Agent	Manner		Process	Medium	Process	Range

that (it is) the state itself that caused citizens to become phrai

(18) C13.9

<i>saphâap chên</i> <i>nîi</i> situation like this	<i>tham hây</i> cause	<i>khâaphacâw (rîi</i> <i>khon [[thîi khít</i> <i>khláay khláay kâp</i> <i>khâaphacâw]])</i> me (or people who think similar with me)	<i>tòk yùu</i> fall be (located)	<i>nay pom</i> <i>prisanâa thaŋ</i> <i>siinlatham</i> in complex enigma way moral
Initiator	Pro. Material	Actor	...Process	Location: place (abstract)
Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process	Location

This situation (that we have to accept the threat of violence to solve political problems) makes me (or people who think like me) fall into a complex moral enigma.

From these two examples, it can be seen that the external force may represent a social (or institutional) actor as in the first example, or may be some kind of abstract entity as in the second example. As the categories of activation and passivation are realised through transitivity structures, these were considered in detail in Chapter 7 on transitivity.

4.3.6 Transitivity

The analysis of the textual and experiential metafunctions in the three political science texts was performed manually in a word document, clause by clause with a Theme-Rheme analysis, an analysis of process type and an analysis of agency below each clause (see Appendix B). The transitivity analysis followed the system network, adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 355) and Patpong (2006, p. 413), produced below as Figure 4.5. The schemes from these two sources had to be adapted slightly to account for specific clause types and participant types in the data. For example, they did not account for the Agent participants in some of the process types; while the Halliday and Matthiessen system network included Initiator, Attributor and Assigner, it did not include Inducer for mental clauses or Creator for existential clauses, which occur in the Thai texts. Patpong's system network was also used to account for some of the features that exist in the Thai but not in English. For example, for existential processes, Thai distinguishes between entity existence where the Existent is a Thing, realised by the Thai process *mii – exist, have* (p. 546), and process existence where the Existent refers to the occurrence of an event, realised by the Thai processes *kàat – exist-occur* and *praakòt – appear, happen* (p. 549). The systems of AGENCY and PROCESS TYPE are simultaneous systems, so a clause can be realised as both middle and material, for example. The analysis of the texts following the choices in this system network helped highlight the construal of agency in the texts by indicating whether a clause was effective or middle clauses, and also highlighted the types of processes, participants and circumstances.

Drawing on the system network presented in Figure 4.4 below, the texts were analysed for realisations of agency and process type. The transitivity analysis will highlighted the way in which the three writers allocated roles to social actors in their

texts: who does what to whom and under what circumstances. The analysis also took account of the various clause types described above, such as the analytical causatives as a key means for the construal of agency. In addition, it was also necessary to distinguish between verbal group complexes and clause complexes in the analysis, and to assess the implications for the analysis of agency in the texts. Finally, the cline of dynamism, was employed as part of the transitivity analysis to allow for a comparison of transitivity choices across the three texts.

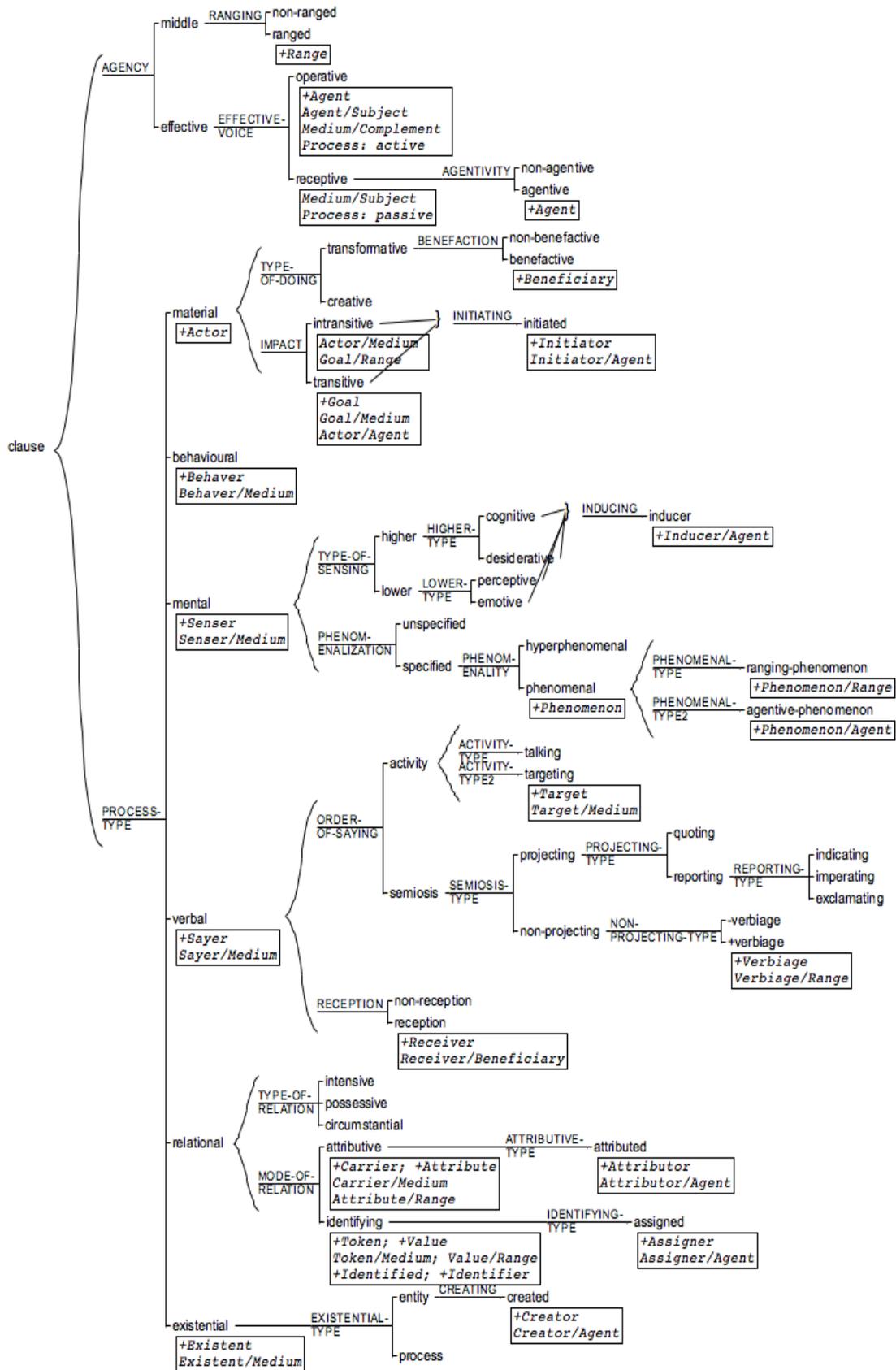


Figure 4-4 System network of TRANSITIVITY (AGENCY and PROCESS TYPE) (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 355) and Patpong (2006, p. 413)

4.3.6.1 Human and instrumental agency

In the discussion of agency and structure in Chapter 3, the point was made that agency refers specifically to human actors. However, this may not be the case with grammatical agency. Lemmens (1998) asks whether inanimate entities or accidental events should also be considered agent when they are used in the same grammatical role as a human agent. He argues that the “prototypical” agent in transitivity represents a volitional actor. However, he also argues the case for including non-volitional actors within the concept of agent which are “extensions from the prototype” (p. 105). He states,

When acting involuntarily, the Agent is only a mediating cause as the act must have been instigated by something else. In the case of inanimate Agents, the issue of volition is irrelevant. Essentially, they come in two kinds, (1) those that are not known to have been manipulated by a more ultimate Agent, like for example accidents or 'Forces' and (2) 'Instrumental Agents' which are the immediate, but not ultimate causes.

In fact a number of other researchers have also argued that instruments can be classed as agents (e.g., DeLancey, 1984; Schlesinger, 1989). For example, in the following clause, ‘hammer’ is construed as agent: *the hammer smashed the window*. These instruments do not act independently, but are only “an extension of the agent’s will” (DeLancey, 1984). DeLancey refers to “ultimate causation”, that is, tracing a volitional event back to the ultimate volition by a human agent. He suggests that there is a chain of control or chain of causation whereby it should be possible to trace the path from an instrumental agent back to the “prototypical” agent. The point here is that the control comes from outside or away from the instrument, event or abstraction to some human or humanlike participant. Accepting that instruments or abstractions are endowed with agency runs the risk of reifying these grammatical agents. However, this extension of agency to inanimate participants or abstract ideas is a resource for language users to construe a perception of the effect that these inanimate or abstract entities have on the world (Duranti, 2004, p. 464). This may also be a strategy by the rhetor to delete responsibility for an action from a human agent. Indeed, the different ways that the agent can be construed (or remain implicit or suppressed) in a language allows the

rhetor to convey, foreground or background different meanings (Lemmens, 1998, p. 100).

In Thai, instrument can be represented by means of a hypotactic verbal group complex (to be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.5.3 below), and so the agent is explicitly stated in these clauses.

(19) *phîi-chaay cháy phráa hùat máy-phay*

Older brother uses a machete to slash bamboo. (Diller, 2006, p. 171)

(20) *Khunkray cháy hòk theej khwaay pay*

Khunkray used a spear to stab the buffalo. (Patpong, 2006, p. 581)

The construction in Thai construes *older brother* in (19) and *Khunkray* in (20) as agents of the action. Patpong classifies this as hypotactic verbal group complex of expansion with a logico-semantic relation of Manner: means (n.d., pp. 34-35). While the Thai pattern above does not construe instrument as agent but the human actor as agent instead, the point is that this pattern in the Thai lends weight to the argument about instrumental agency.

4.3.6.2 Lexical and analytical causatives

The discussion above raises the point that agent in grammar is not always clear-cut. Agency and causation are realised in various ways both within a language as well as across different languages. One difference within English and also Thai is between the lexical causatives and the analytical causatives. This is exemplified in the difference between the following clauses,

(21) *The soldier killed the protester.*

(22) *The soldier made the protester die.*

where the first clause uses a material process which encodes the semantic relation of causation whereas the process *die* in the second clause does not carry this semantic feature of causation. Davidse (1992) distinguishes between lexical and analytical causatives for transitive verbs, as in *John fell – Peter made John fall*, and analytical causative for ergative verbs as in *the vase broke – Peter made the vase break – Peter broke the vase* which she argues represent different types of constructions. In these

examples, the agents of lexical causatives have greater control over the action than the agents of analytical causatives (DeLancey, 1984). In fact, DeLancey argues that agent of an analytical causative is less agentive than the direct causer of the doer of the action as in

(23) *He made me kill it.*

That is, the death can be attributed more to the ‘me’ of this sentence than the ‘he’ of this sentence. Therefore, the Initiator of the action in these analytical causatives (e.g., *the soldier* in example (22) above), while from an ergative perspective is grammatical Agent in the clause, can actually be considered the indirect cause of the action encoded in the verb rather than the direct Agent (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 579). This may help to explain the occurrence of non-human participants and grammatical metaphor in this grammatical role in Pitch’s and Chaiwat’s texts, and also the mitigation of responsibility of the military in Khien’s text. This is a point to consider when establishing the parameters for the cline of dynamism, to be described below in Section 4.3.6.

Further to this, Davidse (1992) distinguishes between the causer in analytical constructions with the instigator in ergative constructions. The analytical causer may not be agent, but ergative instigator is agent as in *the ball rolled, John rolled the ball, John made the ball roll* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, 579). In the analytical causative, circumstantial and agentive participants can occur as the second-degree causer (e.g., *hunger made the prisoners march* where *hunger* is not agent because we cannot say *hunger marched the prisoners* (Halliday, 1968, p. 198). “The Causer is NOT a direct participant and it is NOT an Agent in the strict sense of an effective agent like the Actor or the Instigator. It is more of a circumstantial element, coded as an indirect participant” (Davidse, 1992, p. 122). Halliday argues that greater insight into the agency in the clause can be gained from a combination of the two analyses, transitive and ergative. However, in the analysis of agency in this thesis, attention also needs to be paid to the nature of the participant occurring as agent in these constructions, and also to the type of process.

There is not a one to one correspondence between Thai and English lexical causatives. Processes with a causative meaning do occur in Thai, but the patterning does not appear to be the same. For example, in English, the following middle clause

(24) *The military fought all day.*

can add a Goal

(25) *The military fought the protesters all day.*

where the action of the process extends to the Goal. Clauses such as these favour a transitive analysis more than an ergative analysis (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The perspective is one of extension from the Actor to the Goal, the Goal being in some way affected by the process performed by the Actor. This clause does not follow the same pattern in Thai, so the following middle clause

(26) *thahǎan róp kan thǎn wan*

The military fought together all day

cannot be extended by the addition of the Goal. Instead, *the protestors* can only occur as a circumstance of accompaniment

(27) *thahǎan róp kàp khon prathúat thǎn wan*

The military fought with the protesters all day.

Thai does have examples of process types that favour an ergative interpretation, but there may not be a one to one correspondence between the Thai process of this type and English processes of this type. In Thai, for example, the intransitive clause

(28) *fay dáp*

The fire (was) extinguished.

maps with its transitive counterpart

(29) *tamrúat dáp fay*

The police extinguished the fire.

The perspective in an ergative analysis is one of a nuclear participant (the Medium) through which the process is enacted, with or without an external causer. Davidse (1992) describes the directionality of the transitivity/ergativity distinction as “Janus-headed”, with a transitive perspective looking down the clause from the Actor to the Goal and the ergative perspective looking from a nuclear participant, the Medium, back

up the clause to an external causer. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) note a number of verbs in Thai that fall into this second category.

However, determining transitivity of clauses in Thai can be complicated, and may depend on the context for the correct interpretation (Diller, 1997). This can be highlighted in clause types with verbs that can be interpreted as effective operative or as passive, despite the absence of any overt marking for this. For example, the clause:

(30) *méæ wâa thahăan ca cháy kòt ʔayyakaansùk dây*
even though military will use martial law can
Even though the military can use martial law

can also be phrased as:

(31) *méæ wâa kòt ʔayyakaansùk ca cháy dây*
even though martial law will use can
Even though martial law can be used

where the actor has been suppressed. In this case, the clause is more likely to be interpreted as a passive form. These forms occur with a restricted set of verbs like *sák* (to wash), *sâaŋ* (to build), *cháy* (use) or *khàat* (to lack) and affect the Goal participant in the clause which can then occur as if in place of the Actor (Diller, 1997; Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, pp. 117-118). In many cases, it cannot immediately be interpreted and so it is necessary to look within the text to see if the actor/agent of the clause can be retrieved from the unfolding discourse (Diller, 1988, 1997).

The majority of causative clause types fall into the category of the analytical causatives. The *tham hây* (make, cause) causatives are explained in Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005, pp. 325, 330-332) as depicting indirect causation where grammatical agent and affected participants may be animate, inanimate, or even an abstract participant and where the agent exerts medium control (in a cline from strong to weak control) on the affected participant. It expresses indirect causation and causer intention is neutral in these clauses. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom observe that the abstract agent participant represents the cause rather than the causer (or agent), and highlight events where there exists a chain of cause and consequence (p. 331). For example, in the clause

(32) *kham ʔathibaay tham hây raw khâwcaay kaanmuaŋ thay*

The explanation makes us understand Thai politics

the explanation is more like the cause of our understanding rather than the causer or the agent in the sociological sense. In contrast, the *hây* causative, of which there are a few instances in the data, denotes intention on the part of the agent, but there is less control exerted by the agent on the affected participant who can choose to act or not. This construction thus occurs most often with human/ animate participants (pp. 328-329).

The level of control exerted by the Agent or the relative degree of directness or indirectness of causality in an analytical causative construction has implications for the analysis of agency in these clause types in the three Thai texts. It means that, in terms of the cline of dynamism (to be introduced in Section 4.3.6 below), a number of considerations need to be made concerning, for example, the clause type and the animacy-inanimacy of the participants. Before turning to this discussion of the cline of dynamism, there is one more construction type in Thai that needs to be introduced here because of its relative frequency in the data and its consequences for the construal of agency. This is the verbal group complex, also known as serial verb construction in non-SFL literature.

4.3.6.3 Verbal group complexes and clause complexes in Thai

Verbal group complexes, also known as serial verb constructions, are an important aspect of Thai grammar. A key feature of verbal group complexes is that the series of two or more verbs are taken as one discrete action or event (Diller, 2006; Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005). In SFL, this phenomenon is treated as an expansion or projection of the nucleus of the clause, realised as two or more verbs occurring as a verbal group complex. This expansion sets up logical relations between the verbs in the group, such as temporality, cause, purpose, instrumentality and benefaction (Matthiessen, 2004, p. 571; Patpong, n.d., p. 8). These logical relationships between the verbs in the verbal group influence the realisation of the process in Thai (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 231) and therefore we need to take account of them in an analysis of agency. Examples (19) and (20) cited above construe a logical relation of instrumentality, for example. Analytical causatives are also a type of verbal group

complex realising a feature of effective agency (Patpong, n.d., p. 62), and as such are a key clause type in the construal of agency in discourse.

Determining whether a sentence comprises one clause with verbal group complex or two (or more) clause complexes in Thai is sometimes problematic. Matthiessen (2004, p. 660, fn 15) states that “the line between clause complexing and verbal group complexing is fluid”. The difference between the two is that a clause complex realises a sequence of distinct processes whereas a verbal group complex realises a single process (Patpong, n.d., p. 7). A difficulty can arise, for example, because Thai does not always explicitly mark the logical relations between hypotactic clauses. Example (33) below is a clause complex, each with a verbal group complex. The logical connection is not explicit between the two clauses, but the clause nexus carries a meaning of purpose:

(33) K11.1-3

...klùm thahãan... kô ... military group Cj.	dây tãtsĩncay tham Perf.Asp. decide do	rãthaprahãan coup	khõon lóm oust	rãthabaan thãksĩn Thaksin government	loj down
Actor	Pro.: material	Goal	Process: material...	Goal	...Pro:
nom. gp.	verbal gp. complex	nom. gp.	verbal gp. complex...		v.gp. comp.

The military group thus decided to stage the coup to oust the Thaksin government.

Another way to test whether a series of verbs comprises a verbal group complex or a clause complex is by inserting *phũa thũ ca* – *in order to* between the verbs. If this is possible, it should be considered a clause complex. This was the decision that was made in analysing these clauses. The clause complex in (33) needs to be considered in the analysis of agency because of the agency that is distributed across the clause boundary with the action of the military impacting on the Thaksin government.

4.3.7 Cline of dynamism

The analysis of represented agency will uncover not only those participants that the writers construe as agentive, but also other participants that are more passive or affected by the actions of others. What is further needed, then, is to be able to capture

the subtleties of represented agency and the full range of linguistic choices deployed by the rhetors in their accounts of the coup and whose actions were pivotal. To do this, the choices can be plotted on a cline ranging from more agentive or dynamic to more passive. In the methodology employed to analyse represented agency, the cline of dynamism was developed, drawing on three earlier studies. Following Hasan (1985) the different roles were arranged with the most dynamic being an Actor in a material clause with an animate Goal and the most passive being a participant in a circumstance. The Senser in a mental clause was placed midway along this cline, which has less of an impact than an Actor, but more than a circumstance, which is peripheral to any action. The participants located at the dynamic end of the cline were more likely to function as agents and also more likely to be attributed with responsibility for an action than those at the opposite end of the cline. The assumption was made, following Thompson (2008, p. 31), that an analysis of the relative dynamism in the construal of the various participants in a text may illuminate the values that the writers have attributed to these participants. Hasan's cline is reproduced as Figure 4.5.

Dynamic



1. Actor + Animate Goal	<u>John</u> took Harry to London.
2. Actor + Inanimate Goal	<u>John</u> took the books with him.
3. Sayer + Recipient	<u>John</u> told Harry...
4. Sayer + Target	<u>John</u> praised the system.
5. Sayer	<u>John</u> talked.
6. Phenomenon + Senser	<u>John/the picture</u> attracted her.
7. Senser	<u>John</u> recognised the house. <u>Mary</u> was attracted by it/him.
8. Actor – Goal	<u>John</u> went away.
9. Behaver	<u>John</u> woke up.
10. Carrier	<u>John</u> was sleepy.
11. Goal/Target	John took <u>Harry</u> with him.
12. Range	I watched <u>the house</u> .
13. Circumstance	I have a <u>sister</u> .

Passive

Figure 4-5 Cline of dynamism (Hasan, 1985, p. 46)

While it is easy enough to see distinct differences in dynamism at one end of the cline or lack of it at the opposite end of the cline, for the roles occurring around the mid point, it is more difficult to distinguish the degree of dynamism between a Sayer and Senser, for example. For this reason, Thompson adapts Hasan's cline (via Driscoll, 2000 and McLoughlin, 2002, as cited in Thompson, 2008, p. 27) as follows, where Band 1 is highest in dynamism and 6 is lowest in dynamism. As Thompson (2008) states, the degree of dynamism in the bands between 1 and 6 can be more difficult to measure, though there does appear to be some sort of gradation. While the notion of dynamism does not seem to be relevant to participants in relational processes, they are placed at the mid point of the cline because they still need to be seen as a choice in the meaning potential (p. 28). Separating the roles into these different bands allowed for the grouping together of some roles that appeared to have very similar degrees of dynamism, and this made the analysis more workable.

Table 4-6 Cline of dynamism (Thompson, 2008)

Band	Role
1	Initiator/Assigner
2	Actor (+Goal)
3	Actor (-Goal or + Scope) Phenomenon (as Subject) Behaver Sayer Senser
4	Token Carrier
5	Beneficiary Phenomenon (as Complement) Scope
6	Goal

For the data in this study, it was also necessary to add in Band 1 the other roles that occur in the analytical causative constructions as outlined above, that is, Inducer (external Agent in a mental process), Attributor (external Agent in an attributive relational process) and Creator (external Agent in an existential process). However, Thompson's adaptation does not specify human and non-human actors. Following the discussion above on the analytical causative constructions and the nature of roles such as Initiator or Inducer, it is also important to factor this into the cline used in this analysis. Garcia (2011) adapts Hasan's cline in her study of media reports on the

internal conflict between guerrillas and paramilitary troops in Colombia, and makes this distinction clear for material transformative processes – that is, whether the Goal is human or non-human or if there is no Goal at all. Also, because of the agency ascribed to meta-semiotic nouns such as *explanations* or *ideas*, it is also necessary to distinguish between Initiator, Inducer, Assigner etc. roles that are human or institutional, and those that are non-human.

Another consideration to be made was the placement of the participants that appear in the Circumstance in a clause. A problem arose because the participant in some Circumstances represented the Agent in the clause (as in *They received support from the government*) while participants in other Circumstance types did not represent the Agent and were less dynamic. Therefore, the analysis needed to distinguish between the two. To incorporate these variations on the cline of dynamism, this thesis adopted the following model:

Table 4.7 Cline of dynamism used in this study

Band	Role	Example
1	Initiator, Inducer, Assigner, Attributor, Creator	<u>The military</u> made the protestors lie down. <u>The situation</u> made the government collapse.
2	Actor + Goal (Human, Institutional) Circumstance (as Agent)	<u>The military</u> toppled the government. They received support from <u>the government</u> .
3	Actor + Goal (Non-human)	<u>The military</u> fired the guns.
4	Actor –Goal/+Scope Behaver Sayer Sensor	<u>The military</u> shot into the crowd. <u>The people</u> follow the law. <u>The coup group</u> announced the success of the coup. <u>The people</u> accepted the new government.
5	Token Value Carrier Attribute Possessor	<u>The coup</u> symbolised <u>the right of a democratic society</u> . This coup was a <u>special coup</u> . <u>The government</u> is democratic. <u>The people</u> have a political culture.
6	Beneficiary/Target/Recipient Existent Verbiage Phenomenon Range/Scope	The people pay tax to <u>the state</u> . There is a <u>new government</u> . The people expressed <u>their opinion</u> . That group prefers <u>Thaksin’s regime</u> . The people pay <u>tax</u> to the state
7	Goal	The military opposed <u>the government</u> .
8	Circumstance (non-Agent)	There is a difference between <u>the two governments</u> .

The participant roles that are instantiated in the three texts are counted and assigned a percentage for each text. These will then be compared across the three texts. The percentages will focus attention on the dominant choices assigned agency in the three texts, which in turn can highlight the values that the writers instantiate in their texts and the relationships of power as construed through the roles that are assigned to different social actors within and across the three texts.

4.3.8 Identifying the relationship between rhetorical and represented agency

It was expected that the nature of the relationship between rhetorical agency and represented agency would emerge from the analyses of represented agency undertaken in this research project. The analysis of the representation of social actors concerns not only which social actors were represented as agentive or passive, but also in more general terms which actors were, for example, included or suppressed, genericised, specified or nominated. The analysis facilitated a consideration not only of who, but also of why the rhetor may have chosen to represent the social actors in these ways. Similarly, an analysis of transitivity and the cline of dynamism involve not only how agency is represented, but also the rhetorical aims and the stance of the rhetors. Accounting for the rhetorical aims of the rhetor shed light on how they attempted to position their audiences through their representations. These points will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology employed in this thesis to analyse rhetorical and represented agency. Three Thai texts were selected for the study, transliterated into phonetic script and parsed into clauses. To identify different dimensions of agency in the texts, the analysis was multi-faceted. The texts were analysed in terms of genre by identifying patterns of argumentation and the rhetorical purposes of the three authors. The generic staging and interdiscursivity was analysed through patterns of Theme and New in a hierarchy of periodicity as well as the clustering of other linguistic features within stages. The way that the writers engaged with other texts and other voices was analysed through the resources of engagement. The way that the writers represented social actors was explored through van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor network and the system of transitivity. The representation of agency

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in the three texts was then further analysed by plotting the representations on an adapted version of Hasan's (1985) cline of dynamism. Complementary data was also gathered in the form of interviews with the Thai academics and other published works on the Thai socio-political context. These forms of data helped to situate the texts within the socio-political context and also provided insight into the intentions of the three writers. The results of the analysis of the data following the analytical procedures and methods are reported in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 5

Rhetorical agency

5.1 Introduction

Khien, Chaiwat and Pitch engaged in the social practices of academics and public intellectuals to intervene in a range of public debates. The aim of this chapter is to investigate how these three public intellectuals exercised their rhetorical agency through their deployment of genre to advance their arguments, express a position for or against a point of view or advocate for one or other form of social action.

The analysis in this chapter will proceed as follows. First, it will identify and explore the writers' deployment of genre to intervene in the socio-political context and the complex, interdiscursive nature of their texts as they combine elements of various genres and discourses in different ways to create a particular rhetorical effect to realise a particular purpose. Taking Martin's view of genre as a "staged, goal-oriented social process" (Martin, 1992, p. 505) as its point of departure, this chapter will explore the unfolding of arguments through stages and phases in the three texts, and will consider the role of periodicity, of patterns of Theme and New, in moving the argument forward and making a point. However, the analysis of the texts makes it clear that it is necessary to view the texts not just in terms of elemental genres, or Bakhtin's "primary (simple) genres" (1986), though this is an important starting point, but the texts also need to be understood in terms of their intertextual and interdiscursive nature, as "secondary (complex) genres" that "absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres" (p. 62). These more complex genres are made up of elemental genres that are combined, embedded or expanded in different ways that create more or less predictable forms (Martin & Rose, 2012, p. 3). This combination of genres is one aspect of interdiscursivity that will be analysed in this chapter. The way that discourses are appropriated in the texts is another aspect of interdiscursivity that can be revealed through an analysis of engagement and voicing. Finally, this chapter looks at how the three writers position themselves and their readers in relation to other discourses and other texts through heteroglossia and intertextual relations. It will explore this through the system of engagement in the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005). An

understanding of how the three writers use the resources of genre is vital to a deeper, linguistically informed understanding of the rhetoric of intervention in public discourse.

5.2 Genres and interdiscursivity

The three rhetors drew on and re-instantiated genres of argumentation, amongst others, and the resources of periodicity and engagement to shape their arguments in particular ways, appropriating different genres to expand or embed into the text and adding new stages to create a particular effect. As will be seen below, both Khien and Pitch draw on the exposition genre, but they construct their arguments in different ways. Khien, for example, builds one of his argument stages through phases of claim, grounds and conclusion. Pitch, on the other hand, embeds a challenge genre in some of his argument stages where he introduces the issue, sets up the position to be challenged and then rebuts the position, drawing on “metasemiotic” nouns (Macken-Horarik & Morgan, 2011) to build the argument. It will be argued that these structural differences link to the “private intentions” (Bhatia, 2004, p. 18) of the rhetors as they exercised their agency to engage in social practices. The structure and interdiscursive nature of their texts need to be seen as products of their agency. Each of the texts will be analysed in sequence, beginning with the work of Khien.

5.2.1 Khien

Khien’s text presents an argument for the right to stage the coup. He supports the coup and he argues that the 2006 coup was a legitimate act. This places him at odds with a converse political position, one that he argued for in the past—that coups are in fact illegal, illegitimate acts. This aim suggests the need for a careful claim ^ grounds ^ conclusion pattern in his argument since he needs to build a defensible account of the coup so as to justify a position that was at odds with one held by many Thais, that the military-led coup was in fact an unconstitutional and illegitimate act. Khien then argues for changes to the constitution so as to avoid this problem of the unconstitutionality and illegitimacy of coups in the future. The overall schematic structure is realised as follows:

Analytical exposition: Thesis ^ Background ^ Claim ^ Argument-Grounds ^ Transition ^ Argument-Justification ^ Evaluation ^ Reiteration of thesis ^

Appeal + Hortatory exposition: Transition ^ Claim ^ Recommendations 1 ^
 Claim ^ Restatement of problem ^ Recommendations 2 ^ Coda

To speak out publicly in this debate and to try to persuade his audience to his point of view, Khien begins his text with an analytical exposition. The thesis of the exposition, that is, the overall position on the issue (Coffin, 2007), is stated, or at least previewed, in the title of the article: *sít nay kaantham rátthaprahăan* (the right to stage the coup). The purpose of the analytical exposition is to argue the case for the staging of the 2006 coup, and that the actions of the military were justified. Martin and Rose (2012) state that in cases “[w]here the Title succinctly introduces a genre, texts can sometimes make do without an opening stage” (p. 7). While Khien does not provide a detailed thesis early in the introduction or body of his article, the title states the overall position: (that there was a) right to stage the coup. In fact, we see the same strategy used in Pitch’s article.

The Background stage of Khien’s analytical exposition addresses the debates and the various positions and viewpoints being expressed publicly just after the coup and so taps into the social conflicts of the historical moment. The stage is marked by the coup functioning as absolute Theme in the hyperTheme, with an embedded clause as Postmodifier, foregrounding this participant. As indicated in Chapter 4, an absolute Theme serves a purely textual function by providing the topic of what will follow in the rest of the clause (Patpong, 2006, p. 224). This use of the absolute Theme (in bold in example 1 below), occurring right at the beginning of the first stage of the genre, clearly functions to foreground the topic of the coup.

In addition, this clause complex, a hypotactic condition: concessive clause, is realised in a $\beta \times \alpha$ pattern, with the dependent *beta* (β) clause preceding the independent *alpha* (α) clause. This means that the β clause is itself marked. This clustering of marked Themes at this beginning point of the text clearly orients the field of discourse to the coup and the conflicting opinions surrounding it. In this way, Khien explains to his readers what he considers to be the real causes of the coup and why it represented a legitimate act by the military, hence his intervention in the debate. This initial clause complex is reproduced below as example 1.

(1) (K1.1-4)

<p>[β:] <i>rátthaprahään [[thī kàət khûn nay prathêet thay muâ wan thī 19 kanyaayon 2006]] méæ Ø ca prasòp khwaam-sămrèt// dooy mi? dây sūun sĭa lûat nuá ləəy kô taam//</i></p>	<p>[β:] <i>The coup [[that occurred in Thailand on 19 September 2006]], even though (it) met success without any loss of life or bloodshed //...¹⁷</i></p>
<p>[α:] <i>təæ khwaamsàpsôn dāan khwaamkhít khwaamkhāawcay kĭaw kàp panhāa [[thī kàət khûn nay mùu khon thay]] nán kô yan mī yùu mây nōəy//</i></p>	<p>[α:] <i>but¹⁸ confusion around the opinions and understanding of the problems [[that occurred amongst that group of Thai]] still exists...///</i></p>

The Background stage is further characterised by the instantiation of various groups and political factions, marked by nominal groups modified by embedded clauses such as *phûak [[thī... - the group [[that... or phûu [[thī - people [[that...*

The Background is followed by a claim in paragraph 2 that is marked first by a concession ^ consequence clause complex where the author explicitly intrudes into the text to make his claim: *təæ khâaphacâw ʔeey mii khô sarùp léæw – but I myself have a conclusion*, and closes with a request to the reader and hypotactic clause of Manner: *khô ʔanuyâat ʔathĭbaay// dooy ʔij phuumiʔpanyaa khôəy... – please let (me) explain// by leaning on the intellect of...* This reference to the Eastern and Western philosophers leads into the first of two argument stages.

There are two argument stages. The purpose of the first argument stage is to establish the grounds for the second argument. The grounds in this text establish the specific theoretical facts that Khien uses to support his argument. This first argument-grounds stage is characterised by a marked Theme to turn the focus to the established wisdom of the philosophers from whom Khien derives expert authority (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107). A series of phases builds the argument, each phase of which refers to the teachings of a different philosopher, Confucius, Mensius, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Aristotle respectively, to provide support for his argument. Each phase begins with the philosopher as Theme in either a verbal or identifying clause as in the following examples:

¹⁷ This is a literal translation. It may more naturally read: ...even though it **was successful**.

¹⁸ This is a literal translation from the Thai. Unlike in English, Thai requires the adversative conjunctive adjunct as textual Theme in the α clause after the Condition: concessive conjunction in the β clause.

(2) (K3.3)

khǒŋcǎu (551-479 kòŋn khǎw. sǎw.) *paramaacaan ciin* [[phúu sàŋ sǎwŋ háy khon nay sǎŋkhom mii khunnatham]] **dây klàaw wáy**//

Confucius (551-479 BCE) *the great Chinese teacher* [[who taught people in society to have virtue]] **said**//

(3) (K5.1)

John Locke (1631-1704) *kô pen nákràtyaa ?iik khon nàŋ* [[thií ...

John Locke (1631-1704) *was another philosopher* [[who ...

The grounds stage concludes with a summary of the main points, introduced with a conjunctive adjunct as textual Theme:

(4) (K7.1) *klàaw dooy sarùp – in conclusion*

Khien thus uses Themes strategically in the opening stages of his text: absolute Theme as in *coup* and marked Themes in clause complexes to signal movement to a new stage or to focus on the field, topical themes as in the various philosophers that buttress his argument and textual Theme to signal the end of a stage. As will be seen, these resources continue to be used in subsequent stages to develop Khien's argument.

Once the support for Khien's thesis has been provided, he is then in a position to try and justify the actions of the Thai military in light of these theories. In the Argument-Justification stage, Khien paints a picture of a military, constrained by society's expectations of their role and by corrupt governments who manipulate them for political gain. The stage is characterised by a focus on a new set of participants: *thahǎan – the military, rábǎwpr prachaathíppatay – the democratic system, phúuráay – criminal, and rátthabaan tháksǐn – Thaksin government*, with the military occurring in relational clauses that identify or characterise the military. The situation that the military finds itself in is summed up in a hyperNew as follows:

(5) (K10.25-10.26)

thahǎan yǎwm ?ùt?àtcay mâak nay rǎŋ kaanwaanŋtua// lée? Ø tǎŋ cháy khwaam?òtthon yàŋyíŋ///

The military are likely to be very frustrated and have to exercise great tolerance.

Fries (1994) notes that evaluative lexis tends to appear in the New information. This hyperNew in example (5) supports this argument, with the use of modality and evaluative lexis such as *ʔətʔətcaɣ* – *frustrated* and *khwaamʔətthon* – *tolerance*. This hyperNew not only sums up the previous phase, but also sets up the next phase in this stage, providing the impetus for the military to act. The main reasons that the military needed to stage the coup are then summed up. This is signalled by the temporal sequence marker *nay thii sùt* (*finally*) as marked Theme in a clause with projecting hypotactic verbal group complex:

(6) (K11.1)

nay thii sùt klùm thahǎan... kô dâɣ tətɣincay tham rátthaprahǎan// khôn lóm rátthabaan tháksɨn loŋ ///

Finally, the military group... decided to stage the coup// to topple the Thaksin government//

This phase has characteristics much like a move that may be found in an account genre, in which the organisation is chronological and linear (Martin & Rose, 2008). There is just one explicit temporal conjunction: *nay thii sùt* – *finally*, and cause is largely realised inside the clause, encoded in the verb, for example:

(7) (K11.6)

wáa rátthabaan tháksɨn dâɣ kòɔ hâɣ kàət khwaam-tàæc-yêæc nay châat//
that the Thaksin government had created disharmony in the nation//

This is a clear example of the dynamic and fluid nature of genre in that it can be exploited to shape the communicative intent of the rhetor. That is, the text transforms from an exposition into an account. The account of the steps that the military took in making the decision to stage the coup allows Khien to account for how, from the position of the military, one event led to another.

The final phase in Khien's Argument-Justification stage, functioning as macroNew in this stage, has been labelled "evaluation" as Khien evaluates both the

reasoning of the military group as well as the actions of the Thaksin government. This stage is signalled by the use of evaluative lexis such as *khwaam-ciŋ* – *truth*, and also through direct reference to his personal assessment of the coup with *khâaphacâw* – *I* (male, first person singular, formal) (Cooke, 1968, p. 13) in a hyperTheme with circumstantial marked Theme:

(8) (K12.1)

nay thátsaná? khǎŋ khâaphacâw hêtphǎn [[thií KPK. ʔáaŋ maa]] nán pen khwaam-ciŋ thúk prakaan

*In my opinion the reason [[that the CDR cited]] is **the truth** in all respects*

The evaluative choices continue through the rest of this macroNew. For example, the Thaksin government is appraised negatively, for example, with *phadètkaan thǎrarâat dooy siǎŋ khâaŋ mâak nán* (*tyranny of the majority*) and *ʔantaraay* (*dangerous*) as in the following example:

(9) (K12.21)

phadètkaan thǎrarâat dooy siǎŋ khâaŋ mâak nán pen ʔantaraay yîŋ kwàa látthiʔ phadètkaan dooy thahǎan mâak maay nák

a tyranny of the majority is much more dangerous than a military dictatorship.

Evaluation also occurs in the way Khien couples the Thaksin government with Hitler. Though an evaluation stage is not a common feature of the staging of an analytical exposition genre as identified in the literature (e.g., Coffin, 2006a; Martin & Rose, 2008), Khien has crafted his text in this way to add weight to the import of his argument to persuade his readers. The New information here serves as the culminating outcome of the preceding argument.

The following stage, Reiteration of Thesis functions like a macroNew in that it summarises the preceding text, signalling this backward look with a hypotactic temporal clause complex of enhancement: *mûa nǎankhǎy tàaŋ tàaŋ daŋ klàaw sâaŋ khûn dooy phûunam rábòp* “*thǎrarâat dooy siǎŋ khâaŋ mâak*” – *when these different conditions are established by a leader of a tyranny of the majority*, and with *daŋ klàaw* – *as mentioned* underscoring the macroNew. This stage also deploys evaluative language.

The HyperNew of this stage offers this assessment, linking the actions of the military to the theoretical position presented in the Argument – Grounds stage.

(10) (K13.11-14)

Ø *châa* // *wâa klùm phûu* [[*kòò kaan rátthaprahăan mîa wan thiî 19 kanyaayon 2006*]]
yôom trănàk nay sàtcatham khôô nîi dii // *lê? Ø dâi kratham kaan daŋ klàaw pay dūay*
khwaamrúusàk phìtchôp chûadii [[*wâa ton tham phûa khray*]].//

(I) *believe// that the group* [[*who staged the coup on 19 September 2006*]] *were likely well aware of **this truth**// and acted as they did with a moral sense of* [[*whom they did it for*]]//¹⁹

What can be observed here is the way that these Hyper- and Macro-News not only develop the point, but also evaluate the meanings construed in the text. In this hyperNew, Khien also taps into the discourse of morality triumphing over corruption – the moral actions of the military overcoming the corruption and immoral behaviour of the Thaksin government. Finally, Khien sums up his justification by summarising the grounds and supporting the thesis that the coup was a moral act by the military.

Khien leads into an exhortation/appeal stage in paragraph 14, at the end of the section titled *thahăan kàp kaantham rátthaprahăan – the military and the staging of the coup*. This stage acts as a bridge between the analytical exposition and the hortatory exposition. The change of focus in participants (from the military to Thai people) and a change in Mood choices, for example, through the use of modals such as (K14.1) *khoy ca – probably* and imperative with negative polarity as in (K14.6) *yàa phăə făn – don't imagine* and (K14.11) *yàa luum – don't forget* signal a shift in purpose leading into the hortatory exposition. Khien urges his readers in this stage to recognise the threat posed by the Thaksin government. The basic structure of the analytical exposition is as follows:

¹⁹ The literal translation would be: *and (they) performed the aforementioned with a moral sense that they did it for whom.*

Table 5.1 Analytical exposition stages in Khien's text

Stage	Description of content	Linguistic features
Thesis	The right to stage the coup	Title
Background	Setting – what was happening on the streets; what different groups were saying; confusion about the legitimacy of staging the coup	hyperTheme with absolute Theme, marked hypotactic condition: concessive clause complex; lexis – references to groups, people with political leanings
Claim	Writer can offer an explanation about the reasons for the coup	HyperTheme – concessive clause; Writer inserts own voice, request to audience (<i>let (me) explain</i>)
Title	Theory about the right to stage the coup	Title
Argument - Grounds	Argues the case for social contract, natural rights, law of the jungle, heavenly mandate and immoral behavior of leader. Draws on a number of key political theorists to make the case for overthrowing a corrupt and immoral leader.	Marked Theme in hyperTheme to switch focus to <i>sovereign leader</i> Pattern of thematic choices Sayer + verbal process Closes with textual Theme (<i>in conclusion</i>)
Transition	The military and the staging of the coup	Title
Argument-Justification	Argues that the actions of the military in staging the 2006 coup were justified after the Thaksin government violated the social contract.	<i>Military</i> is thematic Relational processes to identify, classify <i>military</i> ; Dialogic expansion then contraction Textual Theme (<i>finally</i>)
Evaluation	Evaluates the actions of the military group that staged the coup.	hyperTheme with marked Theme <i>In my opinion</i> ; evaluative language
Reiteration of thesis	Based on theories of philosophers, the military had a natural and moral right to stage the coup.	hyperTheme – temporal hypotactic clause complex of enhancement to introduce summary; evaluative language in hyperNew
Appeal (Exhortation) (Transition)	Acts as a bridge between first analytical exposition and following hortatory exposition – summary of the problem caused by the Thaksin government; appeal to readers	Shift in participants from military and Thaksin government to Thai people; Shift in Mood to imperative; Negative polarity

Khien expands on the analytical exposition with a hortatory exposition to suggest a strategy to prevent a conflict like the one that led to the 2006 coup from occurring again. The text is thus an amalgam of these two exposition genres in a relationship of expansion:

Analytical exposition + Hortatory exposition

The purpose of the hortatory exposition is to advance a particular argument and so persuade the audience to act in a certain way. As will be seen, the instantiation of this genre in Khien’s text is again shaped to suit his particular purpose. After presenting the evidence for the right to stage the coup, and justifying the military’s actions, Khien draws on the hortatory exposition genre to call for a change to the constitution and outlines the steps to achieve this.

The claim stage begins with a causal-conditional clause complex and mental process as hyperTheme. The purpose of this clause complex is to establish the proposition that there is no reason for prohibiting a coup in the constitution. As with the claim stage in the analytical exposition (described above), this claim also invokes the reader, explicitly first and then implicitly through ellipsis:

(11) (15.1-15.4)

<p><i>thâa raw khâwcaay kâæn théæ khǎŋ kaancháy kamlaj //</i> <i>khôn lóm ráttabaan taam kham ʔathíbaay khǎŋ paramaacaan thaaj thrátsadii ráttasàat taam [[thii klàaw maa léæw]], //</i> <i>Ø ca hěn //</i> <i>wâa tàkka thaaj wichaakaan máy mii kaan banyàt khǎŋ hâam kaankratham patìwát- rátthaprahään wáy nay ráttathammanuun rũũ kòtmăay.///</i></p>	<p><i>If we understand the core of use of force// to topple the government according to the explanation of the political theorists [[that was mentioned above]]//</i> <i>(we) can see // that the academic logic has no regulation prohibiting a revolution or coup in the constitution or the law///</i></p>
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The stage then sets up the following recommendation in the hyperNew with a textual Theme: *chanán - therefore* and Circumstance of Manner followed by conjunctive adjunct: *daŋ tòɔ pay ní ʔaw wáy khũũ - as follows, that is*

The recommendation stage lists the steps that Khien proposes will be needed to achieve this aim. This stage is characterised by the numbering of points, use of modulation (e.g. K16.1 *mây khuan mii – there should not be*; K16.8 *mây tǎŋ prakàat –*

don't need to announce) and imperative mood combined with the *hây* causative,²⁰ for example:

(12) (K17.7)

hây Ø cật tâη ʔoηkɔɔn ʔitsaràʔ

have (them?) establish an independent body

(13) (K17.13)

hây ʔoηkɔɔn ʔitsaràʔ ... tâη...

have the independent body... establish....

In fact, this stage, with the use of the numbering and the imperative mood, is much like a procedural text, stepping out the process that Khien argues will need to be undertaken in order to develop a lasting constitution for the country. This is again an example of the fluidity that occurs in the staging of the genres in these texts, and once again brings home the point that the specific ways that genres are deployed and combined express rhetorical agency. Khien's recommendations for change are ideological in that he appropriates the dominant discourses about corrupt politicians and the ignorant masses in particular ways to support, buttress and legitimise particular exercises or relations of power. For example, he proposes an independent committee to be set up to survey the Thai population in times of conflict. However, he specifies whose opinions are to be heeded by means of an embedded postmodifier modifying *phûu* – *people*:

(14) (K17.13-17.18)

*(2.2) hây ʔoηkɔɔn ʔitsaràʔ taam khôɔ 2.1 tâη praden khamthăam// lăʔ náp khánææn càak phûu tɔɔp chaphɔʔ phûu [[mii khwaam rúu nay praden [[thiũ thăam]]]] thâwnán
///*

(mây náp khánææn khɔɔη phûu [[thiũ mii tææ khwaam hěn// tææ mây mii khwaamrúu ləy]]).///

(2.2) have the independent body according to item 2.1 itemise the questions// and count the scores from the respondents especially just people [[who have knowledge about the questions [[that were asked]]]]//

²⁰ The *hây* causative in this example is a “weak” causative, leaving the decision whether to perform the action up to the Actor. It can also be translated into English as ‘let’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, pp. 328-329).

(don't count the scores from those people [[who just have opinions// but don't have knowledge]]).

“Those people who just have opinions but have no knowledge” clearly refers to the “uneducated masses” who have no place in political decision-making, which is a clear example of Khien’s appropriation of the discourse of the people discussed in Chapter 2. This recommendation stage is followed by a restatement of the problem caused by the Thaksin government. This stage is characterised by declarative clauses with the Thaksin government as the predominant Theme. A second recommendation stage for any future governments follows. This stage is signalled by a thematic equative as hyperTheme and is characterised by the use of modals. The hortatory exposition ends with a coda summarising the achievements of the post-coup regime and predicting outcomes. The stage begins with an absolute Theme in the hyperTheme that invokes foreign governments and the reputation of Thailand. A summary of the achievements of the government is characterised by material processes. A condition clause establishes future possibilities for the post-coup administration. By means of this hortatory exposition, Khien exercises his agency by intervening in the debates about the legitimacy of the coup and offering a blueprint for changes to the Thai constitution to avoid such conflict in the future. The staging in this second genre is as follows:

Table 5.2 Hortatory exposition stages in Khien's text

Stages	Description of content	Linguistic features
Transition	The coup and the constitution	Title
Claim	There is no support in theory for making coups illegal. Proposes the need to reform the constitution and the criminal law to ensure that a situation where a tyrannical government takes control can be dealt with effectively, by abrogating any regulation that prohibits the use of force to oust a sitting government.	HyperTheme – condition Reader in text and writer (we) as Theme HyperNew – textual Theme and circumstantial element leading to following recommendation stage
Recommendations1 • [[Procedure]]	Recommends changes to the constitution and steps for achieving this change	Numbering of points Modality Negative polarity Imperatives with <i>hây</i> causative
Claim	Summarises effect of recommendations	hyperTheme – GM as Theme referring back to recommendations in purpose clause
Heading	A word of caution	Title
Restatement of the problem	Restates the problem caused by the Thaksin government	Thaksin government in hyperTheme and predominant Theme
Recommendations 2	Recommendations for the new government	Thematic equative in hyperTheme Modality
Coda	Raises concerns about how the coup will be received by foreign governments and dispels these concerns.	Absolute Theme in hyperTheme to switch focus onto foreign affairs Material clauses to summarise post-coup successes Condition clause to establish future possibilities

Khien's text is a product of his social practice and his multiple rhetorical aims. His primary goal was to justify the actions of the military in staging the coup on 19 September 2006. The staging of the exposition serves his purpose by outlining the problem, stating his claim, establishing the grounds for his claim and then stepping the reader through the argument in support of the military. He sums up this section with an appeal to his readers to understand the need to rid the country of the Thaksin government. However, as the coup is seen as an illegitimate act in the constitution and

the criminal law, Khien follows the analytical exposition with a hortatory exposition to outline how this problem of illegitimacy actually is not a problem and to advocate for a change to the constitution to ensure a smooth transition if there is ever the need for a future coup. Thus the combining of these two genres in a process of interdiscursivity expresses Khien's rhetorical agency.

5.2.2 Pitch

Pitch's text was written as a reaction against the coup. He states that he was angry about the coup and was unhappy with the explanations that were disseminated about why the coup was a necessary act (Pitch interview, 13/1/12). Pitch's text "was the only piece of work that really challenged the whole rhetoric about the coup" (Pitch interview, 20/11/09). Thus, Pitch's main purpose is to challenge the narratives of the "good" coup that claimed that it was an appropriate and necessary action by the military to prevent violence and to rescue Thai politics from the clutches of a bad government. Rather, Pitch aims to expose "the political and ideological effects" of the coup.²¹ Pitch's text as a whole is an analytical exposition where he puts forward a thesis and defends this through a series of argument stages. The basic schematic structure is realised as follows:

Thesis ^ Background ^ Preview ^ Argument 1 ^ Argument 2 ^ Argument 3 ^
Argument 4 ^ Explanation ^ Coda ^ Summary

However, Pitch's text is more complex than this schematic structure suggests. In order to challenge the rhetoric of the coup makers, Pitch embeds other genres within the argument stages. For example, Arguments 1 and 2 both embed a challenge genre, and Argument 2 embeds a reiteration of the thesis.

Pitch deploys textual resources of periodicity as one manifestation of his exercise of agency in order to focus attention onto salient points in his text. The thesis in Pitch's text is stated in the title and then again in a subtitle before paragraph 8, after a preview of the main sections of the text. After the title, the text begins with a Background stage in which the word *phrai* is defined. As *phrai* is a key participant in

²¹ Pitch's CV (retrieved from <http://www.polsci.chula.ac.th/pitch/cv21.pdf>) lists this *Phrai* article with the English title "The political and ideological effects of the 19 September 2006 coup".

Pitch's text, the definition at this point is important. This stage is characterised by the consistency of the Theme, which orients the reader to *phrai* and related words, an important aspect of the field of discourse for this stage in the text, and indeed, this motif runs through the whole text. Theme is in bold font in the first four clauses of the opening paragraph below. It is interesting to note the contrast that is made in these Themes between *phrây* – *phrai* and *phonlamuay* – *citizen*. This contrast will be considered in more detail in Chapter 6.

(15) (P1.1-4)

“*phrây* (n.): *chaaw muay, phonlamuayṣāaman; khon leew*”///
***phrai* (n.)** ∅ *townsperson, commoner, vile/bad person*///

“*phrâyfāa* (n.): *rāatsadṣon khāa phācændin*”///
***phrâyfāa* (n.)** ∅ *royal subject*///

“*phonlamuay* (n.): *prachaachon, rāatsadṣon, chaaw prathēet*²²”///
***citizen* (n.)** ∅ *people, inhabitants, populace*///

“*wātthanatham kaanmuay bācēp phrâyfāa:* *kṣoranii* [[*thī*....
political culture of royal subjects ∅ *the case* [[*in which*....

For many of the remaining clauses in this first paragraph, the Subject is ellipsed, but the word *phrai* or *phrâyfāa* is understood in these clauses. For example, the ellipsed elements are shown in brackets in the English translation below:

(16) (P1.9-14)

∅ *mii khwaam rīu khwaamkhāwcay kīawkāp rabōp kaanmuay dooy thūa thūa pay*//
tēc ∅ *māy ṣōncay* // *thī ca khāw pay mii ṣānruām nay kaantātsīn panhāa thaay*
kaanmuay // *lāc*? ∅ *māy mii khwaamrīusūk* [[*wāa tonṣeey yūu nay thāanā?* // *thī ca mii*
khwaammāy // *mii pītthiphon tṣṣ kaanmuay*] //

(a *phrai*, *phrâyfāa*) *has a general knowledge and understanding about the political system// but (he/she) is not interested// to participate in decision-making on political problems// and (he/she) does not have the feeling [[that he/she himself/herself is in a position// to have any meaning// (or) have any influence in politics]]//*

As Martin and Rose indicate, “choices for unmarked Theme tend to fix our gaze” (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 192), and this is the effect of the consistent choices of *phrai* as

²² It is difficult to translate some of these Thai words for people as they are culturally loaded terms and do not translate directly into English.

Theme in this stage of Pitch's text. The final clause in this stage construes meaning that is crucial for the understanding of the text: that Thai political culture is essentially the domain of the worldly, educated urban elites within which the uneducated rural masses have only a subordinate role. In this final clause in the Background stage, *a political culture of royal subjects* is New information. As stated above, New information highlights the point that the rhetor wants the audience to attend to. It marks a close to this stage as well as making a key point that will be elaborated on over the course of the text.

(17) (P1.23)

wâa raw mii wátthanatham thaay kaanmuay bàæp phrâyfáa” ///
that we have a political culture of royal subjects.///

The Preview stage functions as a macroTheme that states the purpose of the text and outlines the four major sections that Pitch expands on in the article. The current study analyses just the first of these sections, foregrounded in the subtitle: “Causing citizens to become *phrai*” as the heart of the staging of the 19 September *coup d'état*. Pitch deploys macroTheme as a key strategy to organise his text. He states that he was taught this as an undergraduate student and is in turn very strict with his own students not to *khiì máa liâp khâay* or *beat around the bush*²³ (Pitch Interview, 20/11/09). The inclusion of a macroTheme is not always a common feature in Thai writing, which tends to have a delayed statement of purpose. Pitch, as well as several of the academics interviewed in 2009, referred to this delayed statement of purpose as “Thai style”, and this method of text development has also been observed in other languages such as Japanese, Korean and Chinese as well as in Thai (Hinds, 1990). In paragraph 4, reproduced in example (18), Pitch previews what will follow in the section of the text that was selected for analysis. (Paragraphs 5-7 preview the sections that follow.)

²³ Literally, ride a horse around the barracks.

(18) (P4.1-5)

<p><i>prakaan thūi nū̄j kaan rátthaprahāan nay khrāj nīi pràatsacàak khwaamrunrǣēj lé̄? kaannɔ̄j lū̄at// cī̄j rǎ̄i m̄ây? /// lé̄? raw ca khāwcāy khwaamsāmphan ráwà̄n̄j kaanrátthaprahāan kàp kaanphatthanaakaan prachaathíppatay dāy yà̄n̄ray?/// nay sū̄an nīi Ø ca dāy klàaw thǎ̄j kaan rátthaprahāan nay khrāj nīi // wāa Ø pen kaan tham rátthaprahāan [[thī̄i thamhāy “phonlamūaj klaay pen phrāy”]] dāy yà̄n̄ray?/// lé̄? khwaam-pen-phrāy nán sāmphan kàp kaansǣksǣēj khǎ̄j kaanmūaj khǎ̄j thahāan yà̄n̄ray?///</i></p>	<p><i>First, the coup this time was without violence and bloodshed// (is it) true or not?/// And how can we understand the relationship between the coup and the development of democracy?/// In this part (I) will talk about this coup// how was (it) the staging of the coup [[that caused “citizens to become phrai”]]?/// And how is phrai-ness related to the interference of the politics of the military?///</i></p>
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At the end of the text, Pitch distils the main points of the text in a macroNew that forms the final paragraph (which also happens to be a single clause) of this section under scrutiny in this thesis. The main topics that were dealt with in the text are condensed into a series of circumstances that look back over the preceding text. This stage also conforms in a way to the exposition genre in that the macroNew also reiterates the thesis:

(19) (P49.1)

<p><i>dāj nán khwaamphisèet khǎ̄j kaanrátthaprahāan 19 kanyaayon cū̄j pen rū̄aj khǎ̄j kaanmūaj bon cintanaakaan nay kaanpòkkhrɔ̄j phrāy samāy m̄ây khǎ̄j khaná? rátthaprahāan phaay t̄ay kaankhúmkhɔ̄j khǎ̄j rát phāan rábòp kòtmāy nay mī̄tī? khwaammānkhōj lé̄? sèetthakī̄t māak kwāa mī̄tī? khǎ̄j khwaampen phonlamūaj///</i></p>	<p><i>Therefore, the distinguishing feature of the coup of 19 September was thus an issue of political imagination in the governing of modern phrai by the coup group under the protection of the state through the legal system to the extent of security and the economy more than being citizens.///</i></p>
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By foregrounding what is to come and summing up at the end of the section, the reader is clearly directed to the key arguments that Pitch makes to persuade his readers.

In a series of four argument stages, Pitch develops his thesis that the coup stripped people of their citizenship, thus, in effect, returning them to the same status level occupied by *phrai* in Thailand’s pre-modern hierarchically organised society. The first argument builds the case against the discourse of a peaceful and non-violent coup through an embedded challenge. The challenge moves through the stages of Issue ^ Position challenged ^ Rebuttal ^ Coda. The Issue is signalled by a verbal clause as

hyperTheme: *The coup of 19 September is not easy to explain...* The position challenged stage elaborates on the issue. As the text moves through this stage, points are gathered to establish the position before the rebuttal. The stage is scaffolded by conjunctive Adjuncts, *that is, furthermore, apart from* and by the use of thematic resources such as absolute Theme and grammatical metaphor in the position of Theme.

This stage is also characterised by the use of “metasemiotic” nouns. The following example illustrates how Pitch uses metasemiotic nouns and extensive embedding in the nominal group to scaffold his argument and organise the flow of information in this position challenged stage. “Metasemiotic nouns” are nouns that refer to meanings about meaning and are a strategy for bringing in other voices into a text (Macken-Horarik & Morgan, 2011; Martin, 2003), including nouns such as *kaan-ʔáaŋʔiŋ* – *claim* and *kaan-ʔathíbaay* – *explanation*. Example (20) is a marked Theme, a circumstance of accompaniment with extensive embedding and grammatical metaphor, that marks a transition between phases in the Position challenged 1 stage of the text. The head noun in this circumstance of contingency is realised as a metasemiotic noun, *claim*, which is modified with an embedded clause complex that also contains grammatical metaphor (underlined).

(20) (P11.1-11.7)

nôðknǎ càak kaan-ʔáaŋʔiŋ [[wáa kaan-kratham ráttahprahǎan nán mây dâŷ lewráay// *phróʔ sĕeriiphâap nay kaan-sadæœŋ khwaam-khíthĕn nán yaŋ mii háŷ hĕn yùu càak* [[*thiŷ mii kaan-prathúañ yàañ sǎntìʔ klùm léklék*]]]// [[*thiŷ khàt kàp kòt ʔayakaansùk léʔ prakàat khanáʔ ráttahprahǎan nay khanàʔ diaw kàp* [[*kaan thiŷ khanáʔ ráttahprahǎan sòŋ kamlaŋ thahǎan pay pracamkaan taam sǎmnákŋaan khǒŋ sùttuanchon*]]// *léʔ mii kaan-khǒ khwaamrúamttĕn phàan pàak krabòk pĕn chĕn ní*]]],....

*Apart from the **claim** [[that the staging of the coup was not bad// because the freedom of expression of ideas could still be seen from [[the fact that there are peaceful protests of small groups]]]// [[that conflicts with martial law and the announcement of the coup group at the same time as [[the fact that the coup group sent a military force to be stationed at media offices// and there was the request for cooperation at gunpoint]]]]],...*

This marked Theme looks back over the preceding phases in this stage and is followed up in the hyperTheme of the next phase in this stage (example 21), this time with the metasemiotic noun *thátsaná?* – view. This phase forms the macroNew of this Position challenged stage, and is quite marked because of the change in mood to interrogative in the position of New. Again, Pitch deploys grammatical metaphor and complex nominal groups to pack several meanings into this macroNew:

(21) (P12.1-12.6)

<p><i>wíthiī kaansanâpsanūn kaantham rátthaprahāan [[thiī phāan maa]]</i> யாη ʔðɔk maa càak <i>thátsaná?</i> nay sǎŋkhom // <i>thiī wāa</i>// <i>kaan-rátthaprahāan nán pen sǐŋ campen</i> // <i>phró?</i> hàak Ø mây tham <i>rátthaprahāan léæw</i> // <i>khwaamrunrææŋ [[thiī ca nam pay sùu kaan nɔŋlúat]]</i> nán ca tōŋ kàət khūn // <i>daŋnán khwaam-sǎmrèt khǔŋŋ kaan-tham rátthaprahāan nán cuŋ yūu thiī kaan-mây-miī khwaam-runrææŋ nɔŋ-lúat kàət khūn</i>// <i>tháŋ thiī kaan-rátthaprahāan kô pen khwaam-runrææŋ thaay kaanmuay yàaŋ nàŋ chây ruǔ mây?</i></p>	<p><i>The method of promotion for the staging of the coup [[past]] has come out of the view in society</i>// <i>that states</i>// <i>(that) the coup was a necessary thing</i>// <i>because if (they) did not stage the coup</i>// <i>violence [[that would lead to bloodshed]] would have to occur</i>// <i>Therefore the success of the staging of the coup thus rests in the non-existence of violence and bloodshed occurring</i>// <i>even though the coup is a type of political violence is it not?</i></p>
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This view that the coup was necessary is then further packaged through the use of grammatical metaphor, including metadiscourse, into the hyperTheme as the point of departure for the rebuttal stage of this challenge. This packaging of meaning enables Pitch to challenge the idea that the coup was necessary:

(22) (P13.1)

kaan?athíbaay thǔŋŋ “khwaamsǎmrèt khǔŋŋ kaantham rátthaprahāan” phāan kaanpðŋkan mây hây kàət kaannɔŋlúat nán pen rúay [[thiī nâa tâŋ khǔŋ sǔŋsǎy pen yàaŋyîŋ]] //

*The explanation about “the success of the staging of the coup” through the prevention of bloodshed is a matter [[that is extremely suspicious]]*²⁴

²⁴ Literally, that should raise great suspicion

Pitch then states the reasons why these *claims, views* and *explanations* are suspicious in the rebuttal stage, deconstructing the arguments of the coup-makers and coup supporters, scaffolding these with metadiscourse.

The use of grammatical metaphor and extensive embedding in the nominal group, coupled with hyperTheme and hyperNew, is a powerful means that Pitch deploys to great effect to control the staging of his argument to guide the reader and to highlight the salient meanings in the text. Grammatical metaphor and embedded clauses are associated with both Theme and New as a strategy to package information such as actions and processes. Through grammatical metaphor, processes can be represented as things that can frame a phase or stage of discourse (Martin, 1993b; Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 107). Pitch deploys these resources to great effect to manage the transition between phases and stages in his text. In example (23) below, the move from Argument 3 to Argument 4 is scaffolded by first looking back to summarise the preceding argument and then forward to the coming argument. Nominalisations (in bold) include those with the nominalising morpheme *kaan-*, which forms an activity noun from a verb (often translated with the gerund form in English) and the nominalising morpheme *khwaam-*, which forms an abstract noun from an adjective or verb (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, pp. 28-30).

(23) (P40.1-40.5)

<p><i>nṵṵknṵa càak kaantham khwaamkhâwcaj lăksanà? kaansâaj màj khṵṵṵ rábṵṵṵp kaanṵṵṵṵṵ lăj kaanrátthaprahăan phûa pòkkhrṵṵṵ phrây samăj màj//</i> <i>dooy ṵṵṵ rábṵṵṵp sombuuranaayaasitthirât bṵṵṵṵ ṵṵdomkhati?//</i> <i>thiṵ màj khṵṵṵ khûn ciṵ lṵṵṵṵṵ//</i></p> <p><i>rûuppatham [[thiṵ sămkhan]] ṵṵṵṵ prakaaan nṵṵṵṵ năj kaantham khwaamkhâwcaj ruâj khṵṵṵ phrây samăj màj kṵ khṵṵṵ kaantham khwaamkhâwcaj năj ṵṵṵṵṵ khwaamsămphān ráwàṵṵṵ thahăan kâp kaanṵṵṵṵṵ phăan kaanphitcaaranaa khwaamkhâwcaj khṵṵṵ thahăan [[thiṵ Ø mii tṵṵ “phonlarṵṵṵan”]] //</i></p>	<p><i>Besides the creation of understanding of the characteristics of the rebuilding of the political system after the coup in order to govern modern phrai//</i></p> <p><i>by leaning on the system of the ideal absolutist state//</i></p> <p><i>that has never really been realised//</i></p> <p><i>another factor [[that’s important]] in the creation of understanding of modern phrai is the creation of understanding of the relationship between the military and politics through consideration of the military’s understanding [[that (they) have towards “civilians”]]//</i></p>
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The previous argument stage before paragraph 40 in Pitch’s text explains the relationship between the absolutist state and *phrai*. The use of grammatical metaphor to

package these previous meanings into the hyperTheme is extensive. A circumstance functions as marked Theme that summarises the previous argument. The rest of the clause then anticipates the argument to follow, identifying how the military views the general population, and concludes with the following hyperNew:

(24) (P40.8-40.10)

*phrṓ? thahǎan thay nán mṓṓṓ // wâa prachaachon pen phonlarṓan// Ø pen râatsadṓṓ²⁵
lé? phrây mâak kwàa phonlamṓṓṓ//*

*because the Thai military regards// the people as civilians²⁶// (they) are common people
and phrai more than citizens///*

These complex strategies, of drawing on different genres and orchestrating the presentation and flow of information by establishing hierarchies of periodicity, and exploiting linguistic resources such as grammatical metaphor, including metasemiotic nouns, are good examples of how Pitch exercises rhetorical agency to intervene in the debates. The overall staging of the analytical exposition is outlined in Table 5.3. Table 5.4 illustrates how Pitch embeds different genres within the Argument stages:

²⁵ As stated above, it is difficult to translate words like *râatsadṓṓ* into English. This word can be translated in some contexts as citizen, but in this case it is being contrasted with *phonlamṓṓṓ-citizen*, so it needs a different translation. I have therefore opted for *common people* here.

²⁶ Literally, *that the people are civilians*

Table 5.3 Schematic structure of analytical exposition genre in Pitch's text

Stages	Summary of content	Linguistic features
Thesis	The <i>coup d'état</i> of 19 September 2549 caused citizens to become <i>phrai</i>	title
Background	Definitions of <i>phrai</i>	Lexis for different classifications of people; Relational-identifying processes; <i>phrai</i> as Theme
Preview	Outlines four points that are key to understanding the coup, to be taken up in the four subsequent sections of the whole text. This thesis looks at just the first one of these sections.	hyperTheme: This article presents... <i>phûukhiän hěn – the writer thinks...</i> hierarchy of points: <i>first point..., second point...</i>
Thesis	“Causing citizens to become <i>phrai</i> ” as the heart of the staging of the 19 September <i>coup d'état</i> .	subtitle
Argument 1	Challenges the rhetoric of the coup makers/supporters that the coup was a necessary act and occurred without violence or bloodshed.	<i>Staging of the coup</i> + verbal process in hyperTheme Conjunctive Adjuncts: that is, furthermore, apart from
Argument 2 [[restatement of thesis]]	Argues that the coup/Thai politics/ can't be explained by resorting to past explanations about Thai culture and character of Thai people, but that the coup converted people with the status of citizen to people with the status of <i>phrai</i> - or modern state subjects.	Modality; Past explanations of Thai culture introduced with adversative conjunctive Adjunct; Explicit reference to writer: <i>phûukhiän sanăđ – the writer proposes...</i> Causative Logical relations: consequential
Argument 3	Argues that the <i>phrai</i> /modern state subject is a product of an absolutist state	Lexis: includes different types of states; Organized according to three characteristics (<i>first, second, third</i>)
Argument 4	Argues that <i>phrai</i> /modern state subject is also defined through the relationship between the military and citizens/civilians	Lexis: military, <i>phrai</i> , citizen, civilian Transition from argument 3-4 with complex nominal group
Explanation	Explains the problem that the coup group had with the translation of their name into English and the status of the King as inferred by the English translation.	Textual Theme <i>finally</i> in hyperTheme Consequential relations marked with conjunctions: <i>that is, this is because, therefore</i>
Section summary	Summarises the main points of the section.	Textual Theme <i>therefore</i> ; Identifying clause; 5 circumstances

Table 5.4 Examples of embedded genres in Pitch's text

Stages	Summary of content	Linguistic features
Argument 1 [[Challenge]] [[Issue 1]] [[Position challenged 1]] [[Rebuttal 1]] [[Coda]]	<p>Explaining the coup is difficult Coup was successful because it was accepted by the people and prevented violence</p> <p>Logic is circular and flawed because coup itself was a violent act</p> <p>Case of uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan who died as a result of the coup</p>	<p>Coup in declarative verbal process as hyperTheme Conjunctive Adjuncts to add points, absolute Theme, Interrogatives hyperTheme with <i>thī nāa tāj khōw sōhsāy pen yàñyīñ – that is highly suspicious</i> Cause-effect logical relations Conjunctive Adjunct as textual Theme</p>
Argument 2 [[Challenge]] [[Issue 2]] [[Position challenged 2]] [[Rebuttal 2]] [[Anti-thesis/Thesis]] [[...Rebuttal 2]]	<p>Silence and consent for the coup needs explanation Explanation for coup based on Thai political culture of <i>phrai</i> does not help explain why many people seemed to accept the coup.</p> <p>Problem is not because of Thai cultural notion of <i>phrai</i> (royal subject-ness) but rather is because the staging of the coup stripped the rights from Thai citizens, effectively giving them the status of “modern state subjects” Drawing on political theory to support this rebuttal argument.</p>	<p>hyperTheme – modality, adversative conjunction conjunctive adjuncts to elaborate on issue <i>tèæ ɲaw khâw cīñ – but really</i>; condition clause <i>phūukhīan sanǎw – the writer proposes</i> (sets up Thesis) Thematic equative in hyperNew</p>
[[Factorial explanation]] [[Outcome]] [[Factor 1]] [[Factor 2]] [[Factor 3]] [[Factor 4]]	<p><i>Phrai</i> is preferable to citizen in the view of the post-coup political leaders Meaning of a citizen Difference between citizen and <i>phrai</i> Difference between <i>phrai</i> and slave View of people as <i>phrai</i> has not changed from historical times to the modern state</p>	<p><i>lè? Ø ca wāa pay léæw – and it can be said</i>; comparison of citizen and <i>phrai</i>; identifying processes; topics signaled in hyperTheme</p>

The analysis of Pitch's use of the resources of genre and periodicity illustrate very clearly how Pitch has managed the potential of argument genres to make his points. To argue for his thesis, that the 2006 stripped Thai citizens of their political

rights, Pitch structured his text as an analytical exposition. At the same time, to take a stand against the discourses that prevailed at the time about the good, non-violent and necessary coup he embedded challenge genres into argument stages. The discourse semantic resource of periodicity was deployed effectively to guide the audience through the genre stages and focus attention on salient points. The analysis reveals just how a rhetor, skilled in using these genres of argumentation, can creatively shape and mould these genres to achieve his/her rhetorical goals, even when the circumstances constrain the airing of any views that challenge the dominant versions of events.

5.2.3 Chaiwat

Chaiwat's text includes a series of four challenges. Chaiwat weaves multiple discursive threads through his text, so it needs to be considered on several levels. On one level, he uses this text to explicitly challenge the critique of his work by his former political philosophy teacher, Ajarn Sombat. The generic stages clearly reflect this purpose, constructed in such a way as to deconstruct Sombat's critique of him. There are a series of four Position challenged ^ Rebuttal stages in Chaiwat's text as he takes his audience through Sombat's critique of his op-ed piece. On another level, Chaiwat enters into the debate underway in Thailand at that time about whether the coup was a legitimate act. He argues that the 19 September 2006 coup was unacceptable because coups are morally wrong. A moral choice or a moral resolution to the crisis needs to be made. It is a matter of great concern when a country accepts that conflicts can be resolved by force or violence. He seeks to problematise the coup to draw out the relationship between politics and choice and to stress that we must make ethical choices in politics (Chaiwat interview, 12/1/12). Moreover, the theme of the conference where Chaiwat first presented this speech was "Freedom, power, ethics and Thai politics". This theme framed the content of the speech. Finally, Chaiwat was presenting this speech at a conference of political scientists, so his "pitch" was to a room of specialists, though not necessarily all of the same political persuasion, especially given the events earlier in September. He would therefore have crafted his text to try to ensure he brought the audience along with him.

Perhaps as a result of this context, in which the speech was produced and delivered to a live audience, and as a result of the possible "face-threatening act" (Brown & Levinson, 1987) of criticising his teacher in a public forum, Chaiwat's text

comes across as rather indirect and polite. Studies into intercultural communication across a number of languages (e.g., Hinds, 1987; Mauranen, 1993; Scollon et al., 2012) as well as studies on genre and academic writing in Thai (e.g., Hinds, 1990; Jogthong, 2001) have identified a preference for indirectness in Thai, in particular through a delayed statement of thesis. Work on politeness strategies in Thai (e.g., Khanittanan, 1988a; Phukanchana, 2004; Srinarawat, 2005) identifies indirectness as a strategy used by Thai speakers to mitigate this threat to face and avoid open confrontation with others. Arguably, this can also be related to the strategy of the rhetor to shape the text in the presence of power – an expression of rhetorical agency. Indirectness is realised in Chaiwat’s text in a number of ways, perhaps most notably through genre staging and the delayed challenge to Sombat’s critique.

Genre stages in Chaiwat’s text have been identified again through patterns of Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme, changes of Mood choices, use of conjunctive Adjuncts as well as through patterns of lexical relations, such as repetition of lexical items and use of synonyms. At the beginning of the text, Chaiwat opens with a lengthy Background stage, that moves through two phases: first locating the coup within academic studies about other coups and then locating the coup in the context of how different groups of people might interpret it. These phases are characterised by the repetition of hyperThemes with the coup as Theme:

(25) (C1.1, 2.1)

rátthaprahăan “19 kanyaa” tàæk tàaŋ càak rátthaprahăan lăay khráŋ...

The “19 September” coup differs from many other coups...

rátthaprahăan “19 kanyaa” pen rátthaprahăan [[thîi tàæk tàaŋ pen phísèet càak rátthaprahăan khráŋ ʔhîn ʔhîn lăay prakaan]]

“19 September” coup is a coup [[that differs especially from other coups in many respects]]

This stage is also characterised by the repetition of lexis, in the first phase with the repetition of *coup* as an object of academic study and in the second phase with the repetition both of *coup* and of people and groups who have experienced coups.

The next stage in Chaiwat’s text provides the rationale for using Aristotle’s philosophy to problematise the staging of the coup. This stage is flagged by a subheading with interrogative Mood choice: *thammay Ø c๓๓ sǎamâat (khuān) phūut thūŋ rǎttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa kàp Aristotle? - Why can (should) (I) talk of the 19 September coup and Aristotle?* This stage also has a number of phases. The first phase is introduced with a marked Theme *nay prawàt pràtyaa kaanmuaŋ – in the history of political philosophy* and is characterised by lexical strings focused on Aristotle, other Aristotelian philosophers and philosophy. A second phase in this stage functions as a transition from the general relevance of Aristotle’s philosophy to the specific relevance:

(26) (C8.1-8.5)

<p><i>thánmòt nī pen hētphōn [[wāa Ø sǎamâat nām ruāŋ “aristotle kàp rǎttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa” maa pen praden sǎksǎa dāy]].// tǎe Ø māy chāy hētphōn lāk [[thīi tham hāy khāaphacāw khīt //wāa Ø khuān phūut thūŋ praden nī tōō nāa nāk rǎttasàat khǒŋ thay nay wan nī]]//</i></p>	<p><i>All this is the reason [[why (I) can take “Aristotle and the 19 September coup” as a point of study]]// but (this) is not the main reason [[that made me think// that I should speak about this point before Thai political scientists today.]]//</i></p>
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The Theme in this clause complex looks back over the previous phase and the New information looks forward to what is to come next. In the following phase, Chaiwat introduces the exam question that Sombat’s critique appeared in. This move is flagged by the following Theme:

(27) (C9.1-9.3)

hētphōn lāk [[thīi khāaphacāw khīt // wāa Ø khuān nām Aristotle kàp rǎttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa// maa phūut thūŋ nay thīi prachum nī]].

The main reason [[that I think// that (I) should take Aristotle and the 19 September coup// to speak about at this meeting]]

Yet at this point Chaiwat still does not move into the Position challenged ^ Rebuttal sequence. Instead, Chaiwat moves into a stage that has been labelled “Statement of position”, signalled by the hyperTheme *khwaamhěn khǒŋ khāaphacāw tōō rǎttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa pen [[thīi sǎap kan thūa pay]] – my opinion of the coup is [[something that is well known]].* This stage is brought to a close with a hyperNew with adversative conjunction: *tǎe thánmòt nī māy kiàwkàp Aristotle – but all this is not about Aristotle.* In paragraph 12, Chaiwat reorients the reader to Sombat’s critique of

Chaiwat's op-ed article in the *Bangkok Post*. The shift in focus is signalled with a thematic equative. As stated in Chapter 4, a thematic equative introduces a semantic notion of exclusiveness into the meaning of the clause.

(28) (C12.1)

thīi kīaw khuu bōt wīcaan khǒŋ ʔaacaan Sōmbàt tǒ “the moral enigma of a popular coup” *khǒŋ khâaphacâw*

what is relevant is the article by Ajarn Sombat in relation to “The moral enigma of a popular coup” by me.

Using thematic equatives like this one, Chaiwat highlights key pieces of evidence that he wants the audience to take note of as he builds his argument. Even though Sombat's critique is introduced here, this stage focuses on the essence of the *Bangkok Post* article. He signals this with Themes such as *praden sāmphan khǒŋ bōtkhwaam nán* – the important point of that article... and references to his reactions to the coup. The stage is therefore characterised by mental processes such as *understand* and *cannot agree*.

Up to this point, Chaiwat still does not overtly challenge Sombat. There is a sense of the need to accumulate evidence in Chaiwat's text before he can make his key point. It is as if Chaiwat has inserted stages, such as the lengthy background stage and the rationale stage, as a means to prepare the ground as fully as possible first before initiating his challenge. These moves indicate the way that the exercise of rhetorical agency is both enabled and constrained so that Chaiwat has to negotiate an appropriate response to Sombat in his text. It is constrained by the fact that he cannot baldly challenge Sombat; he is constrained by Thai hierarchical structure (in this case teacher and student), which limits how he can respond in public. However, the resources provide him with the means by which he can, less overtly, challenge Sombat's criticism of him.

It is not until paragraph 15 that Chaiwat moves to challenge Sombat's critique of his *Bangkok Post* op-ed text. From this point he deconstructs each point in the critique. He begins this Position challenged stage with a complex nominal group, referencing Ajarn Sombat:

Chapter 5 Rhetorical agency

(29) (C15.1)

praden sǎmkhan nay bôtwícaan khǒṅ ṽaacaan Sǒmbàt Cantharawoṅ khṻṻ...

The important points in A. Sombat Jantharawong's critique are ...

followed in the Rebuttal stage by

(30) (C16.4)

thīi ciṅ khâaphacâw hěn// wâa...

Actually, I think// that...

This pattern and similar ones in the following stages of the text signal not only the start of the Position challenged^Rebuttal stages, but also signal phases within stages where the focus switches from Sombat's position to Chaiwat's alternative position. Overall, the text unfolds as summarised in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 Challenge genre in Chaiwat's text

Stages	Description of content	Linguistic features
Background	Situating the coup within the context of academic study and how it might be interpreted by different groups of people	Repeated Themes (<i>coup</i>) in hyperThemes; Lexis: coup, people, groups; Interrogative mood as hyperNew
Rationale (Appeal to authority)	Why Aristotle can be associated with the 19 September coup	Heading – interrogative mood; Lexis: Aristotle, other philosophers, philosophy; relational processes
Statement of position	Chaiwat's position on the coup and how his comments have been interpreted	hyperTheme: My opinion... as Theme; relational processes; adversative conj. In hyperNew
Reorientation	Bringing the discussion back to Aristotle and Sombat's response to Chaiwat's op-ed piece; summarizing the main point in the op-ed piece	Thematic equative as hyperTheme; Use of adversative conjunction, causal conjunctions to scaffold the developing problem
Thesis	"Moral enigma" that was created by this coup and the contribution it has made to the study of political science.	<i>I think...</i> in hyperTheme; Scaffolded by marked Themes, conjunctive Adjuncts; hyperNew with <i>result</i> as Theme: <i>the result thus is...</i>
Position challenged 1	Sombat's position on coups and democracy	<i>Ajarn Sombat</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Rebuttal 1	Chaiwat's response to Sombat's position	<i>khâaphacâw – I</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Position challenged 2	Sombat's claim that Chaiwat misunderstands politics	Thematic equative in hyperTheme; Predicated Theme <i>Ajarn Sombat</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Rebuttal 2	Evidence to counter the claim, drawing on Aristotle's understanding of politics as a practical or theoretical science	<i>khâaphacâw – I</i> as Theme Lexis: political philosophers Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss; philosophical concepts
Position challenged 3	Sombat's question on choice for people in difficult circumstances	<i>Ajarn Sombat</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Rebuttal 3	Chaiwat's position on making moral choices even in difficult circumstances	<i>khâaphacâw – I</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Reiteration of thesis	The need for moral balance in political decision-making	<i>kaan phikhrô? thŭŋ panhãa thaŋ kaan muaŋ nay sãŋkhom thay yàaŋ rãthaprahãan 19 kanyaa</i> as Theme in MacroNew Inducive <i>hãy...</i>

Chaiwat's text is also more complex than this outline above. As well as expanding the text with a series of challenges, he embeds different genres into his text to craft a suitable response to Sombat as well as engage his audience. For example, a

key response to Sombat is made through an embedded discussion genre in his text. Discussions are two- or multi-sided arguments as opposed to expositions or challenges, which are one-sided. According to Coffin (2006a, p. 86), in a discussion, the writer attempts to align the reader/ audience with his or her position by first considering a range of positions in order to weigh up the evidence and decide in favour of one position. The major issue that Chaiwat wants to challenge is Sombat's comment that he (Chaiwat) does not understand politics. He states:

Now I don't mind when people say that I'm wrong, but I'm interested when my teacher says that I'm wrong, and I'm wrong in a very fundamental way, namely I don't understand politics. So I need to answer. I need to respond. (Chaiwat interview, 12/1/12).

In fact, Sombat's critique of Chaiwat could be considered a direct attack on Chaiwat's professional competence, and this compelled him to reply. Sombat's comment gave Chaiwat the impetus to debate him on some fundamental questions about politics, the nature of the political and the role of ethics in politics. He wanted to demonstrate that his own interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics* was not wrong. This stage clearly represents the core argument of the whole text, signalled again with a thematic equative:

(31) (C18.1)

tàæ thií sǎmkhan kwàa khuu praden thií sǎŋ///
but what is more important is the second point///.

This clause orients the reader to what is to be the key argument of the text. Chaiwat cites Sombat quoting Chaiwat's own words: "coup is morally wrong", and then quotes Sombat's question in response to Chaiwat: "since when has ethics (or politics for that matter) become a real ethical science?" It is the purpose of this part of Chaiwat's text to counter Sombat's implied position in this question, that politics is only a practical science. The following clause, a predicated Theme, underscores the importance of this question of Sombat's. The predicated Theme was introduced in Chapter 4 as a highly marked grammatical resource that carries a semantic feature of exclusiveness. The identifying relational process, *khuu* – *be*, in this clause is implicit, a feature of this process type in Thai as has been noted by Patpong (2006, pp. 530-534).

While ellipsis is a common feature of Thai grammar, the effect here is to make the metadiscourse, *question*, thematic:

(32) (C18.10-11)

Ø (khuu) kham thăam nií ʔeeŋ// thií chuâmyoon ʔátthaprahăan 19 kanyaa khâw kàp Aristotle dooy tron //

(it is) this very question// that connects the 19 September coup with Aristotle directly//

Sombat's reasoning behind that question to Chaiwat follows: that politics according to Aristotle is a practical science dependent on changing conditions, so right and wrong are relative to the prevailing conditions. This is a key point in Sombat's justification for supporting the coup. In order to challenge Sombat's position, Chaiwat introduces two more voices into the debate – two prominent philosophers and scholars of Aristotle's *Politics*, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin. The Rebuttal is presented as a discussion, with not only Sombat and Chaiwat in dialogue, but also with these two other philosophers. Even though this section of the text is framed as another challenge and scaffolded as a dialogue between Chaiwat and Sombat, he supports his rebuttal by discussing two interpretations of how Aristotle viewed politics. He exploits a discussion genre to weigh up the arguments for and against whether Aristotle's conception of politics should be interpreted to mean that politics is only a practical science or whether it can also be considered an ethical science. The schematic structure of the Discussion is Issue ^ Preview ^ Arguments for ^ Arguments against ^ Resolution.

In the Issue stage, Chaiwat identifies the major point of contention between his interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics* and Ajarn Sombat's interpretation. As a part of the Position challenged 2 stage, the Issue stage begins with Ajarn Sombat as Theme in a mental process: *ʔaacaaan sômbàt hěn – Ajarn Sombat thinks ...* to establish the problematic for discussion. The Preview stage, embedded into the Rebuttal of this challenge, begins with the rebuttal *khâaphacâw hěn – I think* and sets up the terms under which Chaiwat will rebut Sombat's argument by citing the authorities that he will base his argument on. Chaiwat introduces these authorities formally first – citing both their academic credentials as well more personal connections to both Sombat and Chaiwat. In this respect, Chaiwat's text is similar to Khien's text in the way that the authorities are explicitly introduced to the reader. But the similarity is only on the

surface. Chaiwat interrogates Aristotle's *Politics* through the texts of Voegelin and Strauss to a far greater depth than Khien interrogates the texts of philosophers such as Confucius, Hobbes or Locke. Chaiwat's preview stage is also characterised by dot points outlining the points to be covered and interrogative Mood choices to present the questions he seeks to answer. The Argument for stage begins with a discussion of Voegelin's interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics*, that politics is both a practical and an ethical science. The stage is framed by a mental clause projecting Voegelin's interpretation of Aristotle's politics: *Voegelin hěn // wâa ... - Voegelin thinks// that ...* To sum up the argument that politics is more than a practical science, a marked thematic equative pinpoints the difference between Chaiwat's and Sombat's understanding (and hence also Voegelin's and Strauss' positions).

(33) (C26.9-12)

nîi khuu khô thòkthiăñ [[thi khâaphacâw tâñ kham thăam // wâa léæw ca khâwcaý Aristotle bææp day,]] // dañ thi Ø hěn tàñ kan yùu khanà? nîi. ///
This is the dispute [[for which I posed the question// of how to understand Aristotle]]// as (we) have disagreed this time///

The Argument against stage takes the voice of Strauss and the position of Sombat, with projecting verbal clauses. This stage is characterised by Strauss appearing as Theme in verbal and mental processes, as in:

(34) (C27.7)

Strauss klàaw tòw pay dûay // wâa...
Strauss stated further also // that...

The argument is scaffolded in this stage through the use of thematic equatives, marked Themes and causal conjunctions that help the development of the argument.

The Resolution stage confirms Chaiwat's position that, for political scientists, politics has to be both a practical science and an ethical science, and so it is up to political scientists to speak up about the illegitimacy of the coup because it was essentially an unethical act. The macroNew of this stage scaffolds the main points with thematic equatives. Paragraph 32 begins with:

Table 5.6 Discussion genre embedded in challenge genre in Chaiwat's text

Stages	Summary of content	Linguistic features
Position challenged 2 [[Issue]]	Identifies the point in Sombat's critique which links directly to Aristotle's politics, that is, the claim that Chaiwat did not understand that politics was a practical science, not an ethical science	Thematic equative and adversative conjunction in hyperTheme <i>Ajarn Sombat</i> as Theme in mental or verbal processes
Rebuttal 2 [[Preview]]	Sets up the terms under which Chaiwat will critique Sombat's argument including the experts he will draw on (Voegelin and Strauss) and the questions he will answer	<i>khâaphacâw</i> – I as Theme in mental or verbal processes Introduces philosophers Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss; Dot points Interrogative mood
[[Argument for]]	Presents argument to support Chaiwat's position that politics is both a practical and an ethical science, drawing on Voegelin's interpretation of Aristotle.	Eric Voegelin as Theme; Voegelin as Theme in mental process Lexis: Aristotle, philosophical concepts, political philosophy, politics
[[Argument against]]	Presents Strauss' interpretation of Aristotle (Sombat's position).	Leo Strauss as Theme; Strauss as Theme in verbal processes Lexis: Aristotle, philosophical concepts, political philosophy, politics Use of thematic equatives, causal-conditional conjunctive Adjuncts to scaffold argument
[[Resolution]]	Resolves the discussion in favour of Chaiwat's/Voegelin's interpretation of Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> .	Thematic equatives to highlight main points Clauses of condition, concession; MacroNew: explicit reference to audience

There are also other cases of embedded genres in the following stage of Chaiwat's text. In the challenge sequence 3, Chaiwat embeds a series of exempla to make his point. An exemplum is a type of story genre in which something – a character, a situation – is interpreted and a moral judgement is made (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 62). Chaiwat embeds an exemplum in the Position challenged stage where he recalls an exemplum presented in Sombat's critique, so the choice of genre is appropriated from Sombat's text. Sombat had posed the question to Chaiwat what choice he would make when presented with an intractable decision, equating the choice of the coup makers with the choice of Sophie from the novel *Sophie's choice*. Chaiwat's response to this question of Sombat's is to cite two exempla set in Nazi concentration camps. The exempla function, first, to set the context by restating Sombat's question that was

directed at Chaiwat, and second, to rebut Sombat's argument. The deployment of these story genres in Chaiwat's text in conjunction with other genres of argumentation, combined with other semiotic resources such as the thematic equatives that mark as prominent particular meanings in his argument demonstrate the creative deployment of these resources as a means by which Chaiwat expresses agency through his text.

5.2.4 Summary of genre and periodicity analysis

This section has demonstrated how Khien, Pitch and Chaiwat have drawn on particular genres to intervene in the debates about the coup. The texts are highly intertextual and interdiscursive. They are intertextual in the way that they explicitly incorporate the words of other writers and other social actors. They are interdiscursive in that they draw on and combine different genres in certain ways to produce highly complex, mixed genres that construe the context in different ways and achieve particular rhetorical effects. They have scaffolded the textual meanings, specifically through Theme and New, hyperTheme and hyperNew, and macroTheme and macroNew, to alert the reader to what to expect in the ensuing discourse and to review what has come before. In so doing, the rhetors manage the information flow and organise their arguments in stages and phases, highlighting the points that they want to make salient and creating particular rhetorical effects. In this way, they exercise their rhetorical agency in their attempt to persuade their readers to accept their arguments.

5.3 Dialogism, addressivity and intertextuality

In the analysis of the three texts, it became evident that the dialogism in the texts was also an expression of rhetorical agency, for example, through the way that it was manifested in the phrasing of the argument. An analysis of dialogism and addressivity captures the strategies that writers use to engage the audience and position them in relation to other voices, other discourses and the value positions that they invoke (Martin & White, 2005). Thus, the analysis can reveal the intertextual relations in the way that external texts and voices are explicitly cited in the texts. The analysis can also reveal the interdiscursive relations in the way that discourses may be appropriated and incorporated in the texts. The way that the three texts anticipate and engage with other voices and discourses can be explored through the engagement resources deployed by the three writers. As outlined in Chapter 4, the engagement system in the appraisal framework models choices that writers can make to expand or contract the dialogic

space. To expand the dialogic space, writers can entertain a position as one of a range of alternative positions, signalled for example by modals of probability, acknowledge an alternative position by referencing other sources, or distance themselves from alternative sources. To contract the dialogic space, writers can deny an alternative position through negative polarity, counter an alternative position through concession, concur with a position that they assume the reader holds, make a pronouncement by explicitly intervening in the text to state a position, or endorse a position of an external source that they are themselves aligned with. The analysis of selected passages in the three texts found examples of all these resources of engagement that the writers used to first expand the dialogic space by invoking external texts, voices or discourses before closing it down through resources of dialogic contraction. The following sections describe how the three rhetors deploy the resources of ENGAGEMENT in their texts as one expression of their agency. The texts of each rhetor will be discussed in sequence, beginning this time with Chaiwat’s text.

5.3.1 Chaiwat

Chaiwat’s *Aristotle* text demonstrates a clear case of dialogism, responding to previous texts and anticipating new texts to follow. As previously stated, the text is the last in an intertextual chain of texts, and was a response to a critique of an op-ed piece that Chaiwat wrote for the English language *Bangkok Post* newspaper about a week after the coup (Figure 5.1, see also Appendix H for copies of these intertexts):

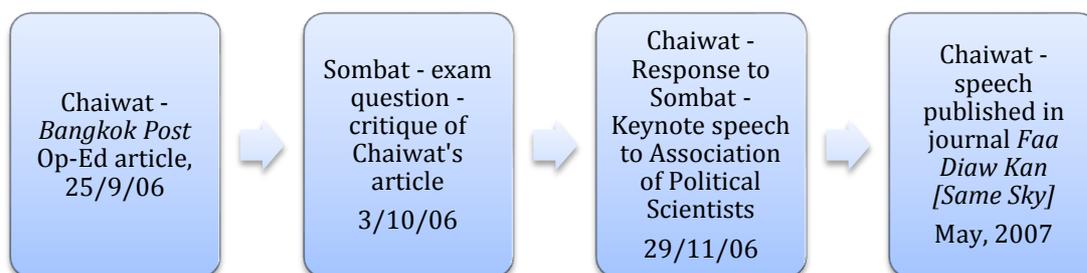


Figure 5.1 Intertextual chain of texts – Chaiwat

Chaiwat’s challenges in his text are overtly dialogic. For example, he undertakes a series of moves whereby he expands the dialogic space by acknowledging Sombat’s words and then contracts the dialogic space by pronouncing his own position on each point raised by Sombat. This exchange is realised linguistically as a series of projections

where the main clause, with either verbal or mental process, projects a secondary clause, which is either a locution or an idea respectively (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 443). In the example below, Ajarn Sombat projects a locution and Chaiwat projects an idea:

(35) (C15.1-15.5)

<p><i>praden sǎmkhan nay bòtwícaan khǎṅ</i> <i>ʔaacaan Sǎmbàt Cantharawoṅ khǎṅ praden</i> <i>rǎæc///</i> <i>ʔaacaan Sǎmbàt chíi //</i> <i>wáa ráttaphrahǎan khráṅ ní máy cháy</i> <i>khwaamkhàtyéæṅ rǎṅ kaaṅpàtháʔ kan</i> <i>rawàaṅ phadètkaan kàp</i> <i>prachaathíppatay.///</i> <i>thíi cīṅ khâaphacâw hǎn</i> <i>wáa ráttaphrahǎan thêæp thík khráṅ kǎ</i> <i>máy cháy khwaamkhàtyéæṅ rawàaṅ</i> <i>fâay phadètkaan kàp prachaathíppatay</i> <i>samǎṅ pay. ///</i></p>	<p><i>An important point in Ajarn Sombat</i> <i>Jantharawong's critique is the first point///</i> <i>Ajarn Sombat points (out)///</i> <i>that this coup was not a conflict or fight</i> <i>between dictatorship and democracy///</i> <i>Actually I think//</i> <i>that coups almost every time are never</i> <i>conflicts between a dictator faction and</i> <i>democracy///</i></p>
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This pattern is repeated in the Position challenged 1 ^ Rebuttal 1 stage of the text, signalling phases where the challenge is represented as a dialogue between Sombat and Chaiwat. Phase, then, needs to be understood not only as a resource to plot the unfolding argument of a text but also as a resource to manage the interpersonal negotiation of dialogic space between Sombat's position and the author's position. These are shifts in phases and do not represent shifts to a new generic stage because of the metafunctional consistency achieved through the consistency in process types and in the lexical choices, for example *coups*, *dictatorship* and *democracy* in this case.

This dialogic pattern is also captured in changes in Mood choices. For example, later in the first challenge sequence, Chaiwat rebuts the claim by Sombat that the coup represented the right of a *democratic society* to defend itself. Chaiwat's rebuttal 1 stage includes a counterexpectancy mood Adjunct coupled with a shift in tenor to interrogative mood as shown in example (36) below.

(36) (C16.6-16.13)

<p><i>cīṅ yūu</i> <i>Ø pen sít khǎṅ prachaathíppatay//</i> <i>thíi ca pòkpǎṅ tua ʔeeṅ].//</i> <i>tǎæ pròkkatiʔ [[sít khǎṅ prachaathíppatay</i> <i>thíi ca pòkpǎṅ tua ʔeeṅ]] nán ø tǎṅ tǎṅ</i> <i>khamthǎam prakǎṅp láay khǎṅ///</i></p>	<p><i>Actually</i>, <i>(it) is the right of democracy//</i> <i>to defend itself//</i> <i>but usually [[(for) the right of democracy to</i> <i>defend itself]] (one) must pose many</i> <i>questions///</i></p>
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<p><i>khuu khōw rêæek, kaancháy kamlay bææp nán <<khuu cháy kamlay thahāan// khāw yút ʔamnāat>> pen sít khōw prachaathíppatay ruǐ mây?/// khōw sōw, khray pen phūu [[cháy kamlay day klāaw]]// phrǒ? mii khōw tàay yūu mâak ráwàay kaan “pōŋkan prachaathíppatay” // dooy ʔaasǎy kamlay khōw rát // ruǐ dooy thií phāk prachaa sǎŋkhom cháy ʔamnāat khōw ton ʔeeŋ ...///</i></p>	<p><i>That is, first, is the use of <u>that kind</u> of force <<that is using military force to seize power>> a democratic right or not?///</i></p> <p><i>Second, who is the person [[using that power]]?</i></p> <p><i>Because there are many differences between the “protection of democracy”// by using the power of the state// or civil society using their own power... ///</i></p>
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In this Rebuttal stage, the use of the Mood Adjunct, *ciŋ yūu* – *actually* sets this phase up to counter Sombat’s proposition. It is the right of democracy – not a democratic society – to defend itself. However, in this phase, once Sombat’s position has been countered, Chaiwat entertains the possibility that there may be a range of views amongst his audience as to how a democracy can defend itself. He anticipates these differing positions with the change in mood choices to interrogative. By posing these questions, Chaiwat recognises that his audience may be divided over whether the use of force was justified in this case. Chaiwat deploys engagement resources such as disclaim: counter and entertain to negotiate solidarity with his audience at a time when views on the coup were extremely polarised. In the next phase, Chaiwat acknowledges one position while distancing another:

(37) (C17.1-17.10)

<p><i>khamthāam sǎmkhan khuu nay sǎaytaa khon camnuan nūŋ, Ø hěn // wāa ráttabaan tháksīn mí dáy pen prachaathíppatay léæw// tææ nay sǎay taa ʔiik camnuan mâak nán, Ø yaŋ thui // wāa ráttabaan nán pen prachaathíppatay yūu // dūay mii khon [[sanàpsanūn léæ? luák khǎw khāw maa.]]// mǎæ Ø ca klāaw // wāa Ø pen kaankhít ruāŋ prachaathíppatay bon thāan khōw kaan-luák-tāŋ thāwnán/// tææ kaan-luák-tāŋ kō pen pátcaŋ nūŋ khōw krabuankaan prachaathíppatay mi cháŋ ruǐ///</i></p>	<p><i>An important question is in one view (some people?) think// that the Thaksin government was not democratic but in the views of many (they) still believe// that the government was democratic// by having people [(who) supported and elected them]// Even if (we) say// that (this) is an idea of democracy only on the basis of elections//</i></p> <p><i>but an election is one aspect of the democratic process, isn’t it?///</i></p>
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This phase is interdiscursive. Chaiwat distances himself from the view that the Thaksin government was undemocratic by attributing the view to a minority of people – *khon*

camnuan nàŋ. He then acknowledges an alternative view, held by a lot of people – *camnuan mâak* that the government was democratically elected. This move is interdiscursive in that it taps into the discourse about Thai-style democracy, that democracy in Thailand is somehow different from other democracies and does not need to rely on elections, which lead to a “tyranny of the majority”. Chaiwat’s move challenges this discourse, and indeed, sets this view up as something that a majority of people would dismiss. In this way, Chaiwat legitimates his position through what van Leeuwen has termed the “authority of conformity” (2008, p. 109). That is, the views of the majority carry more legitimacy than the views of the few. In the next move, Chaiwat counters the idea that democracies do not have to depend on elections of governments, realised by the conjunctive adjuncts *máæ* – *even if* and then *tàæ* – *but* in the final clause. The final clause is another interrogative, again posing a question to the audience, which Chaiwat expects to be answered in the affirmative. This confirms Chaiwat’s stance that is contrary to the discourse on Thai-style democracy, and projects this same position onto his audience. According to Martin and White (2005, p. 121) this type of move aligns the audience because it “construe[s] the writer as sharing this axiological paradigm with the reader”. This analysis reveals a second type of interdiscursivity in Chaiwat’s text. The first was identified above in section 5.2 in the way that the writers combine different genres in novel ways to create and shape their texts. The second example of interdiscursivity occurs in the way that Chaiwat appropriated/acknowledged this particular discourse on Thai-style democracy and has challenged it in his text.

Yet another manifestation of interdiscursivity can be identified in Chaiwat’s text. As stated above, Chaiwat embeds an exemplum genre into his text as a means to illustrate a point and make a judgement. The appropriation of this genre is a rhetorical strategy that allows Chaiwat to respond to his critic in exactly the same manner that his critic had chosen to question him – by means of this type of story genre. Chaiwat responds to the question about Sophie’s Choice and then expands on this response with two more exempla, concluding with the clauses in example (38) below. The exempla embedded in Chaiwat’s text are infused with appraisal choices, in bold in the following example, that assess the situation, as Martin and Rose (2008) also indicate in their discussion of this genre. In this way, Chaiwat attempts to align his audience through his deployment of this genre and particularly the final interpretation stage.

(38) (C34.28-34.31)

<p><i>ruâŋ raaw lâw nîi tham hây hên dâŷ //</i> <i>wâa Ø pen pay dâŷ //</i> <i>thiî ca mâŷ ɣɔm camnon tɔɔ</i> <i>khwaam chûa ráay méæ krathâŋ</i> <i>nay khâykàkkan nazi //</i> <i>lê? khwaam-pen-pay-dâŷ nay kaan-luâk</i> <i>bon thâan thaan sîlatham damroŋ yûu méæ</i> <i>nay sathâanakaan [[thiî hòotrâŷ luă</i> <i>pramaan]]//</i></p>	<p><i>These stories let (us) see//</i> <i>that (it) is possible//</i> <i>to not surrender to evil even</i> <i>in a Nazi concentration</i> <i>camp//</i> <i>and the possibility of fundamental moral</i> <i>choices exists even in circumstances [[that</i> <i>are extremely cruel]].//</i></p>
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Thus, Chaiwat deploys different resources to create his text and align his audience to his position. His text is highly complex, intertextual and interdiscursive, and it is this intertextuality and interdiscursivity and the deployment of different genres that expresses agency through his text.

5.3.2 Pitch

Pitch also deploys various resources to position himself and his readers in relation to the field. As illustrated earlier in example (15), the first stage of his text is consistent in Theme, with *phrai* and related words for *people* for the most part occurring as Theme until the final clause complex. In the final clause, for the first time in this paragraph the Subject/Theme is not *phrây* or its related terms, but instead is *raw* – *we*, which in general usage is an inclusive first person plural pronoun (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 50) to refer in this case to the writer and his readers:

(39) (P1.23)

wâa raw mii wátthanatham thaan kaanmuaŋ bææp phrâyfáa” //
that we have a political culture of royal subjects.//

Thus, the focus shifts from *phrai* to explicitly identify with the readers and align them, albeit in a preliminary way, with his claim about the status of Thai citizens in the Thai political system. In this way, Pitch engages with the discourse of “the people”, that is, that they are politically naïve and should not take part in political decision-making. However, his purpose is to challenge or subvert this discourse rather than promote it.

The argument about *phrai* is picked up again in the Argument 2 stage. In the following example (40), Pitch rebuts the argument that Thai political behaviour is a

remnant of past historical and cultural traditions, but instead suggests that it is a more recent development caused by the 2006 coup. This phase begins with a pronouncement - *phûukhĩan sanǎə wâa... – the writer proposes that...* where Pitch explicitly refers to himself as the writer. Pitch contracts the dialogic space by overtly intervening in the text to state his thesis, a pronouncement in the system of engagement. Following this pronouncement, Pitch begins by denying, through negative polarity, the traditional view of the status of the common people in the Thai political system: *panhãa khǎəy kaanmuaŋ thay nán mây dâŋ yùu thiĩ – the problem with Thai politics does not lie with....* He then signals an alternative view with the adversative conjunction *hàak tàæ – but*, followed by a second pronouncement. In this second pronouncement, the Sayer is ellipsed, but can be inferred as the “reader in the text”. Therefore, Pitch also implicitly draws the reader into this pronouncement – *we can say*, to align them to the proposition he has put forward. This proposition very clearly subverts the discourses about the *people* – that they are uneducated and easily swayed by politicians and so do not have the understanding to exercise their democratic rights responsibly through the electoral process. Instead, Pitch argues that the people – Thai citizens – have been intentionally positioned in this way by the state to confound the democratic process.

(40) (P21.1-21.7)

<p><i>phûukhĩan sanǎə//</i> <i>wâa panhãa khǎəy kaanmuaŋ thay nán</i> <i>mây dâŋ yùu thiĩ wátthanatham lǎə?</i> <i>phrítikam thaŋ kaanmuaŋ khǎəy</i> <i>bùkkhon nay rábǎəp kaanmuaŋ [[thiĩ</i> <i>pen phrây fáa]] dooy tua khǎəy phûak</i> <i>kháw ʔeeŋ càak phátthanaakaan thaŋ</i> <i>prawàtsàat lǎə? wátthanátham [[thiĩ</i> <i>yaaw naan]]//</i></p> <p><i>hàak tàæ Ø pen rûaŋ khǎəy</i> [[<i>kaan thiĩ</i> <i>bùkkhon làw nán “thiĩuk tham háy pen phrây</i> <i>(fáa)” ná húaŋ caŋwà? nay pàtcuban sǎa]]</i> <i>mâak kwàa //</i> <i>daŋ thiĩ hǎn yùu càak kaankratham</i> <i>rátthaprahãan nay khráŋ nií//</i> <i>thiĩ tham háy kǎət kaanpliàn sathãaná?</i> <i>thaŋ kaanmuaŋ khǎəy bùkkhon nay</i> <i>rábǎəp kaanmuaŋ càak “phonlamuaŋ”</i> <i>maa sùu khwaam pen “phrây” yàaŋ</i> <i>chátceen lǎə? còŋcǎæŋ.//</i></p> <p><i>ruĩ klàaw dâŋ //</i> <i>wâa rát ʔeeŋ tàaŋ hàak thiĩ tham háy</i> <i>phonlamuaŋ pen phrây//</i> <i>phûa tham háy kaan phátthanaa thaŋ</i></p>	<p><i>The writer (I) proposes//</i> <i>that the problem with Thai politics does</i> <i>not lie</i> <i>with culture or the political</i> <i>behaviour of individuals in a political</i> <i>system [[that consists of royal subjects]]</i> <i>with that group [having] a long historical</i> <i>and cultural development//</i></p> <p><i>but (it) is even more a case of</i> [[<i>the fact that</i> <i>that group of individuals “were made into</i> <i>royal subjects” in the present period]]// <i>as can be seen from the staging of this</i> <i>coup//</i> <i>that caused the change of the status of</i> <i>individuals in the political system from</i> <i>“citizens” to “phrai” clearly and openly</i> <i>//</i></i></p> <p><i>or (we) can say//</i> <i>that (it was) the state itself that made</i> <i>citizens into phrai//</i> <i>so that democratic development does not</i></p>
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<i>kaanmuaṅ pay sùu prachaathíppatay nán mây kàət khûn rew pay nák.///</i>	<i>occur too quickly.///</i>
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In Argument 1, Pitch challenges the discourse that was being promoted about the coup – that it was a “good”, necessary and successful coup – by the coup group and supporters of the coup. He begins this stage with a denial, realised as negation of the metasemiotic verb *explain* in the clause:

(41) (P8.1)

*kaan tham rátthaprahăan mûa 19 kanyaa [[thīi phàan maa nán]] mây sǎamâat
ʔathíbaay ṅâay ṅâay dūay kròp khwaamkhâwcaay rûaṅ phadètkaan/ prachaathípatay
léə? saphaawá? thammachâat/ sǎnyaa prachaakhom///*

*The staging of the [[past]] coup on 19 September cannot [be] explain[ed] easily with a
framework of dictatorship/democracy and natural conditions/social contract///*

This denial that the coup can be explained using social contract theory contradicts Khien’s position, which attempted to explain the coup as necessary because the Thaksin government violated the social contract. Pitch picks up on explanations about the coup by the coup group and supporters of the coup. In paragraph 9, Pitch acknowledges the explanation that the lack of opposition to the coup meant that people accepted and agreed with the coup. He explicitly attributes this explanation to the coup group and those who supported the staging of the coup:

(42) (P9.2)

*daṅthīi bandaa khaná? rátthaprahăan léə? phîu [[thīi sanàpsanûn rátthaprahăan]] dây
klàaw ʔaw wáy///*

as all the coup group and people [[who supported the coup]] had stated///

Pitch acknowledges this explanation, but he acknowledges it in order to distance himself from it, and in doing so also distances his readers from the explanation. He indicates this stance with the metasemiotic noun *kaan-ʔâaṅʔiṅ* – *claim*, which he modifies with an extremely complex embedded clause complex:

(43) (P11.1-11.2)

*nôwkñăa càak kaan-ʔâaṅʔiṅ [[wâa kaankratham rátthaprahăan nán mây dây lewráay//
phrô?...*

besides **the claim** [[that the staging of the coup was **not bad**// because...

The first clause of the embedded clause complex, which modifies the claim of the coup group, is negated – the coup was *not bad*. As Martin and White (2005) point out, negation can be used as a resource to signal a different position on a proposition. It is not always the opposite of a positive proposition because the positive does not presume a negative position, but a negative position presumes a positive one (p. 118). Therefore, invoking the negative – the coup was *not bad*, presupposes the alternative positions – a “bad coup” or even, by logical deduction, a “good coup”. If Pitch had said that the coup was “good”, as many were referring to it at the time, then the *claim* would not have presented itself as responding to the position that coups, in fact, are not good. By using the negative in this case, Pitch presents the coup group as responding to other claims that coups are bad.

Pitch signals his concern with this discourse of the coup group by a change of Tenor at the end of this phase. At the conclusion of this phase and the next phase, he shifts from declarative to interrogative mood choices. As illustrated above, this is also a strategy that Chaiwat uses to engage directly with the reader. The suggestion in the example below is that, presented with the evidence (summarised in the embedded clause complex), the claim is not supported:

(44) (P11.1, 11.8)

raw ca klāa yunnnyan dāy yàaṅray //wāa kaanrátthaprahāan nān pen kaan-sāaṅ sǎnyaaprachaakhom phāan kaan-yinyōm phrōmcaṅ khōṅ prachaachon?///

How can we dare to confirm// that the coup symbolised the building of a social contract through the unanimous acceptance of the people?///

Prior to the Rebuttal stage, Pitch voices more of the rhetoric that was circulating about the reasons why there needed to be a coup. This voicing is captured in the metasemiotic noun *thátsaná?* in the circumstantial element *càak thátsaná? nay sǎṅkhom* – *from the view in society*:

(45) (P12.1-12.4)

<i>wíthii kaansanāpsanūn kaantham rátthaprahāan [[thiī phāan maa]] yaṅ ?ṅṅk maa càak thátsaná? nay sǎṅkhom //</i>	<i>The staging of the [[past]] coup was promoted from the view in society//</i>
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<p><i>thiī wāa kaanrátthaprahāan nán pen sìṅ campen //</i> <i>phrṓ? hàak Ø mây tham rátthaprahāan léæw //</i> <i>khwaamrunrææṅ [[thiī ca nam pay sùu kaan nṓṅluât]] nán ca tṓṅ kàət khûn ///</i></p>	<p><i>that the coup was a necessary thing// because if there was no coup//</i> <i>violence [[that would be followed by bloodshed]] would occur.//</i></p>
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In the Rebuttal stage, Pitch again distances himself and his readers from these explanations. This distancing is signalled by metasemiotic nouns and by the use of scare quotes:

(46) (P13.1)

*kaanṓathibaay thṓṅ “khwaamsămrèt khṓṅ kaan tham rátthaprahāan” phāan
kaanṓṓṅkan mây hây kàət kaannṓṅluât nán pen rûaṅ [[thiī nâa tâṅ khṓṅ sṓṅsây pen
yàaṅyṅ]] //*

*The explanation about “the success of the staging of the coup” through the prevention
of bloodshed occurring is a matter [[that is extremely suspicious]]²⁷*

This explanation and justification that was presented by the coup makers and coup supporters is raised by Pitch in order to be challenged, which is exactly the motive for citing them (Pitch interview, 20/11/09). Pitch aims to expose the faulty logic involved in this reasoning by the coup supporters – using the very words that these supporters used themselves. Pitch then positions himself and his readers clearly in opposition to the claims and explanations he voiced earlier:

(47) (P16.1-16.2)

kaanṓathibaay khwaamsămrèt khṓṅ kaantham rátthaprahāan cṓṅ wonwian //

lé? sèeptit kàp khwaamrunrææṅ lé? nṓṅluât yàaṅ mây mii thiī sín sùt//

*The explanation of the success of the staging of the coup thus is circular// and is fixated
with endless violence and bloodshed//*

While there are no overt lexicogrammatical realisations to suggest this is a pronouncement in the Engagement system, following Martin and White (2005, p. 127), pronouncements involve “authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or

²⁷ Literally, this reads: that should raise great suspicion

interpolations”. The fact that Pitch’s statement is made categorically suggests that this is an explicit view of the writer in opposition to the aforementioned claims.

In the Argument 4 stage, Pitch locates his challenge within the academic debates on military intervention and military professionalism, and these debates are applied to the Thai context. This argument is set up through the conventional means (in academic writing) of the use of citations, specifically footnotes in this text. Once Pitch has established the concept of military professionalism – that the military must be free to perform their own duties but not intervene directly in politics – he expands the dialogic space by entertaining ideas regarding different debates about this topic. For example, he states:

(48) (P42.1)

Ø duu mǎn [[wāa nææwkhít rǎaŋ kaanpen thahǎan ʔaachiíp nán yǐŋ tham háy thahǎan yǐŋ kǎw kàp kaanmǎaŋ mâak khǐn daŋ khôô thòkthǎaŋ sǎmkhan nay rǎaŋ khwaamsǎmphān rawàaŋ thahǎan kàp kaanmǎaŋ]]//

(It) *seems* [[that the idea of being a professional soldier makes the military meddle more in politics as in the important debate about the relationship between the military and politics.]]//

The use of the Mental: impersonal process *duu mǎn* – *seems* with projected fact clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 539) signals a subjective assessment of probability (Martin & White, 2005). Martin and White argue that

the maximally explicit grounding of the value position in the writer’s own subjectivity acts to construe a heteroglossic backdrop by which speakers/writers can be strongly committed to a viewpoint while, nonetheless, being prepared to signal a recognition that others may not share this value position. (p. 107)

Pitch subsequently presents two alternative positions, one in which it is believed that the military does not interfere in politics, and a second one, reproduced as example (49), in which it does:

(49) (P42.6-42.10)

<p><i>nay khaŋà? thǐ nák wíchaakaan ʔiik klùm nǎŋ klàp hǎn // wāa mǎaday kô taam thǐ</i></p>	<p><i>On the contrary, another group of researchers think that whenever the military</i></p>
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<p><i>thahǎan nán sadææŋ ʔòk sǎŋ thátsanáʔ [[wáa ton nán pen thahǎan ʔaachiíp]],//</i> mûa nán læʔ <i>ca pen húaŋ caŋwàʔ [[thiî thahǎan sâaŋ khwaamchôp̄tham nay kaankhâw sêæksææŋ thaaŋ kaan muaŋ dooy tron]]///</i></p>	<p><i>expresses the view [[that they are professional soldiers]],//</i> right at that very time <i>will be the time [[that the military is constructing legitimacy for direct political intervention]]///</i></p>
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The use of the attitudinal negotiator *læʔ* (Patpong, 2006, p. 344) adds an interpersonal value to the proposition that Pitch is making. Cooke (1989, p. 12) states that *læʔ* pinpoints an item as the sole alternative and carries a semantic feature of assertiveness. The use of this attitudinal negotiator at this point effectively construes a pronouncement, establishing Pitch’s position. The footnote also attributes this argument directly to Finer’s (1975) work *The Man on Horseback*. Pitch next presents a proposition, voicing the military, which he distances himself from by means of the metasemiotic noun *khôw-ʔâaŋ* - *excuse*:

(50) (P42.12-42.14)

*dúay khwaam-pen-ʔaachiíp khǒŋ thahǎan pen khôw-ʔâaŋ [[thiî thamhây sǎŋkhom
hěŋ// wáa ton nán mây dây mii phôn prayòt kàp kaanmuaŋ [[thiî damnæn yuu]]]]*
*with the professionalism of the military being **the excuse** [[that makes society see// that
the military itself has no interests in ongoing politics]] [lit. politics that is ongoing]*

Pitch attempts to deconstruct the rhetoric of the military – their “excuse” – by using their own words to expose the flaws in their reasoning and the problems created by this notion of military professionalism in the Thai context. For example, he quotes an interview in the media in which the military was asked whether there was a plan to stage a revolt, to which the reply was “*mây mii*” – “no, (it) does not have (any such plans)”. He links this denial by the military to the concept of military professionalism adopted by the military:

(51) (P42.23-42.32)

<p><i>khwaampen thahãan ʔaachiip kô ca kàət khûn</i> // <i>lê? klaay pen khwaamchôptham nay</i> <i>kaankhâw sêæksææŋ thaay kaanmuaŋ phaan</i> <i>kaanhây thátsaná? [[thi tem pay dūay</i> <i>khwaam-wãŋ nay kaanpen thaay luák khǝŋ</i> <i>châat bāan muaŋ nay yaam wíkrüt// dan thi</i> <i>hên yùu]]./././</i></p>	<p><i>Professionalism of the military will thus</i> <i>occur//</i> <i>and legitimise political intervention through</i> <i>providing a point of view [[that is full of</i> <i>hope in being the choice of the nation in a</i> <i>crisis// as can be seen.]]//</i></p>
<p><i>dan nán khwaam sãmkhan khǝŋ kaanhây</i> <i>sãmphãat wãa thahãan ʔaachiip ca patiwát</i> <i>rũũ mây nán mây dāy yùu thi kaankoohòk</i> <i>[[wãa Ø mây tham ráttaphrahãan// rũũ Ø</i> <i>mây khít// Ø ca tham ráttaphrahãan]]/</i> <i>tææ Ø yùu thi kaansāay khwaamchôptham</i> <i>thaay kaanmuaŋ khǝŋ thahãan phaan kaan</i> <i>tòp [[wãa Ø mây patiwát// phrǝ? ton pen</i> <i>thahãan ʔaachiip tàay hàak]] //</i></p>	<p><i>Thus this importance of giving interviews</i> <i>whether professional soldiers will revolt or</i> <i>not does not rest in the lie [[that (the</i> <i>military) won't stage a coup// or (it) does not</i> <i>think// (it) will stage a coup]]//</i> <i>but (it) rests in the construction of political</i> <i>legitimacy of the military through the answer</i> <i>[[that (it) won't revolt// because they</i> <i>themselves are professional soldiers]]//</i></p>

In this extract, Pitch continues to attribute the authority of the claims to the military through the use of meta-semiotic nouns, *thátsaná?* – *point of view* and *kaankoohòk* – *the lie*. The words that are attributed, however, are not direct quotations, but an interpretation of their words, surreptitiously, in Pitch's own words. The point of view is described as being *full of hope in being the choice of the nation in a crisis*. Attributing the words as *a lie* distances Pitch – and therefore the readers – from the external voice.

This discussion of Pitch's use of engagement resources reveals that it is also highly intertextual and interdiscursive. Through his text, he manages external voices, positioning himself and his reading audience in relation to those voices, to challenge, resist and perhaps even mock them. To achieve this, he draws on a range of resources of engagement: attribute: acknowledge, attribute: distance and entertain to expand the dialogic space and disclaim: deny and proclaim: pronounce to contract the dialogic space. The text is also interdiscursive in the way it appropriates and deals with some of the prevailing discourses of the time. Pitch's deployment of these resources in strategic ways to convey his stance and mold his audience's responses demonstrates his exercise of rhetorical agency.

5.3.3 Khien

Khien also draws on the resources of engagement to incorporate the voices of others into his text, as a way to align or disassociate his readers with these voices. Khien

expands the space for alternative voices through attribute: acknowledge and contracts the space through disclaim: counter, proclaim: concur, proclaim: pronounce and proclaim: endorse. The opening paragraph to the Background stage in Khien's text reverberates with competing voices as Khien positions his readers before expounding his own interpretation. These voices are realised through grammatical metaphor in the hyperTheme of this stage:

(52) (K1.3-1.4)

tèæ khwaamsàpsǒn dâan khwaamkhít khwaamkhâawcay kîaw kàp panhăa [[thiî kàət khân nay mùu khon thay]] nán kô yaŋ mii yùu mây nǒy///

but confusion around the opinions and understanding of the problems [[that occurred amongst that group of Thai]] still exists...///

That is, the Thai people, and even people in foreign countries, were confused about the legitimacy of the actions of the coup leaders. Various groups and individuals and their respective positions on the legitimacy of the coup are identified through thematic choices. These groups include pro-Thaksin groups, anti-Thaksin groups, the coup group and the People's Alliance for Democracy. Though other systems in the appraisal framework besides the system of Engagement have not been analysed, it is clear that the text conveys Khien's stance on these groups through negative or positive appraisal choices. For example, Thaksin's supporters are *fanatical* and *angry*:

(53) (K1.5-6)

phûak [[thiî nýom "rábðəp Tháksin" yàŋ khllâŋkhlláy camnuan nǝŋ]] khon ca kròot khéæen mâak

The group [[that fanatically prefers Thaksinism]] is probably furious...

while coup supporters offer flowers to the military:

(54) (K1.16-1.17)

mii phûukhon // nam dǝkmáay, ʔaahăan léʔ khruâŋdum// pay sadææŋ khwaam-khðəpkhun thahăan

There are people// taking flowers, food and drink// to express thanks to the military

Competing views external to the author are realised through various different means. For example, external voices are realised through metadiscourse as in the following examples:

(55) (K1.3-1.4)

*khwaamsàpsǝn dāan **khwaamkhít khwaamkhâawcay** [[*thiî kàət khân nay mùu khon thay*]]*

*the confusion of **ideas and understandings** [[that occurred amongst **the Thai**]]*

(56) (K1.20- 1.24)

*nay nāa nāṅsuǝphim lé? nay mùu panyaachon mii kaan-thòkthiǎṅ kan yàaṅ khêmkhôn rawàaṅ **phûak nýom prachaathíppatay** [[*thiî tòtāan “rábðǝp Tháksǝn” ...*]] kàp **ṛiik sùan nùṅ** [[*sṅ pen phûak nýom prachaathíppatay hǝa kâaw nāa...*]]*

*on the **pages of the newspapers** and amongst the **groups of intellectuals** there is **strong disagreement** between **the democratic group** [[that opposes **Thaksinism...**]] and **another group** [[that is **progressively democratic...**]]*

(57) (K1.28)

*sǝandusit phool lé? mahāawitthayaalay râatchaphát suǎn dusit dāy sǝmrùat **khwaamkhithǝn khðṅ prachaachon***

*the **Suan Dusit poll** and **Suan Dusit Rajabhat University surveyed the opinions of the people***

Each of these examples refers to multiple voices – of the Thai people, various political groups, intellectuals and the media. The words of others are also referred through directly quoting and paraphrasing:

(58) (K1.14)

*phūu [[*thiî ṛðǝk maa tàkoon “Tháksǝn.... sūu sūu”*]] kàp fàay tronṅkhâam [[*thiî ṛðǝk maa takoon “Tháksǝn ... ṛðǝk pay”*]]*

*People [[who came out shouting “**Thaksin... fight...fight**”]] and the opposite side [[who came out shouting “**Thaksin... get out**”]] ...*

(59) (K1.25-1.27)

...ʔiik sùan n̄əŋ ...[[thī ʔòɔk maa sadæœŋ khwaamkhíthěŋ thamnɔŋ diaw kan// w̄aa kaantham rátthaprahãan ʔàat ca n̄akliàt// tàœ “rábòɔp Tháksĩn” nán n̄akliàt kwàa]]
...another group [[who came out and expressed their opinions in the same way// that the staging of the coup may be ugly// but “Thaksinism” is uglier]]

This construal of confusion and disorder expands the dialogic space. Khien acknowledges the complexity of positions that existed at that time, setting up the context as explicitly heteroglossic. The attribution of these different voices prepares the ground for the next move he makes to close down this space. The following concession followed by a counter-claim places Khien’s own position against all these alternative positions.

(60) (K2.1-2.2)

*nay khanà? thī f̄ay [[thī hěŋ chòɔp]] l̄é? f̄ay [[tòɔtãan kaan tham rátthaprahãan khɔŋ thay khráŋ ni]] yaŋ khoŋ tóothiãŋ kan yuu // dooy mây mii khôɔ yúti?// **t̄œ kh̄aphacãw ʔeeŋ mii khôɔ sarùp l̄œœw**///*

*While the side [[that agreed]] and the side [[protesting against the staging of this coup]] are still debating (the issue)// without having any resolution// but **I myself have a conclusion**///*

Khien’s text cites the wisdom of Eastern and Western philosophers in the Argument/Grounds stage to endorse his own position. This is realised through the deployment of verbal processes and the naming of well-known philosophers:

(61) (K3.3)

khõŋcũ... d̄ay klàaw wáy// w̄aa...
Confucius ... has stated// that...

(62) (K3.11)

s̄awók ʔèek khõŋ khõŋcũ khũ m̄eŋcũ ... kô s̄ɔn// w̄aa
Confucius’ disciple Mencius ... taught// that...

(63) (K4.2)

Thomas Hobbes d̄ay klàaw wáy //

Thomas Hobbes stated

While endorsements are realised through projection in the grammar of the clause in much the same way as attributions, with endorsements the positions of the external authority and the writer/speaker are aligned; that is, the endorsement may appear to suggest alternative viewpoints, but in reality the proposition is presented as “maximally warrantable” (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 126-127). This is foregrounded in Khien’s text before he moves into this Argument stage as follows:

(64) (K2.12-2.13)

khǎo ʔanuyâat ʔathíbaay // dooy ʔiη phuumíʔpanyaa khǎoη pràat khǎoη lôok tawanʔòok léʔ tawantòk thaay thrútsadii ráttasàat sàk 4-5 thân ...///

Please let me explain// by leaning on the intellect of Eastern and Western philosophers of political theory...

Khien’s appeal to the reader here sets up the endorsement that follows. Subsequently, in each of the propositions from the five external authorities, the propositions are presented with minimal modality, therefore assuming a categorical position.

Khien’s Argument/Justification stage comprises a number of phases legitimating the actions of the military and portraying it as the reluctant hero. The first phase identifies the role of the military, with relational processes, particularly identifying processes, dominating in this phase. This phase aligns with the expectations of others in the community for how the military is supposed to act and the role it plays in a society. Khien then sets up a concession with a marked Theme in which he acknowledges that the military has acted in contravention of this expectation in the past:

(65) (K8.8)

yàaηray kô taam tâηtææ pii 1932 pen tôn maa thahãan thay dâη lámâat làkkaan dan klàaw lăay khráη dooy kaan-khâw pay chúay (rủi thùuk dηη khâw pay chúay) fâay day fâay nùη///

However, since 1932 the military have violated that principle many times by helping (or being pulled in to help) a particular side///

This claim ^ concession move is followed in the next paragraph by another claim about the military. This claim voices the view of those people in the community who believe that a democracy should solve its political problems with reason and not force. Interestingly, this is the same point that Chaiwat makes in his text. But while the need to use force was seen as a necessary move for Khien, and for Sombat also, it created a “complex moral enigma” for Chaiwat to contemplate. Khien’s strategy in this phase appears to be to acknowledge this position, contrary to his own, before rejecting it in the next phase. Martin and White (2005) note this strategy as a rhetorical move where a writer concurs with a position assumed to be held by the reader, only to counter the position in the next move. They state that in moves like this, “there is often a sense that the concurrence is in some way reluctant, grudging or qualified on the part of the speaker/writer” (p. 124). This is the case here in Khien’s argument. He first anticipates the arguments of those who argue against the legitimacy of the coup, but then proceeds to find a caveat for the instigators of the coup. The phase opens with the following clause complex:

(66) (K9.1-9.4)

*rábòɔp prachaathíppatay tɔ̀ŋkaan háy khon nay cháat kâækhǎy khɔ̀ɔ phíp̄hâat kan duay
kaancháy hêtphǒn// máy chây khùmkhùu ɔ̀aw chaná? kan dúay kamlaŋ// phrɔ̀ɔ dooy
thúa pay léæw m̄ua s̄iaŋ p̄uun daŋ kh̄uŋ// hêtphǒn kô yɔ̀ɔm ɲiáp pay//
The democratic system wants to have people in the nation resolve disputes with reason//
not bullying through force// because generally when the guns get loud// reason becomes
quiet//*

Possibly the choice of the verbal group complex *tɔ̀ŋkaan háy ... kâækhǎy* – *wants to have ... solve* with modulation indicating obligation (Patpong, 2006, p. 382) serves in this phase to align Khien with any readers who adhere to this aspect of the democratic process (such as Chaiwat and Pitch, for example). However, the rejection of this position, a counter-claim, is clearly signalled in the following paragraph which opens with adversative conjunctive adjuncts as textual Theme and explicitly calls on the readers to align with this new position:

(67) (K10.1-10.3)

tàæ yàaηray kô taam, raw kô yàa khâwcaγ phît// wâa thahăan <<mûa thũũ ʔaawût léæw>> ca tôη thùuk tàt sít khân phũn thăan nay thaη kaanm̄aη pay dũay//
but however, don't let's misunderstand// that the military <<when carrying weapons>>
must have their basic political rights cut also//

Khien then presents the grounds for this counter-claim in the following phase, signalled with *phrô?* – *because*, and providing reasons why the military was justified in their staging of the coup this time. This phase is imbued with negative appraisal choices including the use of loaded lexical items such as *phûu ráay* – *criminal* to refer to the Thaksin government and *ʔútʔàtcay* – *frustrated* to describe the feeling of the military, the use of *thùuk* (*lit. suffer*), the adversative passive marker²⁸, and also by the construal of the military as affected by others. Khien's representation of the military through choices in transitivity will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 7. However, it is germane to the topic of this chapter on rhetorical agency and genre to point out the strategy that Khien uses to paint the military as the reluctant hero being dragged to a point where there was no choice but to act. That is, he suggests that this is an unfavourable position for the military to be in because they still possess natural rights and political rights. In fact, in order to justify the use of force to oust the Thaksin government, Khien conflates the duties and responsibilities of the institution as a whole with the rights of the individual.

Once Khien has painted a picture of the military, stymied by the various constraints placed on the institution, and an intolerable political context, he moves into a concluding phase that sums up the main reasons that the military needed to stage the coup. This new phase is signalled by the temporal sequence marker *nay thũ sùt* – *finally* in a clause with projecting hypotactic verbal group complex:

²⁸ The passive marker *thùuk* in Thai has typically carried a meaning of adversity. However, in more recent times, it has become more common as a neutral marker of the passive in some registers and text types, for example in academic writing. This is ostensibly due to the influence of English (Prasithratsint, 1989). Thus in this text, it is unclear whether Khien intended to convey a negative meaning or whether this is merely the deployment of a neutral passive form.

(68) (11.1-11.3)

nay thūi sūt klùm thahăan... kô dâi tătšincay tham rátthaprahăan// khôn lóm rátthabaan tháksin loj ///

Finally, the military group... decided to stage the coup// to topple the Thaksin government///

The reasons that are given for the military coup are presented in the voice of the coup group itself by means of explicit endorsement, drawing once again on the system of engagement to close down the dialogic space:

(69) (K11.4-11.5)

phûak khăw chiicææŋ hêtphôn [[thiï Ø tōŋ tham kaanpatirûup]] wáy nay thalææŋkaan chabàp thiï 1 // wâa rátthabaan tháksin dâi kòc hây kàət khwaam-tææk-yææk nay châat//

That group explained the reason [[that (they) had to make the reforms]] in the first official statement// (saying) that the Thaksin government had created disharmony in the nation//

The final phase in this Argument stage evaluates the events and the reasoning of the military group. Khien deploys a number of linguistic resources to align the reader to his position (also the position of the coup group) in this phase, mainly those which contract the dialogic space and restrict heteroglossia (Martin & White, 2005, p. 128). For example, the beginning of this stage is marked by *nay thátsaná? khǒŋ khâaphacâw* (in my opinion) and is followed up with *yîŋ kwàa nán khâaphacâw chûa* – *What's more, I believe....* This is a form of pronouncement in which Khien challenges an assumed view that runs counter to the military's justification presented in the previous phase. The following example is a more impersonal pronouncement in this phase:

(70) (K12.4)

rátthabaan tháksin mii phrúttikam [[sûŋ pen [[thiï sâap kan dii]]]]
the Thaksin government's behaviour is well known²⁹

²⁹ Literally *had behaviour* [[which is (a thing) [[that is well known]]]]

In the following example from this same phase, Khien opens with a concessive clause which attributes a claim to the Thaksin government, but which Khien distances himself from. He then negates this claim with the α clause in this clause complex:

(71) (K12.15-12.18)

méæ wâa ráttabaan Tháksin mák ca ʔâaŋ khwaamchôpŋtham càak khánææn siŋ lúáktâŋ mâak máay mahăasăan [[thi ton dâyráp]] // maa lóplaaŋ kaankratham [[thi lámâat kòtmăay lé? ráttáthammanuun]] nán // kô faŋ mây khûn///

*Even though the Thaksin government frequently **cites** legitimacy from the countless number of electoral votes [[that it received]]// to expunge its actions [[that violated the law and the constitution]]// **it sounds unreasonable**///*

Khien continues to counter this claim of the Thaksin government by coupling its claim to an electoral mandate with the case of Hitler:

(72) (K12.19)

Adolf Hitler ... nán kô dâyráp khánææn siŋ sanàpsanŋn càak kaan lúáktâŋ maa yàaŋ thúamthón mây phéæ khǒŋ ráttabaan Tháksin///

Adolf Hitler ... also received an overwhelming (number of) supporting votes from an election no different from the Thaksin government///

The assumption is that Hitler abused this mandate, as did the Thaksin government. In fact, he closes this phase, and this Argument stage, with another proclamation, this time through endorsement by no less an authority than history:

(73) (K12.20-12.21)

tèæ prawàttisàat kô dây chii háy hěn léæw// wâa phadètkaan thǒrarâat dooy siŋ khâaŋ mâak nán pen ʔantaraay yîŋ kwàa látthi? phadètkaan dooy thahăan mâak maay nák///

but history has shown (us)// that tyranny of the majority is much more dangerous than a military dictatorship///

This stage is also characterised by the use of evaluative language, for example, *khwaam-ciŋ* – truth, *phadètkaan thǒrarâat dooy siŋ khâaŋ mâak nán* – tyranny of the majority, and *ʔantaraay* – dangerous. The deployment of the endorsement, coupled

with evaluative language, functions to align Khien's position with a past, accepted position and attempts to also align the readers with this position.

Khien's strategy to align his readers in this stage, then, has been to acknowledge possible arguments against the staging of the 2006 coup, for example that it disregarded the democratic processes and that the military overstepped the bounds of their duty, before closing down the space for these other voices. This can be observed through his deployment of language choices within the system of Engagement, such as acknowledge, pronounce, endorse, concur and counter. The dialogic contraction is especially evident in the final phase of this Argument stage, but in fact the whole stage unfolds as a series of claims, concessions and counterclaims that justify the military's right to stage the coup. The final phase in this second argument stage adopts a didactic tone, realised in the evaluative language and the very direct proclamations by Khien as to the moral choice made by the military in their decision to stage a coup. This didactic tone continues into the hortatory exposition that follows the analytical exposition.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has sought to illustrate how the three writers exercised their rhetorical agency by focusing on the linguistic strategies they used in the creation of their texts. The writers deployed various resources of genre to achieve their rhetorical aims. Interdiscursivity proved to be an important element of their text construction in the way that the writers exploited different genres and combined and shaped these genres in certain ways, adding, deleting or combining and embedding stages to carry the argument forward. The genre staging was identified through an analysis of periodicity, for example in patterns of Theme, New, hyperTheme, hyperNew, macroTheme and macroNew. In addition, the use of grammatical metaphor and thematic equatives worked together with periodicity to direct the reader's attention either back or forward in the text to what the writer deemed to be salient. The writers' exploitation of these resources enabled them to create novel, interdiscursive generic forms to best serve their rhetorical purposes and negotiate the restrictions imposed by the context in which they worked.

The chapter also explored some strategies that the writers used to incorporate other voices in the text, and how they attempted to align or dis-align the audience to

their own or the external voices. Interdiscursivity and intertextuality were also important concepts for analysis in this chapter. The chapter highlighted how the texts were intertextual in the various ways that each of the writers invoked other texts and other voices. The chapter demonstrated how the notion of phase worked in tandem with Engagement resources to manage dialogism in the texts. The chapter also revealed how the texts were interdiscursive in the way that they incorporated various discourses that prevailed at that time in Thai society, positioning themselves and their audiences either as aligned or in opposition to those discourses that they invoked. The analysis also revealed that the three writers deployed a combination of strategies to expand the dialogic space, for example by acknowledging different positions, and then to contract the dialogic space, for example through pronouncement or denial, as they sought to engage with their audiences. These different rhetorical strategies that the writers deployed to organise their texts and raise to greater prominence some points over others are an expression of rhetorical agency.

Chapter 6

The representation of social actors

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 explored the rhetorical agency exercised by the three rhetors, Khien, Chaiwat and Pitch in the production of their texts. The focus was on their strategic selection of genres and the interdiscursive combination of genres and discourses as they intervened in the public debate, to respond or contribute to arguments for or against the coup or to the criticisms levelled against them, and as they situated their texts in relation to broader socio-political and professional processes. These interventions constitute the use of discourse itself as a form of social practice (van Leeuwen, 1993). Another dimension of discourse to be considered within the content of the texts is the way it is used to construe the field through the representation of social actors and their participation in social practices (van Leeuwen, 1993). At this level, discourse is used to build knowledge and to construct a particular view of reality. In order to construct a persuasive argument and to convince their audiences to accept their interpretations of the events, the three rhetors represent the social actors, ideas and processes invoked in their texts in different ways, making some prominent over others, foregrounding some, backgrounding others, and excluding some actors altogether. To achieve these aims, they deploy a range of lexicogrammatical resources. While their choices are an expression of their rhetorical agency, the choices they make also construe social actors as exercising agency or as deprived of agency, depending on their ideological position or on their particular motivations for intervening in the public debate. That is, the representation of agency (or lack of agency) in their texts is itself an exercise of rhetorical agency. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 explore this second dimension of discourse. This chapter will identify the lexical representations of social actors in the three texts by drawing on van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor network and leave to Chapter 7 to explore how they are activated in the transitivity of the clause.

The analysis of the way that the three writers construe social actors in their texts offers further insights into their exercise of agency. The three writers have some degree of control over which social actors are represented and the way that they represent these actors. They are also constrained to some degree by the linguistic resources that

are available in Thai, by the political context and by the *lèse majesté* law. The analysis found that the writers deploy different patterns of lexical choices that engage with key concepts from the disciplines of political science and philosophy and convey their own stance on the views that they are promoting or rejecting. Across the three texts, common social actors are represented, brought into greater or lesser relief depending on the purpose and position of the rhetor. These include institutional actors such as government, the military and, to a lesser extent, the monarchy, as well as to individuals and groups of people. They also include references to the state. To help understand the distinction that the rhetors draw between state and government, Jessop's definition of the state is useful. He defines the state as "a distinct ensemble of institutions and organisations whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on a given population in the name of their 'common interest' or 'general will'" (Jessop, 2008, p. 9). These distinct institutions may include, amongst others, the government or executive power, the military, the police, the monarchy and the public service. These different institutions are represented in different ways and to different degrees across the three texts. They may be specific and identifiable or more generic, represented as classes or groups of people. These differences of representation reflect the different positions of the rhetors on, for example, the nature and causes of the coup, the legitimacy of the coup, as well as their different reasons for intervening in the debate. Each of the texts will be analysed in sequence, beginning with the work of Khien.

6.2 Khien

Khien's purpose in writing his text is to justify and legitimise the military's staging of the coup. He also proposes a range of measures that, he argues, can be used to legally oust any future corrupt governments in Thailand. In his interview, Khien stated that a corrupt government lacked legitimacy and therefore the coup was justified (Khien interview 6/1/12). In developing this core pro-coup argument, his text foregrounds "government", "military", "sovereign leader", "people" and "groups". The text also represents to a lesser degree "the state" and some other institutions such as the judiciary and the police. As will be demonstrated below, the representations of social actors in Khien's text help him to position these actors in certain ways so as to convey his pro-coup message and define his stance on the particular issues and debates that he addresses.

6.2.1 Inclusion

6.2.1.1 Government

Rátthabaan – *government* is a key actor in Khien’s text and is explicitly invoked 30 times in the text. This social actor is also referred to in some cases by other terms, for example in nominal groups with or without a deictic element such as *phûak khăw* – *them* or *phûak nîi* – *these (ones)*, and also through ellipsis that can be tracked back to earlier instantiations of *rátthabaan* in the text. Using van Leeuwen’s (2008) categories of genericisation and specification, some patterns emerge that differentiate between generic uses of words for “government” and specified representations of the word – referring to a specific government. Generic representations of *government* in this text most often construe meanings that relate to a normative view of the “normal” behaviour of governments – how governments “should” behave, a strategy that van Leeuwen (2008, p. 105) argues can be used to legitimate an actor or event through reference to customs, traditions or laws. The following example demonstrates a generic use of *rátthabaan* – *government*. As stated in Chapter 4, the Thai nominal group does not use articles that will assist in the analysis as it would in English. The generic representation thus needs to be gleaned from the use of the word in context. In example (1), the perfective aspect marker *wáy* – *keep* indicates an event that is completed but is considered beneficial for the future (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, 165). Its use therefore emphasises Khien’s view that governments have inherent responsibilities and must adhere to those responsibilities:

(1) (K5.5-6)

...wâa *rátthabaan* mii wáy// *phûâ pòkpôn lée? bərikaan khon khǎw prachaakhom*
... *that governments exist// to protect and administer the people in a community.*

This use of *rátthabaan* on its own with no modification as a generic representation of *government* occurs early in the argument-grounds stage as presented in Chapter 6 as Khien builds up his case that the deposing of the Thaksin government was both justifiable and legitimate. The government is also represented in generic terms in the hortatory exposition as he argues for how governments should be constitutionally dealt with in the future. Altogether there are fifteen occurrences, six in the Argument-grounds stage and nine in the first Recommendations stage of the hortatory exposition. In the Grounds stage, government is also represented as an abstraction that Khien takes

from Aristotle to describe a government democratically elected by a majority that then oppresses the minority (“Tyranny of the majority”, 2009):

(2) (K6.2)

“thɔrarâat khɔɔŋ khon khâaŋ mâak”
“tyranny of the majority”

Generic representations of government can also be modified by an embedded clause as in the following examples:

(3) (K8.2)

rátthabaan [[thiî thamkaan dooy mûŋ wăŋ phǒn prayòot khɔɔŋ pháak kaanmuaŋ pháak day pháak nɛŋ]]]
a government [[that expects benefits from any particular party]]

(4) (K14.5)

rátthabaan [[thiî maa càak kaanlûaktâŋ]]]
a government [[that is elected]]]

This strategy of embedding is used here as a form of differentiation following van Leeuwen’s network (2008). In example 4, governments that are elected are differentiated from other governments that presumably are not elected.

Governments are also specified in Khien’s text. For example, *rátthabaan tháksin* – *Thaksin government*, *rátthabaan chûakhraaw* – *the temporary government* and *rátthabaan màŋ* – *the new government* all occur in the text to refer to specific governments, but by far the most common, explicit, identifiable representation is of the Thaksin government at more than half of occurrences. Examples of specified uses and their rate of occurrence are provided in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1 Specified representations of government in Khien’s text

Specified representations of <i>rátthabaan</i> – government	Number of uses
(a) <i>rátthabaan tháksin</i> <i>Thaksin government</i>	8
(b) <i>rátthabaan thɔrarâat</i> <i>tyrannical government</i>	3
(c) <i>rátthabaan chûakhraaw</i> <i>temporary government</i>	2
(d) <i>rátthabaan màŋ phaaytâŋ kaannam khɔɔŋ phon ?èek surayút</i> <i>culaanon</i> <i>new government under the leadership of General Surayud Chulanont</i>	1

At least one instance from example (b) *tyrannical government* implies the Thaksin government. The Thaksin government can also be tracked through instances of ellipsis and uses of *rátthabaan* with no overt specification that clearly refer to the Thaksin government. In addition, there are references to *rábðp tháksín – Thaksinism, Thaksinomics* and some other references that are instantiated more covertly, but specifically referring to the Thaksin government, as in

(5) (K10.23)

fàay “phûu ráay” thaay kaanm̄ay
a politically criminal group/side

(6) (K12.21)

phadètkaan thərarâat dooy siăy khâay mâak nán
dictatorship of a tyranny of the majority

These are not only specified examples of this social actor, but they also fall under the category of appraisal in van Leeuwen’s (2008) social actor network. Appraisal adds an interpersonal, evaluative dimension to the representation. In this case, the evaluation is negative. When these more covert representations of the Thaksin government are counted together with the explicit references to the Thaksin government, more than 50% of representations to specified governments in Khien’s text refer to the Thaksin government. It is clear then that the Thaksin government is a major motif in the text, but not all the representations are of the same type. As will be seen in Chapter 7, in terms of agency, the Thaksin government is represented both as a potent force high in agency and conversely as an affected participant, subjected to the actions of others. It is necessary to take a logogenetic view of the text as the representations change with the unfolding of the argument.

6.2.1.2 Military

*Thahăan – the military*³⁰ is another key social actor represented in Khien’s text. As was the case with the representation of the government, the military is realised both as generic and as specified. It is generic when Khien establishes the role of the military for the reader, for example:

³⁰ The word in Thai *thahăan* can translate as the collective noun – the military – or the individual – soldier, depending on the context.

(7) (K8.1-8.3)

thahăan pen kɔɔŋ kamlaŋ tìt ʔaawút khɔɔŋ rátt// (Ø míʔ chây khɔɔŋ rátthabaan [[thī...]])// ...*thahăan* thùuk khâatmăay háy pen khrûaŋm̄ khɔɔŋ phûunam fàay bərihăan...

the military is the armed force of the state// (it) is not of a government [[that...]]// ..
the military is expected to be a tool of the executive leader...

In addition, the military is also objectified – instrumentalised, that is, represented by means of an instrument that is associated with it. This is the case in example (7) above in which the military are represented as a *tool of the executive leader*, and also as *tanks* in:

(8) K1.19

(róttăŋ klàp kh̄ sùu thī tâŋ dăəm m̄a wanthī 1 tulaakhom 2006)
(tanks returned to base on 1 October 2006)

where the tanks are represented in place of the soldiers who would have had to drive the tanks back to base.

As indicated in the previous chapter, society's expectations about the role of the military are scrutinised as Khien attempts to provide the justification for the 2006 military coup. One strategy that he uses to achieve this, while maintaining the generic representation of military, is to include the notion of political rights for the individual, thus conflating the institution and the individual:

(9) (K10.2-10.3)

thahăan <<m̄a Ø thī ʔaawút léæw>> ca tŋ thùuk tàt sít khân ph̄nthăan nay thaŋ kaanm̄aŋ pay d̄uay

the military (soldiers) <<when (they) carry weapons>> must have (their) basic political rights cut also

The slippage between institutional rights and individual rights serves a rhetorical purpose as it constructs a view of the sacrifice of the military which helps to legitimate its actions when it comes to staging the coup. In effect, so the argument runs, the military was just exercising its political rights in staging the coup. The military can also be specified through modification with embedded clauses, as in the following example:

(10) (K1.20)

thahăan [[thī ȳ ráksăakaan ȳu kàp róttăŋ taam cùt tàŋtàn khɔɔŋ kruŋthêep talɔt ch̄uay weelaa 10 wan lăŋ càak kaanrátthaprahăan]]

the soldiers [[that were stationed with the tanks at various points in Bangkok at all times for 10 days after the coup]].

This strategy allows Khien to both specify a military group and differentiate some military groups from others. Once the role of the military and the problems of this role have been established, Khien then specifies and names the military group that staged the coup in the first instance:

(11) (K11.1-2)

klùm thahãan phaaytây kaannam khḥḥ phonḥèk sonthíḥ bunyarátkalin [[sḥḥ riâk tonḥeeḥ wâa “khanáḥ patìrûup kaanpòkkhrḥḥḥ nay rábḥḥḥ prachaathíppatay ḥan mii phrámahãakasàt soḥ pen pramúk”]]

military group under the leadership of General Sondhi Bunyaratkalin [[that calls itself “Council of Democratic Reform under the King as its Head of State”]]

This military group – the Council for Democratic Reform – is explicitly instantiated eight times in the text. Of these, it is referred to by its full name, shortened name or its initials five times and is also referred to by pronouns twice. It can be tracked through ellipsis four times. It is also specified as a group directly linked to the staging of the coup, though not until after the justification for the coup has been made:

(12) (K13.12)

klùm phûu [[kḥḥ kaan rátthaprahãan mḥa wan thiḥ 19 kanyaayon 2006]]
the group of people [[that staged the coup on 19th September 2006]]

As with the representation of government, first as genericised, and also differentiated as *the soldiers that stood guard on the streets*, and then as specified and named as the military group that staged the coup, it serves Khien’s purpose in the representation of the military to represent it first in generic terms to establish the expected role of the military and the problems with these expectations before specifying the particular group that staged the coup.

6.2.1.3 Other groups

Khien’s text starts by building a picture of the various groups or factions embroiled in the events of September, 2006. The social actors here are specified: assimilated: collectivised into groups, realised with head nouns such as *phûak* – group in the nominal groups. These groups are also further differentiated through down-

ranked embedded clauses that specify the alliances and activities of each of these factional groups. Indeed, the detail represented in the embedded clauses construes the complexity of the political context and the shifting alliances at that time. The strategy of embedding is a powerful resource for the three writers to specify social actors in more detail. In addition, the subject in the rank-shifted clause cannot be queried, and thus is not negotiable (Martin, 1992, p. 486). This strategy can then be used by writers to construe meanings that may be somewhat controversial or risky. The following political groups and factions are instantiated in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Table 6.2 Political alliances and factions represented in Khien's text

<p>K1.6 <i>phúak</i> [[<i>thiú níyom “rábðòp Tháksin” yàaη khlāηkhláy</i>]] <i>camnuan nùη</i></p>	<p><i>The particular group</i> [[<i>that fanatically prefer “Thaksinism”</i>]]</p>
<p>K1.23-4 <i>phúak níyom prachaathíppatay</i> [[<i>thiú tðtáan “rábðòp Tháksin” //lé? tðtáan kaantham rátthapraháan //súη hǎn maa lén ηaan KPK³⁰]]]]</i></p>	<p><i>a democratic group</i> [[<i>that opposes “Thaksinism”// and opposes the staging of the coup// that turned to harassing the CDR³¹]]</i></p>
<p>K1.23-8 <i>ʔiik sùan nùη</i> [[<i>súη pen phúak níyom prachaathíppatay húa káaw náa</i> [[<i>thiú ʔðòk maa sadææη khwaamkhithén thamnææη diaw kan</i> [[<i>wáa kaantham rátthapraháan ʔàat ca náakliát// tææ “rábðòp Tháksin” nán náakliát kwàa]]]]]]]]</i></p>	<p><i>another one</i> [[<i>that is a progressively democratic group</i> [[<i>that came out to express (their) opinion in the same way</i> [[<i>that the staging of the coup may be ugly// but Thaksinism is uglier]]]]]]]</i></p>
<p>K2.1 <i>fàay</i> [[<i>thiú hén chðòp</i>]] <i>lé? fàay tðtáan kaan tham rátthapraháan khðòη thay khráη níi</i></p>	<p><i>the side</i> [[<i>that was in favour of</i>]] <i>and the side opposing the staging of this Thai coup</i></p>

Despite the social complexity of the anti-Thaksin PAD movement, the text nevertheless constructs a simplistic view of the conflict. These groups form relations of contrast (Martin, 1992, p. 302) in the text, creating a sense of the polarised, black and white nature of Khien's world, with groups either for or against the coup and for or against the Thaksin government. In paragraphs 7 and 9, Khien contrasts groups of people involved in a coup or revolution, representing these groups as either winners or losers, and amoral (therefore implying a moral side also). Khien does not specify who exactly the winners or losers are, though in the Thai political context in 2006, it must be assumed that the winner is the military group that staged the coup and the loser, the Thaksin government.

³¹ *khaná? patirúup kaanpòkkhrææη nay rábðòp prachaathíppatay (KPK)* – Council of Democratic Reform (CDR), the name of the interim, post-coup administration.

(13) (K7.20-23)

*thâa khǎw pen fâay chaná?// Ø kô ca dâu pen phûu [[thuǎi dàap ʔaayaasit kôo tân
prachaakhom khân mày]]// tæc thâa pen fâay phécæ// Ø kô ʔàat ca thùuk loŋ thòot
nàk thǎŋ prahǎan chiwít//*

*If they are **the winning side**, (they) will hold the sword of absolute power to build a new community. But if they are **the losing side**, they may be punished severely, even executed.*

(14) (K9.6-8)

*mâa pæn yùu kàp fâay day// fâay nán yôom pen phûu chaná?// máæ wâa Ø ca pen
phûu phít// rǎŋ Ø pen fâay ʔatham kô taam//*

*When the guns are **on a particular side**, **that side** is likely to be **the winner**, even if they are the **wrong (ones)** or (they) are **the amoral side**.*

Writers can use such contrasts in the construction of an argument to elevate one set of meanings, in this case sides/groups, over another (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 87). This construal of value systems can serve to legitimise or delegitimise a social actor (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 106). Khien paints the context as one in which two forces – a moral and amoral one – risk a conflict and have to endure the consequences. The winner takes all and the loser will be punished. By invoking these contrasts, Khien simplifies the forces at work in Thai society at the time by depicting them as black and white and so reducing the conflict to a confrontation between good and bad. This reductionism perpetuates some of the discourses discussed in Chapter 2 – that of the good and moral king and the corrupt politician, for example. It also evokes the notion of a “state of exception” (Streckfuss, 2014) in which the coup was staged for the public good, and in which “the notions of right and wrong [are] irrelevant” (Chaiwat, 2006/2007, p. 170). This notion, implied in Khien’s polar contrasts, also taps into the discourse of the good coup.

Another group represented as a collective is the group of political philosophers that Khien draws on to support his argument. These philosophers are represented in terms of a collective identity as in:

(15) (K4.1)

*pràtyaa meethii tawantòk lǎay thân
many Western philosophers*

(16) (K13.3)

*nák pràat chaaw ʔaŋkrít
English philosophers*

They also occur as qualifier in more abstract representations. The following examples fall into the category of appraisal. For example, the philosophers modify *intellect* in the example below:

(17) (K2.13)

phuumi?panyaa khǎŋ pràat khǎŋ lôok tawan?ðòk lé? tawantòk thaay thrútsadii
rátthasàat sàk 4-5 thân
the intellect of 4-5 Eastern and Western political philosophers

In the following example, the philosophers modify *explanation*. This representation impersonalises the social actors. In van Leeuwen's network (2008), it is a form of objectivation – utterance autonomisation which identifies the social actor in terms of their utterances. This form of representation is often used to add authority to the words of the philosophers. The use of *paramaacaan* – *master, great teacher* appraises these social actors positively.

(18) (K15.2)

taam kham ?athibaay khǎŋ paramaacaan thaay thrútsadii rátthasàat
according to the explanation of the master political theorists

By overtly referring to his sources in this way and also by appraising them, Khien legitimates his argument by explicitly asserting expert authority (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107), or, as indicated in Chapter 5, this is a form of endorsement on Khien's part. The wisdom of these expert authorities is cited to lend weight to the argument that the coup was necessary and justified. As will be seen below, these social actors are also named/individuated in the text, as is customary in academic discourse (Hood, 2010; Hyland, 2001).

6.2.1.4 The people

Khien's construal of categories of people is revealing. As discussed in Chapter 2, a number of discourses of "the people" exist in Thailand, perpetuated by the urban elite, portraying "the people" as an amorphous category, on the one hand upholding Thai cultural traditions while on the other hand representing the unsophisticated and politically naïve masses (Streckfuss, 2011; Walker, 2008; Winichakul, 2008). There are traces of these discourses in Khien's text. Following van Leeuwen's inventory, "the people", instantiated variously as *phûu, khon, phûu-khon* – *people; thúk khon* –

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everyone; thúk khon nay “prachaakhom” – everyone in the “community”; prachachon – people, populace; râatsadɔɔn – people, population, the masses, are often represented in generic terms, as a “homogenous, consensual group” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 38). This use of generic terms such as these to refer to the people assumes a norm: this is how things are, or this is what happens in a society. For example,

(19) (K3.4)

...thúk khon nay sǎŋkhom ... lúan mii sít- nâathiî -khwaamrápphitchôɔp tháŋsîn
...everyone in society ... has rights – duties – responsibilities

(20) (K3.13)

prachaachon yôɔm mii sít
the people naturally have rights

(21) (K12.13)

Ø rádom phûu khon// maa khòmkhùu khúkkhaam fâay tòtâan yùu
(The government) mobilised the people// to come and threaten the opposition

Khien’s strategy in construing people in this way is to assert the natural rights of “the people” in overthrowing a government that violates the social contract. However, at no time are these people identified. They remain anonymous, an entity that supports the status quo in a crisis. In addition, people are classified in terms of their nationality: *khon thay – Thai people*. These representations are also generic as the Thai people are only identified in terms of their nationality:

(22) (K1.4)

[[thiî kàət khân nay mùu khon thay]]
[[that occurred amongst Thai people]]

(23) (K14.1)

khon thay suànyày khon ca mây ráydiaŋsǎa kəən pay...
Most Thai people are probably not so naïve...

By using the negative in example (23), Khien quite overtly taps into the discourse of the Thai people as politically naïve and stupid. As discussed in Chapter 5, the negative construes an alternative position (Martin & White, 2005, p. 118) – in this case that most Thai people are naïve. In addition, the attribute is modalised *khon ca – probably* and qualified by the adjunct of manner *kəən pay – so much*.

In the following example, the people are not only genericised, but are also possessivated. Possessivated here is used in a slightly different sense from van Leeuwen's (2008) use of the term. Van Leeuwen states that a possessive pronoun in English can make a social actor active as in "our intake" (where the actor, represented by *our*, is performing the *intake*) or passive, as in "my teacher" (where the actor, represented by *my*, is on the receiving end, being taught) (p. 33). In this analysis, however, what is being referred to as possessivated are not nouns used with possessive pronouns, but are instances where possession is indicated with the use of *khǎwŋ* – *belong*. In the example below, *the people* are activated by the use of *khǎwŋ*, modifying the nominalisation *khwaamkhithĕn* – *opinion*. That is, they are the ones who hold the opinions:

(24) (K1.28)
dây sǎmrùat khwaamkhithĕn khǎwŋ prachaachon
surveyed the opinions of the people

Thai people are also represented as aggregated, following van Leeuwen's network, where they are quantified in terms of these surveys in order to construct consensus opinion, as in the following example:

(25) (K1.30)
wâa khon thay thǎŋ 83.89% hĕn chǎwŋ [[thiŋ mii kaan patiwát]]
that up to 83.89% of Thai people approved of [(the fact) that there was a revolution]]

While the majority of representations of people are construed in generic terms, there are a few instances of people that are also classified along class lines in the text (van Leeuwen's categorization: identification – classification choices in the socio-semantic network). In paragraph 20, there are three instances that refer to people in terms of class:

(26) (K20.13)
hây khon con kliàt-chay chonchán klaay
having poor people hating the middle class

(27) (K20.15)
khon yâak-con camnuan mâak
many poor people

(28) (K20.20)

phûu khon nay rádàp râakyâa mâak khân
more people at the grass roots level

Because this classification of social actors does not occur earlier in the text and is restricted to just these few examples, the text acknowledges, albeit unintentionally, the very real rifts in Thai society that had opened up along class lines. The angle that is taken is that this rift occurred as a consequence of the abuses of governance by the Thaksin government. That is, *the people*, classified in terms of class, were adversely affected by

(29) (K20.3)

ηâânkhây tàanηàanη [[thiî rábðòp tháksin dâý sâanη wáy
the different conditions [[that the Thaksin government established/created]]

This contrasts markedly with the standpoint taken in Pitch's text.

As noted above, the nominal group can also be expanded by means of down-ranked embedded clauses, allowing the writer to specify and differentiate between different groups of social actors:

(30) (K1.15)

phûu [[thiî ?òòk maa tàkoon “Tháksin.... sûu sûu”]] kàp fâay tronηkhâam [[thiî ?òòk maa takoon “Tháksin ... ?òòk pay”]]
the people [[that came out shouting “Thaksin ... fight...fight”]] and the opposite side [[that came out shouting “Thaksin... get out”]]

(31) (K17.14-17.17)

léc? nâp khánææn càak phûu tðòp chaphó? phûu [[mii khwaam rúu nay praden [[thiî thâam]]]] thâwnán/// (mây nâp khánææn khðòη phûu [[thiî mii tææ khwaam hên// tææ mâý mii khwaamrúu læy]]///
and collate the responses from the people especially only the people [(who) have knowledge in the issues [[that were asked]]]/// don't count (the responses) of the people [[who just have opinions but don't have knowledge]]///

As stated above, embedding allows the writer to specify the social actor in more detail or differentiate one group from others. In example (30) above, Khien differentiates between those people who supported Thaksin and those who did not, again depicting this polarised view of the Thai social context at the time. In example (31), Khien suggests that, in the future, people should be polled by an independent body as to

whether a government has violated the social contract. The example differentiates between those who know and those who do not. This most definitely refers to the masses who are “too stupid or naïve” to understand anything about politics, who should therefore be excluded from any political decision-making. Other grammatical resources also are deployed to further specify and differentiate the people in Khien’s text. For example, the social actor may also be represented as existent in an existential clause, extended by a material clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 309; Patpong, 2006, p. 552):

(32) (K1.18)

*ʔiik tháŋ mii phûukhon // nam dǝkmáay, ʔaahǎan lǎʔ khrûaŋdum//pay sadææŋ
khwaam khǝʔpkhun thahǎan [[...]]*

In addition, there were people// taking flowers, food and drink// to express thanks to the military/soldiers [[...]]

This strategy locates the existent in time and space (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 309), and in this case, it portrays the narrative of the good and non-violent coup that was being promoted at the time in the manner in which people demonstrated their support for the soldiers standing guard on the streets.

6.2.1.5 Individuals

A number of individuals are represented in Khien’s text. First, in paragraphs 3-6, the 4-5 Eastern and Western philosophers are identified by name as well as by what they do. That is, the sources are both nominated and functionalised. For example, in the complex nominal group below, Confucius is named, located in time by his birth-death date, functionalised with the representation of his occupation, classified by nationality as Chinese and then further specified-individuated through a relative clause in terms of his teachings:

(33) (K3.3)

<i>khǝŋcúu</i>	<i>(551-479 kǝŋ khǝ. sǝʔ.)</i>	<i>paramaacaaan ciin</i>	<i>[[phûu sàŋ sǝŋ hây// khon nay sǝŋkhom mii khunnatham]]</i>
Confucius	(551-479 BCE)	great teacher Chinese	[[who taught // people in society to have virtue]]
Named	Located in time	Function + Classification	Individuated in terms of utterance

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The word *paramaacaan* – *master, great teacher* is an appraisal, carrying positive appraisal and thus raising the reliability and esteem of the argument to follow. The remaining four philosophers are represented in similar ways:

(34)

3.11 <i>săawók ʔèek khǎw khǎw cǎm khǎm mēncǎm (372-289 kǎn khǎw. sǎw.)</i>	<i>The first disciple of Confucius, that is Mensius (372-289 BCE)</i>
4.2 <i>thoomát hǎp (Thomas Hobbes khǎw. sǎw. 1588-1679)</i>	<i>Thomas Hobbes (Thomas Hobbes CE1588-1679)</i>
5.1 <i>cǎn lǎk (John Locke 1631-1704) kǎ pen nǎkprǎtyaa ʔiik khon nǎw [[thiǎ yǎwmrǎp sǎt khǎw khon nay “prachaakhom” [[thiǎ tǎwtǎan thǎrarǎat]]]]</i>	<i>John Locke (John Locke 1631-1704) was another philosopher [[who accepted the rights of people in the “community” [[who opposed a tyrant]]]]</i>
6.1 <i>ʔaristootǎl (Aristotle 384(?)-322 kǎn khǎw. sǎw.)</i>	<i>Aristotle (Aristotle 384(?) – 322 BCE)</i>

Also named in formal terms, with military titles, are two of the military leaders during and after the coup:

(35) (K11.1)

... *phaaytǎy kaannam khǎw phon ʔèek sonthiʔ bunyarǎtkalin*
 ...under the leadership of **General Sondhi Bunyaratkalin**

(36) (K20.1)

... *phaaytǎy kaannam khǎw phon ʔèek surayút culaanon*
 ...under the leadership of **General Surayud Chulanont**

Hitler’s name is also invoked in the text. He is only named one time and is juxtaposed with the Thaksin government:

(37) (K12.19)

Adolf Hitler (Adolph Hitler) [[phǎu nam yǎramanii nay samǎy sǎkhraam lǎok thiǎ 2]] kǎ dǎyrǎp khǎnǎæn siǎn sanǎpsanǎn cǎak kaan luǎktǎn maa yǎw thǎamthǎn mǎy phǎe khǎw rǎthabaan Thǎksǎn.///
Adolf Hitler (Adolf Hitler) [[the leader of Germany during the Second World War]] also was voted in overwhelmingly in an election, no different from the Thaksin government.

The coupling of Hitler with the Thaksin government serves to negatively appraise the Thaksin government, thus delegitimising this government. This is just one example of the manner in which the representations (or non-representation, to be more accurate) of Thaksin disempowers this individual in Khien’s text. It is interesting to note that

Thaksin is never named directly. Instead he is represented as an abstraction or as modifier in a nominal group. The use of *rátthabaan tháksin* – *Thaksin government* has already been discussed above. As an abstraction, Thaksin is represented as “*rábòp Tháksin*” – *Thaksinism, Thaksinomics, Thaksinocracy* to refer to the populist and neoliberal ideology that Thaksin and the Thai Rak Thai party promoted (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008, 2009). The only instances of Thaksin’s name referring specifically to Thaksin is in a locution which sidelines the man himself, as in example (30) above, repeated here:

(30) (K1.14)

phûu [[*thiî ʔòk maa tàkoon “Tháksin... sîu ... sîu”*]] *kàp fàay tronkhâam* [[*thiî ʔòk maa takoon “Tháksin ... ʔòk pay”*]]
People [[*that came out to shout “Thaksin... fight... fight”*]] *and the opposite side* [[*that came out to shout “Thaksin... get out”*]]

There are also some more oblique references to Thaksin where he is not named, but is functionalised in the role of leader, as in the following examples

(38) (K1.8)

[[*phûu-nam nay duançay khǝŋ phûak khǝw*]]
their beloved leader

(39) (K19.2)

phûu-nam rátthabaan niî
the leader of this government (i.e. the Thaksin government)

In addition, there are even more oblique references where the connection is implied, not explicit, and can be tracked through anaphoric reference (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 624). The following examples also appraise Thaksin in highly negative terms:

(40) (K10.24)

lǝʔ “phûuráay [[*thiî mii ʔitthíphon*” *lǝʔ mii ʔamnâat thaan kaanmuaŋ*]]
and “criminals [[*that have influence*” *and political power*]]

(41) (K13.1)

phûunam rábòp “thǝrarâat dooy sian khâan mâak”
the leader of a system of “tyranny of the majority”

(42) (K14.9)

rátthabaan thǝrarâat
tyrannical government

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In these representations, Thaksin is not an individual in his own right but instead is functionalised, negatively appraised, abstracted or is voiced in the locutions of others, these locutions themselves embedded within the nominal group. The effect is to delegitimise Thaksin by stripping him of any agency, influence or credibility in Thai politics.

Another category that is germane to this discussion of Thaksin is that of “overdetermination”. Van Leeuwen (2008) identifies “inversion” as one kind of overdetermination in which social actors are realised in terms of two conflicting social practices. Inversion is further delineated as “anachronism” and “deviation”. Deviation occurs when a social actor is represented as taking part in activities that he or she would not normally be eligible to be involved in. The representation of Thaksin in example (39) above as *phûuráay* – *criminal* is an example of deviation. As van Leeuwen states, “[d]eviation almost always serves the purpose of legitimation: the failure of the deviant social actor confirms the norms” (p. 51). In example (39), the representation of Thaksin as a criminal contradicts the norms that Khien established earlier of what it means to be a politician. This strategy to represent Thaksin as “deviant” in van Leeuwen’s (2008) framework thus further delegitimises Thaksin as a valid prime minister.

Another representation of a social actor worth noting is the reference to the taxi driver who drove his taxi in protest into one of the tanks that was deployed on the streets of Bangkok during the coup. The taxi driver is impersonalised – objectified with the use of the numeral classifier *raay* – *case*:

(43) (K1.10)
khon khàp táksî *raay* *nùŋ*
taxi driver *case* *one*
a case of a taxi driver

The taxi driver is cited as the sole act of violence in a relatively “peaceful”, necessary and “good” coup, again tapping into this discourse. However, the taxi driver remains anonymous and not even human, but a *case*. His act of protest is dismissed as unimportant.

6.2.1.6 Monarchy

Khien does not refer specifically to the Thai king or the Thai monarchy. Of the formal terms that refer specifically to the Thai king, *phrá?mahăakasàt* occurs once as modifier and *nay lŭaŋ* does not occur at all in the text. In fact, for Khien's purposes, it is not necessary to refer to the Thai king, as his focus is on the excesses of the Thaksin government and the actions of the military. The only, rather oblique, reference to the Thai monarchy is through the link between the Thaksin government and the *lèse majesté* law:

(44) (K11.9)

*kaandamnəən kĭtcakam thaəŋ kaanmŋəŋ baəŋ ʔookàat mĭnmèe tɔɔ kaanmĭn
phrá?baromdeechaanúphâap hĕəŋ ʔoŋ phrá?mahăakasàt
the political process on some occasions was dangerously close to committing lèse
majesté against the king*

The king is invoked only in an abstract way. The reference positions Khien as one of the coalition of conservative forces who opposed Thaksin. As stated in Chapter 2, this coalition included a diverse range of social groups such as human rights groups, trade unions, business groups and pro-democracy activists that coalesced to form the PAD, which had support from royalist and military interests (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009). These forces opposed Thaksin with the view that Thaksin's actions were injurious in some way to the monarchy. This reason was cited as justification to stage the 2006 coup (Winichakul, 2008).

While there are very few references to the Thai king in this text, Khien does refer to hypothetical rulers, including kings or emperors but also leaders of governments, that may either need to punish a tyrant, or who may be tyrants themselves that need to be dealt with. Khien uses the word *rátthăathípàt* – *sovereign power, sovereign ruler*, a specialist term in political science that refers to the highest governing or ruling power of the state (Sudtaa, 2558/2015). Khien uses the word to establish the view that any sovereign power at any time in history or any place in the world has certain responsibilities and if they do not uphold them, they can be legitimately deposed. The lexical representations are for the most part generic and functionalised. The text creates a taxonomy of these social actors that segue from sovereign powers to emperors into tyrants and then into the Thaksin government, its leader implied. They

are deployed so that Khien can make the connection between the teachings of the expert sources that he cites regarding the appropriate behaviour for a sovereign ruler and the behaviour of the Thaksin government. The representations are quite diverse, illustrated in Figure 6.1.

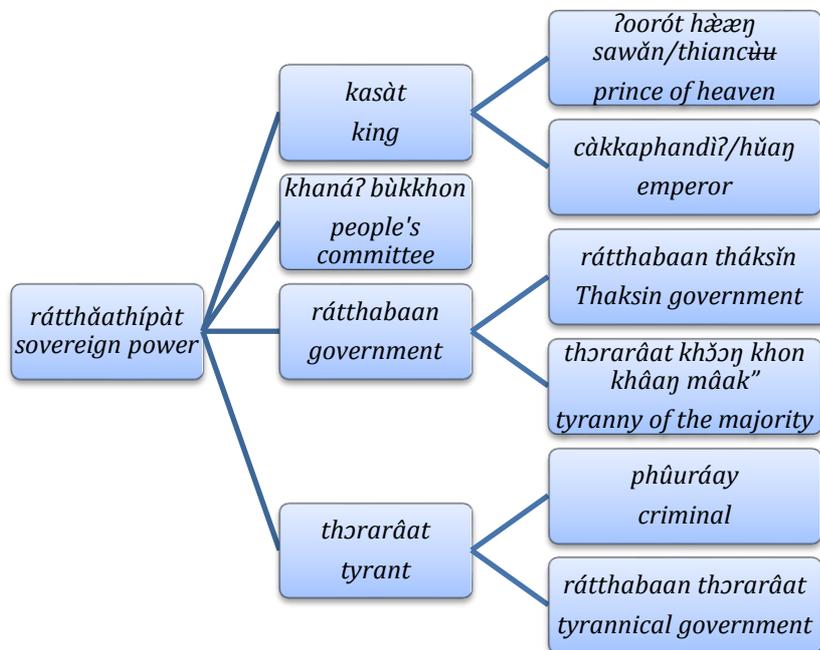


Figure 6.1 Different representations of sovereign powers in Khien's text

6.2.2 Exclusion

Social actors that have been excluded from the texts are naturally not always easy to identify, and this is one reason why a discourse historical approach can aid the analysis. Excluded actors may be backgrounded, retrievable from elsewhere in the text, but others may be suppressed. These actors may not be able to be retrieved without access to empirical evidence. One method for excluding social actors is through nominalisation of the process. This is a strategy that Khien uses in his text. As illustrated in Chapter 5, one example is the way that the military is obscured until the argument is built up that justifies the military's staging of the coup. Early in the text, the social actors who perpetrated this act are omitted. For example, nominalisation turns the process *tham* – *do* into a thing, *kaan-tham* – *the staging*, and erases any participants in the act, as in the following example:

(45) (K1.30)
kaantham rátthaprahăan
the staging of the coup

Once the case has been made that there was an urgent need for the coup to depose a tyrannical government, the military, and in particular the military group under General Sondhi Bunyaratkalin, is explicitly cited as the group that performed that act. On the other hand, the Thaksin government is not excluded from responsibility for its actions, for the very reason that Khien intends to portray this social actor in a negative light in order to delegitimise it and build support for his argument.

6.2.3 Summary

Khien's representations of the different social actors contribute to his rhetorical goals and reveal his pro-conservative ideological stance on the political debates and prevailing discourses that were circulating in Thailand at that time. In turn, these representations affect how the text is to be interpreted by his reading audience. Through sometimes covert strategies of representation, Khien positions social actors in particular ways that has the effect of legitimising the actions of the military while delegitimising the Thaksin government. Both governments and the military are represented in generic terms in order to establish accepted norms of behaviour for both these social actors. Once these standards are established, Khien then provides specific references to a particular government and a particular military group. In this way, the Thaksin government is held to the standards that Khien outlines, and is delegitimised through strategies such as appraisal, as in coupling the Thaksin government with Hitler, deviation, as in coupling the Thaksin government with criminal, and in linking the government with *lèse majesté*. Adding to this portrayal is the backgrounding of Thaksin himself, who is never acknowledged as an individual in Khien's text, occurring only as modifier to *government*, as an abstraction, or embedded as verbiage in a nominal group. In contrast, the tension that is created by the conflation of the role of the military as an institution and the political rights of the individual helps to establish the caveat that is needed to legitimise the actions of the military. Indeed, the military group responsible for staging the coup is not actually linked to the coup until this legitimation has occurred. The positioning of governments and the military in these ways has the effect of positioning the reader to accept the discourses of corrupt politicians and the "good" coup and the state of exception to support Khien's thesis.

Meanwhile, the representation of people is also strategically managed to create a particular effect. Those who are specified and named are the experts who provide the grounds of support for Khien's argument and the military generals who had a part in ousting the Thaksin government and leading the post-coup government. Groups of people are specified and differentiated in terms of their political proclivities. People are also represented in generic terms as "the people" or "the population" and remain anonymous. The different genericised, specified and differentiated representations of the people depict a polarised political landscape that also perpetuates the discourses of the "good" coup and of the people as politically naïve. The effect of these binary representations is to encourage readers to adopt a position that is essentially anti-Thaksin. There is no encouraging of the reader to adopt a middle ground view, one that would perhaps acknowledge the complexity or contradictions inherent in social conflicts. For Khien, the Thai political and social world consists of two camps—a camp that is pro-Thaksin and hence amoral and another that is moral and anti-Thaksin. Khien firmly places himself in the latter camp, and seeks to align his readers to that position.

6.3 Chaiwat

The patterns of representation of social actors in Chaiwat's text have some similarities with and some differences from Khien's text. While the 19th September coup is an underlying theme of the text, the text has other more prominent arguments that it engages with in more detail. Again, the representations reflect Chaiwat's rhetorical purposes for creating his text. As discussed in Chapter 5, Chaiwat states that his major purpose in this text is to respond to his critic, Ajarn Sombat. Chaiwat was responding to the accusation that he did not understand politics according to the teachings of Aristotle. One of Chaiwat's major aims, then, is to justify his interpretation of the work of Aristotle by setting up a dialogue between two Aristotlean scholars, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin. This aim is realised in the text through the inclusion of several social actors who are individuated, named and titled. In addition, groups are generic and sometimes also differentiated as Chaiwat discusses the meaning of politics according to Aristotle's *Politics*, as interpreted by Strauss and Voegelin. Some social actors are also specified and differentiated, for example depending on their position in relation to the staging of the coup. In contrast, there are fewer representations of government, the state or the military. Through this strategy, Chaiwat was in fact

indirectly challenging Sombat's pro-coup position and the rationale used to support that position

6.3.1 Inclusion

6.3.1.1 People, groups

In Chaiwat's text, people are referred to both in generic terms and specified: assimilated as groups. When Chaiwat refers to people and groups and their reactions to the 19th September coup, they are specified as in *phûukhon [[thîi chhâmtyoon ton ʔeeŋ khâw kàp hêtkaan 6 tulaa pen phísèet]]* – *people [[who have a special connection to 6 October]]*. As in Khien's text, Chaiwat refers to the debates that were occurring about the coup. But Chaiwat's stated purpose here is not to offer a better interpretation of the coup (as Khien intends to do) but to explore why people who would not generally support military interventions into politics supported this particular coup. His op-ed piece in the *Bangkok Post* considered why "those people" so wholeheartedly supported the military *coup d'état* in 2006 (Interview, 12/1/12). "Those people" are *panyaachon* – *scholars, intellectuals*, specified and differentiated through the use of an embedded clause that specifies these actors in more detail.³² This is the same strategy that Khien used to identify some of the groups in his text. In the following example, "those people" are also functionalised in terms of what they do, and occur as modifier in the nominal group, possessivated (van Leeuwen, 2008), which means their agency can be backgrounded (p. 33).

(46) (C3.3)

...*phûun phuumí? khǎŋ panyaachon[[thîi ʔǎk maa wíphâak wícaan ráttaphrahǎan]]*
 ...*intellectual basis of intellectuals [[who came out to criticise the coup]]*

These intellectuals are then identified in relation to three very memorable and sometimes violent coups in Thailand that occurred on 14th October, 1973, 6th October, 1976 and May 1992:

(47) (C3.7-3.11)

³² As mentioned in Chapter 2, the coup opened up deep faultlines within the academic and intellectual community in Thailand. In particular, there was vociferous debate within the Thai Left. This debate focused on an older generation of Left activists, who had been at the forefront of opposition to military intervention in politics in the 1970s and had also opposed a military coup in 1991. However, many of these activists alienated their Leftist colleagues by expressing support for the 2006 coup. A problem for the Left, then, was to explain why these intellectuals and activists abandoned long-held political positions to support a military coup. Chaiwat's as well as Pitch's text needs to be read in light of this heated and complex debate (Lertchoosakul, 2012).

<p><i>nâasõncay//</i> <i>thiï ca phitcaaranaa//</i> <i>wâa khon [[thiï phaan hêtkaan</i> <i>phrûtsaphaakhom 2535 tæc yàaη</i> <i>diaw]] ca mii thátsaná? muán ruü</i> <i>tàaη yàaηray càak khon [[thiï</i> <i>phaan hêtkaan pliànplècæη</i> <i>khraη yàη nay bâanmuay maa</i> <i>tháη 3 khraη]]//</i> <i>ruü ráttaphrahãan “19 kanyaa” ca mii</i> <i>khwaammãay yàaηray kàp phûukhon [[thiï</i> <i>chuâmypoη ton ʔeeη khâw kàp hêtkaan 6</i> <i>tulaa pen phisèet]]//</i> <i>khwaammãay lâw niï muán ruü tàaη yàaηray</i> <i>càak khon [[thiï lõηluum ruü mây yàak ca</i> <i>còt cam “6 tulaa” pay léæw]]//</i></p>	<p><i>(It is) interesting</i> <i>to consider</i> <i>how people [[that only passed</i> <i>through the events of May</i> <i>1992]] will have the same or</i> <i>different viewpoint from people</i> <i>[[that have passed through all 3</i> <i>major events of change in the</i> <i>country]]</i> <i>or the “19 September” coup means what to</i> <i>the people [[that connect themselves in</i> <i>particular to the events of 6 October]]?//</i> <i>Are these meanings the same or different</i> <i>from people [[that have forgotten or don’t</i> <i>want to remember “6 October” already]]//</i></p>
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As in Khien’s text, Chaiwat also specifies and differentiates people through expansion of the existent by a clause complex (Halliday & McDonald, 2004, p. 356; Patpong, 2006, p. 552). The following example represents social actors as a collective. In the elaborating clause, Chaiwat explains one of the differences in the behaviour of people after this coup compared to the way they behaved after previous coups in Thailand:

(48) (C2.5)

sâη mii phûu // ʔòk maa wíphâak wícaan dûay khwaamhën
where there were people// coming out and voicing their opinions

Before Chaiwat responds directly to Sombat in the “Aristotle” text, he summarises the point he made in his first op-ed article in the *Bangkok Post*, that he understood why the coup was staged but could not agree with it. In the Aristotle text, these groups are specified through embedded clauses and realised as possessives, modifying *hêtphõn* – *reason*:

(49) (C13.2)

hêtphõn khõcη phûu [[kòc ráttaphrahãan]] léc? dooychaphó? phûu [[thiï sanàpsanûn
ráttaphrahãan khraη niï]]
the reason of the people [[staging the coup]] and especially the people [[who
supported this coup]]

When Chaiwat’s focus is on the 19th September coup, as in the examples above, he specifies groups of people, the specification occurring through modification in an embedded clause or the expansion of an existential clause. People are also genericised and functionalised in his text, as in the following example where Chaiwat summarises

his early discussion about the staging of the coup and his and others' reactions to the coup:

(50) (C14.3)

phrǎ? Ø dāy tham hāy sǎykhom thay lǎe? nǎk rǎtthasàat tǎy phachǎen kǎp prǐtsanǎa thaay sǐnlatham yǎay sǎy nǎa.

*because (coup 19/9) forced **Thai society and political scientists** to confront the moral enigma deeply*

The “moral enigma” here refers to the view that, given the abuses of power during his term, it was understandable why people wanted to depose Thaksin, but the method of deposing him by means of a military coup was also an immoral and violent act.

In the first Position challenged^Rebuttal stage in which Chaiwat responds to Sombat's critique, the representations of people and groups are also specified:

(51) (C15.7-15.9)

tǎe rǎtthaprahǎan 19 kanyaa pen panhǎa khwaamkhàtyǎeay rawǎay fǎay nǎy [[sǎy mǐi thǐi maa hǎeay ʔamnǎat phǎan kaandǎyrǎp luǎktǎy maa dooy chǎp]] kǎp ʔiik fǎay nǎy [[sǎy khǎw pay yǐt ʔamnǎat]]///

*but the 19 September coup was a conflict between **one side** [[that had its source of power through a legitimate election]] and **another side** [[that went and seized control]]///*

Social actors are also represented in Chaiwat's text as indeterminate, undefined entities such as in the following example:

(52) (C10.2)

kranǎn kǎ yay mii baay khon [[hǎn //wǎa khǎaphacǎw sanǎp-sanǎn rǎtthaprahǎan 19 kanyaa...]

nevertheless there are still some people [[(who) think// that I support the 19 September coup...]

It appears in cases such as these that the writer avoids explicitly naming certain social actors. In Chaiwat's interview (12/1/12), he states that he was not concerned with how other people reacted to his op-ed piece on the coup. He therefore may not have felt the need to be more explicit in his representation of these particular social actors. Rather, these representations are a result of the more personal intent of this text – his response to Sombat. In Chaiwat's own words, the text is a “very in-house sort of thing” (Interview, 25/11/09).

Khien's and Chaiwat's representations of the people and groups intervening in the debates about the coup or involved in some way in the staging of the coup offer different positions on the coup. As can be seen in example (51) above, Chaiwat emphasises the illegitimacy of the coup as it toppled a legitimately elected government, whereas Khien, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter, argued that the coup was legitimate as the Thaksin government had lost its right to represent the people because of its corrupt and illegal acts. The differences between the representations become evident in the way that the writers specify these social actors through the embedded clauses.

People are genericised and functionalised in the philosophical discussion on Aristotle's notion of politics. These representations include references to society in generic terms and also references to people and humans. These representations continue throughout the discussion of Aristotle's politics and whether it is a practical or a theoretical science. Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 35) quotes Bourdieu (1986) who suggests that "distance, height, the overview of the observer" is characteristic of the texts of the dominant class. In Chaiwat's case, paragraphs 22-32 are exactly this – the overview of the observer. As a philosopher and as an "influential language user" (van Leeuwen, 2005a, p. 48), Chaiwat assumes the position of the observer to wrestle with the interpretation of Aristotle's political philosophy. As a result, the realisation of people in this section of the text is for the most part in generic terms. They may also be possessivated as in the following examples, the first of which Chaiwat translates into English himself:

(53) (C 23.5)

khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ manút (the good of man)

(54) (C23.8)

*khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmuaŋ
the good of a political society*

(55) (C25.2)

*kaansâaŋ bükhalik (character) [[thiî dii]] khǎwŋ phonlamuaŋ
the building of the good character of citizens*

Some social actors are functionalised in Chaiwat's text. That is, they are represented in terms of what they do. For example, references to external sources are often functionalised:

(56) (C5.2)

nákpràtyaa khon sǎmkhan hǎæŋ yúk
philosopher CLF important
important, contemporary philosophers

Example (50) above refers to *sǎŋkhom thay lé? nǎk rátthasàat* – *Thai society and political scientists*, where political scientists could refer both to political scientists as a profession, or to the room of political scientists present to hear Chaiwat's speech. Social actors are also functionalised in the discussion about Aristotle's meaning of politics as these roles play an important part in the discussion of whether politics is a theoretical or practical science, as in the following examples:

(57) (C25.1)

rátthasàat sǎmràp nǎkpràtyaa yàaŋ nǎŋ kàp rátthasàat sǎmràp phûu [[?ðək kòtmǎay
(law giver)]]
*political science for **philosophers** and political science for **law givers***

The genericisation and functionalisation of social actors as in this section of Chaiwat's text is a feature of academic and philosophical discourse to be able to discuss abstract ideas. As Chaiwat himself admits, his text is rather esoteric as he chose to respond to Sombat in their common language of political philosophy grounded in the classics (Interview 12/1/12).

There are also a few examples where social actors are classified in the text in terms of political leanings, as in the following examples:

(58) (C15.6)

khwaamkhàtyécæŋ rawàaŋ phadètkaan kàp phadètkaan, rawàaŋ phûu [[kum ?amnâat]]
rǎŋ chonchán nam [[tðsúu kan ?eəŋ]]
conflict between dictator and dictator, between people in power or the leading class
fighting amongst themselves

However, similarly to Khien's text, this representation is not a major feature of the text as class is not the focus of Chaiwat's text.

Chapter 6 The representation of social actors

Some social actors in Chaiwat's text are represented as impersonal, particularly as abstractions or through "utterance autonomisation" (van Leeuwen, 2008). Van Leeuwen states that impersonalisations occur frequently in bureaucratic contexts. The evidence from the three texts of this study, and particularly in the texts of Chaiwat and Pitch, suggests that representing social actors impersonally, such as through abstract terms and reference to utterances, is also a key feature of academic writing. This seems logical given the intertextual nature of academic texts. The following abstraction, *the right of a democratic society*, refers to Sombat's justification for the need to stage a coup. The social actors are not construed in terms of themselves, albeit as a collective, but in terms of their rights.

(59) (C16.6)

sit khǎw sǎykhom prachaathíppatay// thī ca pòkpǎw (defend) tua ʔeeŋ.
the right of a democratic society// to defend itself

Utterance autonomisation, the representation of social actors through their utterances, is used quite extensively in Chaiwat's and Pitch's texts to represent social actors. Utterance autonomisation can be signalled through meta-semiotic nouns. In example (49) above (reproduced here) the coup makers and coup supporters are represented by means of their *reasons*. The example is also considered possessivated:

(49) (C13.2)

hèetphǎn khǎw phū [[kǎw ráttaphāan]] lǎʔ dooychaphǎʔ phū [[thī sanàpsanñ ráttaphāan khráŋ nī]]
the reason of the people [[staging the coup]] and especially the people [[who supported this coup]]

Another example of utterance autonomisation in Chaiwat's text occurs with the use of *kham-thǎam* – *question*. Chaiwat's text makes explicit various questions in relation to his construal of the different debates that are addressed in the text. The word at times represents Chaiwat's own voice as in the following example:

(60) (C35.1-2)

panhǎa khǎw ʔaacaan sǎmbàt khǎu kham thǎam// wǎa nay sathǎanakaan hòotrǎay lǎǎ pramaan chēn nī manút ca yaŋ mīi thaay lǎák ʔiik rǎu
Ajarn Sombat's problem is the question// whether in extremely brutal circumstances like these [conditions in a Nazi death camp] humans still have a choice.

The question here represents Chaiwat’s own voice in response to Sombat’s view that there was no choice but to “defend democracy” by staging a coup. The term *kham-thăam* could also represent the assumed audience that, as illustrated below, may be realised through ellipsis or zero anaphora:

(61) (C10.9-10)

*thiī ciŋ nay thaay thrútsadii Ø khoŋ tâŋ kham thăam kan dâw wâa râtthaprahăan
bêæp sântiwithii kàət khûn dâw rûm mây
actually, theoretically (we) may pose **the question** together whether a peaceful coup
can occur or not*

As Chaiwat is addressing a room full of political scientists, as with the reference in example (50) cited above, it is reasonable to assume that he was originally referring in particular to his immediate audience. In the written text, this reference encompasses his putative reading audience also. While utterance autonomisation can refer to groups or the reader-in-the-text as in the example above, it is for the most part individuals that are represented through utterance autonomisation.

6.3.1.2 Individuals

Chaiwat’s text represents a number of key individuals. First, Chaiwat refers to himself often, represented for the most part as *khâaphacâw – I (male, higher formality)*. As the main focus of the text is to respond to Chaiwat’s mentor, Ajarn Sombat is also named, initially in formal terms including his title and full name, and is also appraised in interpersonal terms as follows:

(62) (C9.4)

*khon sâmkhan khǒŋ prathêet khûn sàatraacaan Sǒmbàt Cantharawoŋ
an important person of the country, that is, Professor Sombat Jantarawong*
In subsequent references, he is referred to by the slightly less formal *raacaan Sǒmbàt – Ajarn (Professor, teacher) Sombat*, though still represented formally by name and title. Several of the sources used in the text are named in the text as well as in a series of footnote references. These sources are named and, similar to Khien’s text, their value as sources is extolled. Aristotle’s worth is the topic of paragraph 4:

(63) (C4)

<i>nay prawàt pràtyaa kaanmuaŋ, chûn khǒŋ Aristotle pen chûn nákràtyaa [[thiī sǒŋ pítthiphol nay sǎakhăa wíchaa</i>	<i>In the history of political philosophy, the name of Aristotle is the name of a philosopher [[that sends (its) influence</i>
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<p><i>tàaη tàaη]]///.</i></p> <p><i>thán nî phrṓ? khǎw dây khiǎn ηaan sǎmkhan sǎmkhan nay khanǎæη wíchaa làak láay thán chiiwáwitthayaa lé? wátthasīn thán ηaan aphiṙàtyaa sǎmkhan ṙay con thǎη nǎηsṓṓ [[thiī thṓṓ kan// wā Ø ṙen tamraa ráttthasàat lēm rǎæk khṓṓη lôok]] khṓṓ Politics.///</i></p> <p><i>con krathân nay samǎy klaaη nán thāa mii khṙay [[klàaw thǎη “The Philosopher”]]//</i></p> <p><i>Ø kô sâap kan thūa //</i></p> <p><i>wā Ø mǎay thǎη Aristotle thāwnán//</i></p>	<p><i>into different disciplines]]///</i></p> <p><i>This is because he wrote important works in many different disciplines including biology and rhetoric, important work in metaphysics and including a book [[that is believed// to be the first textbook on political science in the world]], that is, Politics//</i></p> <p><i>so that in the middle ages if there was anyone [[talking about “The Philosopher”]]//</i></p> <p><i>(it) was well known all over//</i></p> <p><i>that (that name) referred only to Aristotle.///</i></p>
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Other philosophers are also represented in highly formal and positively appraised terms; for example, the two political philosophers that Chaiwat draws on to interpret Aristotle’s understanding of politics are also represented in this way, for example:

(64) (C20.6-7)

...nǎkwíchaakaan camnuan mâak thṓṓ // wā thán Eric Voegelin lé? Leo Strauss ṙen nǎk ṙàtyaa kaanmuay khon sǎmkhan thū sùt sṓṓη khon nay sàttawát thū 20
...many academics believe// that both Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss are the most important political philosophers of the 20th century.

As stated earlier, social actors are often represented through their utterances in this text. In example (61) above, the utterance – a question – arguably referred to Chaiwat himself or Chaiwat and the audience. Social actors are also represented in terms of their utterances when Chaiwat engages with the words or works of these particular authors and represents their words in this way in the text. The reference to questions that may be posed in the examples above is one example of utterance autonomisation, but there are many other realisations through the use of metadiscourse. Often, the social actors are named or specified as an element of the nominal group as in the following examples or possessivated:

(65) (C28.1)

khṓṓ-sarùṙ khṓṓη ṙaacaan sṓmbàt
the conclusion of Ajarn Sombat’s

(66) (C28.6)

thátsanà? khṓṓη Socrates

the viewpoint of Socrates

Possessivation is one means by which to bury agency or passivity. In the two examples above, we can consider Ajarn Sombat and Socrates as activated in that Sombat makes the conclusion and Socrates holds the viewpoint. In the following example of utterance autonomisation, however, the social actors are not named as part of the nominal group but can be retrieved from the surrounding co-text:

(67) (C29.12)
tàæ khô-thòkthiǎŋ nay thiî nîi khuu...
but this dispute is...

Both Chaiwat and Sombat are represented by means of the dispute that exists between them, the main focus of Chaiwat's text. According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 46), social actors may be represented in this way because it connects the utterance with an expert or authority. Again, this is a common feature of academic discourse (Hood, 2010; Hyland, 2001).

As can be seen from this discussion, the representation of people, groups and individuals is quite diverse in Chaiwat's text. The diverse representations of social actors contribute to Chaiwat's rhetorical aims – to identify the reasons why so many people supported the 2006 coup as well as engage in a philosophical discussion about the meaning of politics. To realise these aims, Chaiwat specifies different groups of people who engaged in the debates about the coup, differentiating these groups through embedded clauses modifying the head noun in nominal group. These specified social actors also convey Chaiwat's stance on the political conflict – that the staging of the coup was not a moral or legitimate act. People are also represented in generic terms and in terms of their utterances when Chaiwat discusses abstract concepts.

6.3.1.3 Government

Compared to the many and varied representations of social actors, both as individuals and as groups of people, representations of institutional actors such as government, state, the military and the monarchy are much less frequent in the text. The Thaksin government is only represented once in the text as *rátthabaan tháksĩn* (C17.3). It is also represented more obliquely as follows:

(68) (C14.11)

phró? ráthabaan [[thiî thùuk lóm pay]] pen ráthabaan [[sûñ mii thiî maa yàaŋ chōp̄tham phaay tây ráthathammanuun [[thiî thũũ kan wâa //dii thiîsùt]] chabàp nũñ]]

because the government [[that was overthrown]] was a government [[that was legitimate under a constitution [[that was believed to be the best]]]].

(69) (C15.7)

fàay nũñ [[sûñ mii thiî maa hècæŋ ʔamnâat phàan kaandâyráp lũâktâŋ maa dooy chōp̄p]]

a side [[whose power originated through legitimate elections]]

These construals of the Thaksin government in Chaiwat's text, though infrequent, stand in contrast to those in Khien's text. While Thaksin, as an individual, is not invoked in Chaiwat's text, as in Khien's text, Chaiwat recognises and represents the legitimacy of the Thaksin government whereas Khien's aim was to delegitimise the government and so justify the staging of the coup.

6.3.1.4 Military

Similarly, the military is not a major social actor in Chaiwat's text. However, there are a few overt references to the military, as in the following examples:

(70) (C16.2)

*wâa kōŋ thahãan [[sûñ cháy nay wan thiî 19 kanyaa]]
that the **military force** [[that was used on 19 September]]*

(71) (C16.10)

*khũ Ø cháy **kamlay thahãan**
that is (they?) used **military force***

(72) (C16.13)

*phró? mii khōŋ tàaŋ yũu mâak ráwàaŋ kaan “pōŋkan prachaathíppatay” // dooy ʔaasăy **kamlay khōŋ rát** //*

*because there is a great difference between “the protection of democracy”// by depending on **the strength of the state***

Apart from these few examples, there are relatively few explicit representations of the military in Chaiwat's text. However, it is possible to discern traces of the military in more abstract realisations, such as the grammatical metaphor in example (72) above: *kaan “pōŋkan prachaathíppatay” – “the protection of democracy”*. This is actually an

example of how this social actor is excluded from Chaiwat's text. Further examples of this abstraction of the military are provided in the next section.

6.3.2 Exclusion

Some social actors are excluded in Chaiwat's text, for example, from the construal of the coup. In the examples below, the perpetrators, that is the military group that staged the coup (and any other actor that may have encouraged or even ordered this group to act) are obscured from the text through the use of grammatical metaphor and ellipsis or zero anaphora (the second \emptyset in this case):

(73) (C13.6-8)

*lă? thiisút \emptyset kô tōη γωmráp **kaankhùu**// wâa \emptyset ca cháy (rũ **kaancháy**)*

***khwaamrunrææη**// maa kêæ panhãa khǎη bânmuæη. ///*

*and finally (we?) must accept the **threat**// that (they?) will use (or **the use of**) **violence**// to solve the problems of the country.*

Those who threaten or use the violent means such as a coup have been omitted from the text here. The processes of *threatening* and *using* and the quality *violent* are realised as nominalised forms, and the social actors that carry out these actions are absent. However, they are backgrounded, not suppressed totally. They can be retrieved from C13.2 where they are represented through utterance autonomisation:

(74) (C13.2)

***hèetphǎn** khǎη phûu [[kǎw ráttaphrahãan]] lă? dooychaphǎ? phûu [[thi sanàpsanũn ráttaphrahãan khráη nĩ]]*

***the reason** of the people [[who initiated the coup]] and especially the people [[who supported this coup]]*

The following example also erases the identity of the social actors who staged the coup. In this example, the actors are represented first as indeterminate and this is picked up subsequently through ellipsis of the participants:

(75) (C17.19-21)

*máæ **baæη khon** ca hěn // wâa mây mii wíthii ?ũn ?iik, // \emptyset cæη tōη cháy kaan ráttaphrahãan bææp nĩ*

*even though **some people** think// that there is no other way// (**they**) thus have to use a coup like this*

Ellipsis occurs in examples (73) and (75) above and is a means by which social actors can be excluded, suppressed or backgrounded from the text. In example (70) cited above, the verb *cháy* – use carries a passive interpretation, despite not being overtly marked as a passive clause with the passive marker *thùuk*. This has been noted as a feature of a particular class of verbs in Thai (Diller, 1997; Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005), that is, creative material processes. The point to be made here is that this use allows the writer to exclude the agent from the clause. This exclusion may be a strategy to avoid attributing responsibility to any particular individual, group or institution in cases where such attribution could incur some kind of retribution.

However, ellipsis is not only used for the purpose of excluding social actors from the text. Ellipsis has at least two other functions in the texts. First, ellipsis is a common linguistic device in Thai to create participant reference chains in a text. Example (75) demonstrates this linguistic strategy where *baan khon* – some people is picked up through the ellipsis in the following clause. Second, ellipsis is also used in the text as a means for “assigning propositions to the reader-in-the-text” (Thompson, 2001, p. 64). The ellipsis often occurs with mental or verbal processes such as *hěn* – think or *bòok* – say, as in the example below.

(76) (C32.8-13)

<p><i>sìŋ</i> [[<i>thiî khâaphacâw tham</i>]] <i>kô pen kaantân</i> <i>khamthâam</i> [[<i>thiî phûinthâan</i>]] [[<i>wâa</i> <i>râtthaprahâan khraŋ nîi chôptham rûi</i> <i>mây?</i>]]// <i>hâak</i> Ø <i>hěn</i> // <i>wâa</i> Ø <i>mây chôp</i>, // Ø <i>kô tŋ klâa bòok</i> // <i>wâa</i> Ø <i>mây thùuk tŋ</i>. //</p>	<p>The thing that I did was the posing of the basic question [[whether this coup was legitimate or not]]// If (we) think// that (it) was not legitimate// (we) must dare say// that (it) is not right//</p>
---	--

This example, interestingly, demonstrates both uses of ellipsis described above. The first and third realisations refer to the reader in the text, and the second and fourth realisations refer to the coup. Moerman (1988, p. 37) notes the use of ellipsis in Thai to refer to a “non-present” person. We can extrapolate beyond the single non-present person to include the assumed (or in Chaiwat’s speech, the present) audience. This is consistent with Bakhtin’s (1986) notion of dialogism and addressivity in language and the idea that writers, in the creation of their texts, orient their texts to previous or perceived utterances from others. In the case of ellipsis in Thai, Diller (16 June, 2010,

pers. comm.) has suggested that the shared construal of thematic nominal material which is ellipsed is an indication of solidarity between the author and assumed or present audience. Ellipsis provides a means by which Chaiwat is able to draw the audience in and position them in relation to his argument.

6.3.3 Summary

Chaiwat's representation of social actors carries his rhetorical aims. These aims are (1) to identify the reasons why some people supported the coup when they might otherwise be expected to oppose military intervention in politics; (2) to demonstrate his professional competence by responding to his teacher's criticisms and proving that his interpretation of the meaning of the political is correct; and (3) to call attention to the need for political scientists to consider the moral and ethical choices at that time of crisis. Through these three rhetorical aims, he is also expressing an anti-coup position and offering a rationale for this position based on an ethical and moral argument. However, unlike Khien's text that clearly represents social actors in terms of his pro-coup, pro-military ideological stance, some of the social actors in Chaiwat's text are not clearly defined. For example, the few representations of the military and government are specified through embedded clauses or represented as abstractions, but for the most part are not named and do not play a major role in the discourse. Groups of people are genericised or they are specified in terms of their actions or behaviour, again through embedding, to consider what it was that made them come out in support of the coup. However, these representations are also not essential to the main thrust of the text. The audience to whom Chaiwat delivered his speech also appears in the text, specified and functionalised. The audience can also be tracked through ellipsis, often in verbal or mental processes. In contrast, the key social actors are named, titled, appraised and functionalised individuals, political philosophers, such as Ajarn Sombat, Aristotle, Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss and Chaiwat himself, represented as *khâaphacâw – I*. Each of these actors is also represented in terms of their utterances. The focus on individuals and their utterances makes this text very exclusive – “esoteric” is the word Chaiwat uses (Interview, 12/1/12). It is a very personal, academic, philosophical treatise written for an elite audience of political philosophers. While the agency or lack of agency of these actors is not a key finding of the analysis of social actor representation, the construal of social actors reveals something of Chaiwat's rhetorical agency in the crafting of his text.

6.4 Pitch

A key difference in Pitch's text from Khien's and Chaiwat's texts is the complex representation of social actors as classified in terms of class or social hierarchies. Pitch's choices for the representation of social actors in his text reflect his stance on the coup and the political situation in Thailand at the time. Pitch's goal in writing this text was to challenge the rhetoric of the coup-makers. To achieve this goal, Pitch makes people, the military, the coup group (the interim, post-coup administration) and the state most prominent in the text. The monarchy is also referred to in the text, more so than the two other texts. As the analysis outlined below indicates, these representations often occur in covert forms, in cryptogrammatical patterns (Halliday, 1987; Whorf, 1956) which suppress agency or lack of it and which need a close inspection of the strategies for representation to bring these patterns to light.

6.4.1 Inclusion

6.4.1.1 The state

A number of institutions are represented as social actors in Pitch's text. These include the state, the military, the post-coup administration, the government and the monarchy. The coup group, the military and the state in particular play prominent roles in Pitch's construal of the coup and the Thai context. The *state – rât* is classified in this text as the overarching social force that is made up of various elements, including the military, the monarchy and the government. As the state is a key object of enquiry within Marxist thought (Jessop, 2008), it is not surprising that this social actor plays such a key role in Pitch's text, even more so than government. The *state* is invoked explicitly 33 times in the text whereas there are only nine occurrences of government. Mostly, the state is referred to in generic terms and as modifier for certain abstractions as in the following examples:

(77) (P13.3)
konkay rât
mechanism of the state, state mechanisms

(78) (P13.6)
?amnâat rât
power of the state, state power

The state is also more overtly represented as “possessivated” (van Leeuwen, 2008) with the use of *khǎw* – *belong* as in these examples below. As such, the *state* is activated, possessing activities, views, elements, tools, weapons and orders:

(79) (P27.12)

kítcakam khǎw rát
activity of the state

(80) (31.4)

nay sǎaytaa khǎw rát
in the view of the state

(81) (31.7)

ʔoŋprakǎw sùan nǎw khǎw rát
one element of the state

(82) (31.8)

sàttraawút rǎw khǎw rát
weapon or tool of the state

(83) (31.18)

khamsàw khǎw rát
order of the state

As van Leeuwen notes, this strategy backgrounds the agency of the social actor, in this case the agency of the state. These representations provide a clue, then, to the importance accorded to this social actor in Pitch’s text. The state is also represented as being made up of various parts or elements. At the forefront in this text are the coup group and the military. In the following examples, the coup group and the military are identified specifically as being a part of the state, and the state is again realised as modifier in the nominal group. These representations suggest that the state is essentially authoritarian in nature, despite the fact that it plays a subordinate role in the grammar:

(84) (P13.3)

phrǎw kǎnǎw rátthaprahǎan nán pen sùan nǎw khǎw konkay rát
because the coup group is one part of the mechanism of the state.

(85) (P43.5)

kaan thiī thahǎan nay thǎanǎw rát nán...
the fact that the military in the position of the state...

The state is also classified into different types of states in Pitch's text. These representations as they are construed in Pitch's text are diagrammed in figure 6.2 below.

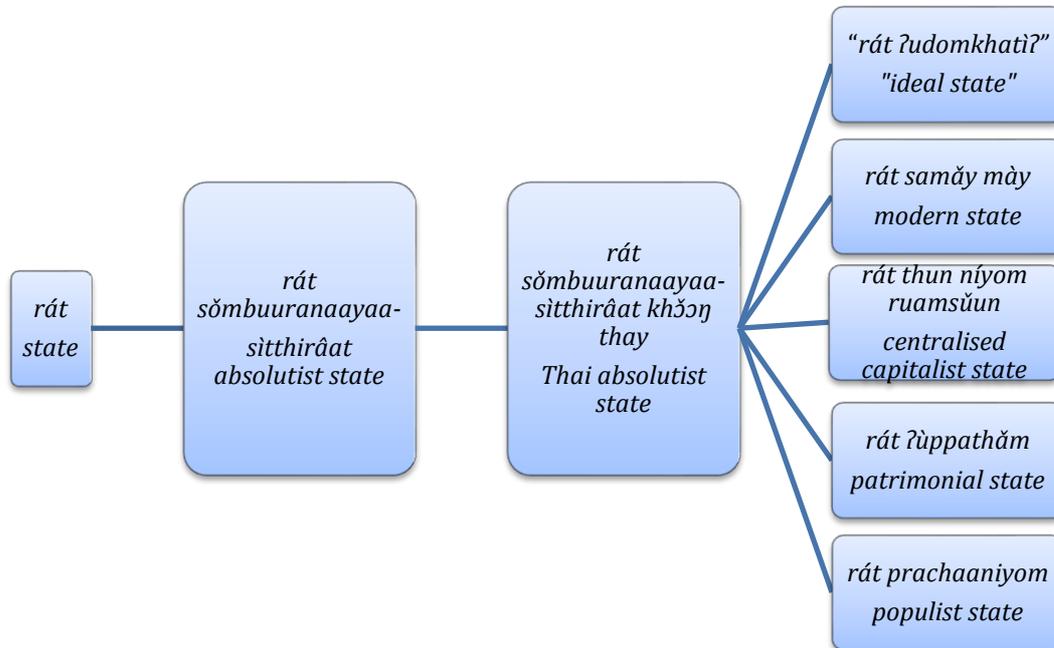


Figure 6.2 Different classifications of the Thai absolutist state in Pitch's text

As Figure 6.2 demonstrates, the text identifies the *absolutist state* as having several different aspects. The *absolutist state* here refers to a transitional period from the late 1860s through to 1932 when the Thai state changed from a pre-modern to a more recognisably modern set of institutional structures and arrangements (Ferrara, 2015). The point that Pitch is making is that the centralisation of state power and the process of modernisation had ongoing implications for Thai society. These classifications of the state illustrated in Figure 6.2 refer to various aspects or tendencies that have characterised the Thai political landscape since that time. For example, despite the modernisation and centralisation that occurred under the renewed absolute monarchy before 1932, Thai political actors are said to have continued to foster relations of dependence, typical of the pre-modern Thai polity, between superior patrons and inferior clients (patrimonial state) (Ferrara, 2015). These relations have been used as mechanisms for mobilising political support, as Thaksin and the TRT party are argued to have done more recently, before 2006 (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). The fostering

of these hierarchical aspects of state power is represented as one key defining feature of the Thai absolutist state.

6.4.1.2 The military

The military is another key actor in Pitch's text and is instantiated explicitly 57 times in the text. These representations are specified as an assimilated group and classified according to nationality, as in (P36.4) *thahǎan khǎwng thay* and (P40.8) *thahǎan thay nán* – *the Thai military*, and they are also represented as generic, as in the following example:

(86) (P40.5)

kham wāa civil-military relationship rǎu khwaam-sǎmphān ráwàan thahǎan (military) kǎp phonlarǎan (civilian)
*the word 'civil-military relationship' or the relationship between **the military** and civilians*

The military is also possessivated as in the following examples:

(87) (P36.4)

kaan-sathǎapanaa kǎwngthǎp samǎy mày
the establishment of the modern army

(88) (P42.12)

khwaam-pen-ǎachiip khǎwng thahǎan
professionalism of the military (military professionalism)

(89) (P42.31)

khwaamchǎwpham thaan kaanmǎan khǎwng thahǎan
political legitimacy of the military

In examples (88) and (89), the military's agency is backgrounded. It is activated in that it is the one to exercise its professionalism or political legitimacy. However, in the first of these nominal groups, example (87), the military is passivated. From the context, it is the monarchy whose agency is backgrounded in that the monarchy established the modern army. In addition, the military is activated in the following nominal group in relation to the staging of coups:

(90) (P42.16)

kaantham rátthǎprahǎan dooy thahǎan...
*the staging of a coup by **the military**...*

(94) (P47.3)

Council of Democratic Reform under the Constitutional Monarchy or Council of Democratic Reform under the King as its Head of the State

As stated in Chapter 2, the discourse of the moral and democratic king was embodied in the name of the Council of Democratic Reform (CDR). Pitch subverts this discourse in the final explanation sequence in his text (paragraphs 47 and 48). The purpose of this final explanation sequence is to explain the problems that the name of the CDR encountered when translated into English. That is, the name in Thai offered a particular meaning that the coup group wanted to project. Pitch states that a problem arose for the coup group because of different imagery that was created when the name was translated into English. For example, the universally accepted meaning of *constitutional monarchy* places the king **under** a constitution that reflects **the will of the people**, an idea that the coup group did not want to advance. Pitch specifies and names this social actor with its full title to challenge the rhetoric of the coup-makers by highlighting the semantic dilemmas that they faced in designating an appropriate title for the post-coup political regime.

6.4.1.3 The monarchy

The monarchy is instantiated in the text much less often than the state, the military and the coup group. There are six references to the monarchy only in the text, but they are worth mentioning here because of the tendency to self-censor one's words due to the harsh *lèse majesté* law. In paragraph 47, which deals with the translation of the name of the CDR, the monarchy is specified and is associated with the king:

(95) (P47.16)

ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt léʔ sathăaban phrámahăakasàt nán
the king himself and the monarchy...

In fact, the monarchy is only invoked in the text in so far as other agents may have drawn the monarchy in to justify the staging of the coup. For example, paragraph 39 refers to the monarchy in terms of the *lèse majesté* law. It is represented in impersonal terms, as modifier of an utterance:

(96) (P39.3)

kaanwíphâak wícaan sathăaban phrámahăakasàt léʔ ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt ʔeeŋ nán
criticism of the monarchy and the king himself

The current use of this law is then compared with how the law was used in the past:

(97) (P39.4) ... (P39.9)

nay samăy râatchakaan thiî 6 méæ nay samăy sombuuranaayaasittirât ʔeeŋ
during the reign of Rama 6th even in the time of the absolute monarchy

Thus the agency of the monarchy, if any, is backgrounded. This pattern of backgrounding is repeated in the clause structure, which will be demonstrated in Chapter 7. Given the stringent constraints on what can or can't be said about the monarchy imposed by this law, this representation is not surprising.

6.4.1.4 Government

The government – *rátthabaan* is also instantiated in Pitch's text, but much less frequently, mostly in generic terms as an institution that is obeyed or resisted:

(98) (P1.20)

kòtmăy lé? khô? bankháp tàŋ tàŋ khǒŋ rátthabaan
*the different laws and regulations of **the government***

(99) (P28.4)

sit nay kaanmâyhěndúay kàp rátthabaan
*the right to disagree with **the government***

The reason for this can be attributed first to the fact that the main focus of this text is not on the government, but on those who staged the coup. So the content, or field, determines which social actors are instantiated. Second, Pitch theorises at the level of the state. Elements of the state are brought into the discussion, such as the military, the coup group, the monarchy and to a lesser extent, government, but as it was the government that was ousted in the coup, it does not have a role in turning citizens into *phrai*.

6.4.1.5 People

A number of representations of people are instantiated in Pitch's text. An interesting pattern in Pitch's text is the classification of social actors in terms of class. According to van Leeuwen (2008), people may be represented through classification, for example, of class, gender or ethnicity. These classifications are "historically and culturally variable" (p. 42), and this variability can be discerned in the choices that are made in Pitch's text, particularly the use of *phrây – bonded commoner* and other terms

that refer to people for which it is difficult to provide a one-to-one translation in English. It is also interesting to note the way these actors are realised in relation to the institutional actors outlined above. In paragraph 1, various social actors that are key to the argument are defined. To this end, the social actors are represented here in generic terms, as in the following example:

(100) (P1.1)

“phrây (n.): chaaw-muay, phonlamuay-săaman; khon-leew”
phrai (n): townsperson, commoner, scoundrel/ bad person

However, these social actors are also classified in the text as members of a social class or hierarchy. This classification is evident even in the title of the text in which the terms *phrây* – *bonded commoner (phrai)* and *phonlamuay* – *citizen* are first instantiated. Many of these classified lexical choices are culturally loaded terms in Thai. The word *phrai*, for example, a key social actor that is instantiated in this text, has a long, historical usage in Thai to refer to a particular class of people who were not slaves because they had some rights over land and property, but nonetheless were in the service of a master to whom they were bound and to whom they owed some of the fruits of their labour (Ferrara, 2015, p. 45). As is indicated in example (100) above, the word *phrai* has also acquired the meaning in Thai of a vile or despicable person. However, in Pitch’s article, as in a book by Pitch on the subject published in the same year as the article (2550/2007a) the word is used in a new sense. Pitch states, “I would like to make the claim that the concept of *phrai* politically was invented by me because I gave the reasons why you become the *phrai*” (Interview, 13/1/12). Pitch’s own translation into English of this word is “subject”. However, the Thai term has been retained in this thesis, though the translated term is also significant. The political meaning construed by the use of this word is a key theme of this text. Other terms for “the people” are also instantiated in this text. These include *phrây samăy mây* – *modern state subject; râatsadōn* – *the people, masses, populace, subjects; prachaachon* – *the people, populace; phonlamuay* – *citizens; and phonlaruan* – *civilians*. These social actors are juxtaposed with the institutional social actors such as the military or the state presented above, as in the following example where *phrai* is construed as subordinate to the state:

(101) (P38.1-38.2)

phrây samăy mây *cuy pen phuû* [[*thî khûn tōō rât...*
modern phrai are thus people [[*that depend on the state ...*

Social actors are also represented as differentiated (van Leeuwen, 2008). As in Khien's and Chaiwat's texts, the extensive use of embedded clauses can be deployed to great effect to specify and differentiate social actors. For example, Thai society, *sǎṅkhom thay*, is also represented in Pitch's text as

(102) (P29.3)

sǎṅkhom [[*thiī mii khwaam-mây-thâwthiam kan pen rṁâṅ pròkkatì?*]]
a society [[*that has inequality as the norm*]]

Another example of the use of embedded clauses to specify and differentiate social actors occurs in the contrast that is made in the text between *phrai*, *râatsadṁṁn* and *citizens*, where, *râatsadṁṁn* (and by extension *phrai*) is represented as in example (103) as opposed to citizens who are specified as in example (104):

(103) (P27.2-4)

râatsadṁṁn (*subject*) *rṁṁ phūu* [[*thiī sǎa phaasiī hây rát// lé? tṁṁ yṁtthṁṁ patibàt tua taam kòtmǎay khṁṁṁ bâanmṁṁṁ chênkan mòt*]]
subjects or people [[*who pay tax to the state// and must all also abide by, behave and follow the law of the country*]]

(104) (P27.5-8)

phonlamṁṁṁ mǎay thṁṁ râatsadṁṁṁ [[*thiī <<nṁṁk càak sǎa phaasiī lé? patibàt taam kòtmǎay bâanmṁṁṁ léæw>> yaṁ tṁṁ mii bòtbàat lé? ṁamṁâat thaṁṁ kaanmṁṁṁ*]]
citizen means subjects [[*who <<apart from paying tax and following the law of the country>> still have a political role and (political) power*]]

What is interesting in the representation of these social actors, particularly *phrai*, is the way they are subsumed by or subjected to the actions of the institutional social actors above, particularly the *state*, and this subjection, this affectedness, is encoded in the linguistic choices in this text. In terms of lexical representations, Pitch's translation into English of (P26.1) "*phrây samǎy mǎy*" as *modern state subject* clearly construes *phrai* as beholden to and in the service of the state. In English, the word *subject* can mean "citizen, national, taxpayer, voter" or "liege, vassal, follower" ("Subject", 2012), and both these meanings are instantiated in the text. In Pitch's text, he makes a distinction between *citizens*, the meaning of the first English definition of *subject*, and *phrai*, which is akin to the second meaning, but characterised by its particularly Thai historical and cultural background, more accurately translated as "bonded commoner".

There are parallels between the meaning of *phrai* as subjugated and the way in which the grammar mirrors this representation. The subjugation of *phrai* can be observed in the way that, out of 44 explicit instantiations of the word in the text, eighteen of these are as modifier in a nominal group and, for the most part, these representations are passivated in some way, as in the following examples.

(105) (P24.6)
khwaamconrákphákdi khǎṅ phrây
the loyalty of phrai

(106) (P25.4)
 “*khwaam-pen phrây*”
 “*being phrai, phrai-ness*”.

(107) (P29.2)
kaandamronṅyùu khǎṅ phrây
the existence of phrai

(108) (P37.4)
*kaankhúmkrǎṅ phrây*³³
the protection of phrai

Example (82) above, *sàttraawút rǎu khruáṅmṁ khǎṅ rát* – *weapon or tool of the state*, also refers to *phrai* and is a form of instrumentalisation.

Except for the first example (105) in which *phrai* is construed as giving something, and therefore active in some way (though what they give is still a commitment to a superior), the other four examples construe these social actors as passive or on the receiving end of someone else’s actions. In the discussion on transitivity in Chapter 7, this feature of *phrai* as subjugated to the state becomes even clearer.

A final representation of *phrai* that is interesting to note in Pitch’s text is through overdetermination, particularly deviation. As noted above, van Leeuwen’s category of overdetermination occurs when social actors are construed as participating in more than one social practice (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 47). Deviation occurs when the social actor is represented by means of another social actor who would not usually

³³ The possessive can be overtly signalled by the use of *khǎṅ* – *belong, of*, but it can be omitted and still retain the possessive meaning, as in this example.

be considered to take part in those activities (pp. 50-51). As indicated above, in Khien's text, the representation of Thaksin as a criminal was an example of deviation. In Pitch's text, the representation of citizens as *phrai* is a form of deviation because, as is explained in the text, *phrai* are locked out of any participation in political life whereas citizens are not. The merging of citizens with *phrai* represents citizens in a role that they are not normally associated with. This is a key aspect of Pitch's challenge. The deviation that occurs with the coupling of *phrai* and *citizen* represents the challenge that Pitch makes against the discourses around the coup.

The word *phrai* and its realisations in discourse carry ideological overtones that are closely tied to the discourses of the people, as presented in Chapter 2. Pitch's construal of the word particularly engages with the hierarchical nature of Thai society and the position of *phrai* within it. In fact as demonstrated above, the powerless and agent-less position that *phrai* is assumed to occupy in Thai society is revealed in this detailed analysis of the text, for example in the way that it is barely activated in the nominal groups in which it appears in Pitch's text. As noted above, Pitch claims that his construal of *phrai* politicised the word. This is another example of the need for close analysis of these representations to uncover their linguistic realisations.

Another abstraction occurs in the term "*khluun-tây-náam*" – "*undercurrents*" which is represented to refer to otherwise anonymous underground political groups, most likely Thaksin supporters, seeking to undermine the coup group, particularly in the provinces of the north and northeast of the country where support for Thaksin and the TRT was the strongest. The use of scare quotes for half of those instantiations, as in

(109) (P10.3)

lé? mii kaansakàtkân "khluun tây náam" tàaη caηwàt
and there is the cutting off of "undercurrents" in different provinces

indicates that Pitch is representing the term in a non-standard or perhaps ironic manner, quoting the words of another social actor in the text. This social actor, the coup group, is backgrounded at this point, but is retrievable from elsewhere in the text. That is, the members of the coup group use the term "*khluun-tây-náam*" instead of a term to identify particular groups and allegiances. In the following example, Pitch identifies these "undercurrents", though the use of the modal auxiliary *nâa ca* – *likely to*,

attributing a median degree of probability to the proposition (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 177; Patpong, 2006, p. 380):

(110) (P10.6)

“khíáun tây náam”// sâi nâa ca mǎay thǎi bandaa pháak kaanmǎai lé? hǎa khanǎæn khǎi pháak kaanmǎai [náy tàai caŋwát] ruam pay thǎi ɔŋkǎn pòkkhrǎi thǎi thǎi
[náy radàp tambon]
“undercurrents”// which would likely mean all the political parties and election canvassers of political parties in different provinces including local government organisations at the sub-district level.

A final abstraction worth noting in Pitch’s text is the representation of the same taxi driver represented in Khien’s text. However, the difference in representation is stark. In Pitch’s text, the taxi driver is first represented as:

(111) (P18.1)

mǎránákam khǎi luy nuamthǎi phraywan
the death of Uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan

Despite the representation as embedded in the nominalisation of a process, *die*, the taxi driver is named and titled by means of affiliation, following van Leeuwen (2008, p. 41). This social actor is embedded in this nominal group, he is named and given the title *luy* – (*elder*) *uncle*, personalising the reference to this taxi driver as opposed to the representation as an unnamed “case” as in Khien’s text. The use of the title *luy* – *uncle* is common in Thai to refer to an older man who is about the same age as one’s own uncle (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 57). Later in the paragraph, he is represented again embedded in an abstraction

(112) (P18.5)

khwaamsǎunsǎ khǎi chiiwít phuúkhon
the loss of life of a person.

Another key method of representation that is evident in Pitch’s text is the way that social actors are represented by means of “utterance autonomisation” in van Leeuwen’s terms (2008, p. 46). This form of representation of social actors was also observed in Chaiwat’s text, as presented above, but it is used even more frequently in Pitch’s text. As stated above in the discussion of Chaiwat’s representation of social actors, this strategy is common in academic texts due to the concern of these texts with the meanings of other texts and other rhetor (Hyland, 2001; Hood, 2010). As noted

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earlier, Pitch stated that his article “was the only piece of work that really challenged the whole rhetoric about the coup” (Pitch interview, 20/11/09). To challenge the rhetoric, social actors are represented by means of their explanations, which are instantiated in order to be challenged in the text. In these cases, it is the coup group or supporters of the coup who are represented thus:

(113) (P13.1)

kaan?athíbaay thǎŋ “*khwaamsǎmrèt khǎŋ kaantham rátthaprahǎan*” *phàan kaanpǎŋkan mây hây kàət kaannǎŋlǎat nán*

The explanation about the “*success of the staging of the coup*” through prevention so that bloodshed did not occur

(114) (P15.1)

[[*kaanhây kaansanàpsanǎn kaanrátthaprahǎan phàan kaan?athíbaay wâa kaan rátthaprahǎan khráŋ ní prasòp khwaam sǎmrèt dooy mây mii kaannǎŋlǎat*]] *nán*
Giving support to the coup through the explanation that this coup was successful by not having bloodshed

(115) (P16.1)

kaan?athíbaay khwaamsǎmrèt khǎŋ kaantham rátthaprahǎan
the explanation for the success of the staging of the coup

In these examples, the social actors are not explicitly identified, but are identifiable as the supporters of the coup and the coup group who offered the explanations that the coup was successful because it prevented any violence and bloodshed from occurring.

The coup group is also represented in terms of its utterances

(116) (P11.5)

prakàat khaná? rátthaprahǎan
the announcement of the coup group

(117) (P11.7)

kaankhǎŋ khwaamrúamm̐ phàan pàakkrabǎŋk p̐m̐
the request for cooperation at gunpoint

In example (117), the coup group is implicated in the coup as it is explicitly named (*khaná? rátthaprahǎan*) in the preceding clause.

The coup group is not the only social actor who is represented in this way in the text. The following nominal group is also an example of utterance autonomisation, though

the “utterance” in this case is implicit in the silence. The social actors, albeit an indeterminate group, are circumstantial in this nominal group:

(118) (P19.1)

*khwaamñāp lé? khwaamyinyɔm khǒɔŋ prachaachon camnuan mây nõɔy tǒ
kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán
the silence and acceptance of not a few people towards the staging of the coup*

Utterance autonomisation is also a strategy by which the writer can introduce an expert source into the text. For the most part, Pitch’s text does not explicitly refer to sources within the body of the text, but does so through footnotes. This is a common feature of argument texts like this one, and occurs also in Chaiwat’s and Khien’s texts, though they explicitly name their sources in the body of the text also. The following example illustrates how Pitch represents the utterances in the text with the social actors named in the footnotes:

(119) (P31.1-3)

<p><i>ŋaan khǎan wíchaakaan nay ʔadiit mii khwaam-chǎa [[wǎa phrây nán dây prææ saphâap maa siu kaan pen kradumphii rǎi chonchán klaaŋ nay mǎaŋ¹⁶ // lé? Ø klaay pen chonchán chaawnaa nay chonnabòt]].¹⁷ /// 16. Nítthi ʔiawsǐiwong, pàak kày lé? bay rua: ruam khwaam riay wǎa dūay wannakam lé? prawàtisàat tǒn ráttanákoosǐn (<i>kruŋthêep: ʔamarin kaan phim</i>, 2527) 17. Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, Thailand: Economy and Politics, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapter 1 The Rice frontier.</i></p>	<p><i>Past academic writings had the belief [[that phrai became the bourgeoisie or the urban middle class¹⁶// and (they) became farmers in the countryside]].¹⁷///</i></p> <p>16. Nidhi Eoseewong, Quill and sail: On the study of literature and history in the early Bangkok era (<i>Bangkok: Amarin Press, 1984</i>)</p> <p>17. Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, Thailand: Economy and Politics, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapter 1 The Rice frontier.</p>
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6.4.1.6 Individuals

As stated above, Pitch’s text does not identify expert authorities in the body of the text to the same extent as Khien’s or Chaiwat’s texts. These authorities are named through extensive footnotes as in example (119) cited above. In terms of individuals, only two other social actors are named, Uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan, the taxi driver as discussed above, and also P44.1 *tuayàaŋ kham sǎmphâat khǒɔŋ phon.ʔɔ.ʔɔ. chalit phúkphǎasúk phop. thɔɔ. lé? rɔɔŋ prathan K.M.C. – an example of an interview of Air Chief Marshal Chalit Phukpasuk, Commander-in-chief of the air force and deputy head of the NSC (National Security Council), represented initially through utterance*

autonomisation, but also named and given his official title. Otherwise, most social actors are anonymous, represented as groups, classes or generic participants. Again, this is a strategy by which Pitch can adopt the “overview of the observer” (Bourdieu, 1986, as cited in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 35) to evaluate or contest the debates.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the construal of the king in Pitch’s text, as the representation of this social actor can be problematic for the writers. Of course, the stringent constraints imposed by the *lèse majesté* law make it difficult to talk about the king in particular contexts. In the case of these texts, the writers needed to avoid attributing any responsibility for the staging of the coup to the king or the monarchy. As was seen above in Khien’s text and Chaiwat’s text, the Thai king was hardly mentioned, if at all. Pitch does refer to the king more than Khien and Chaiwat. The king is represented in Pitch’s text by a number of different terms as follows:

(120)

(P34.1) *phrábàatsömdètphrácâwyùuhüa – His Majesty the King*

(P36.4) *phráráatchaa – the King*

(P37.5) *phrámahăakasàt – the (great) King*

It is difficult to actually determine whether the representations in the text should be categorised as a specified individual referring to the current king at the time of writing,³⁴ or as identification – classification, that is, represented in terms of the position of king. However, the fact that the king is referred to in relation to various different reigns such as during the time of Rama 5 (P34.1) and Rama 6 (39.4) (the king in 2006 was Rama 9) suggests that this social actor is being represented in terms of what he “more or less permanently, or unavoidably [is]” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42), that is, as identification. The king is also represented as circumstance of abstract qualities such as in the following example:

(121) (P39.14)

nōk càak nī lécæw khwaamcoṅrákphákdi kàp ṅoṅ phrámahăakasàt ṅeeṅ nán klàp khûn yùu kàp phrábaaramii khṓṅ ṅoṅ phrámahăakasàt pen yàaṅ mâak
Apart from this, the loyalty to the king himself depends a lot on the prestige of the king.

³⁴ The king in 2006, Rama IX, died in October 2016.

The king is also represented as associated with other institutions. For example, an association is drawn between the king and the legal system:

(122) (P37.13)

khwaamsāmphan ráwàəŋ phrámahăakasàt kàp rábòp kòtmăay lé? sathăaban tulaakaan nán

the relationship between the king, the legal system and the judiciary

(123) (P37.5)

kòtmăay [[thiī “phráràatchathaan” càak phrámahăakasàt]]

law [[that was “royally bestowed” from the king]]

In example (123), this association is taken further with the king represented as provider of the law. In this example, the agency is backgrounded, with the king “circumstantialised” following van Leeuwen’s network.

One final example is worth including here to give an example of an explicit strategy that Pitch deploys to deflect responsibility away from the king. In paragraph 47 where Pitch explains the problem that the coup group encountered with the translation of their name into English, he states:

(124) (P47.4-47.6)

săŋ năy prakaan nī Ø mây cam pen// ca tōŋ măay thăŋ// wăa phrámahăakasàt nán mīi

suàn kàw khôŋ kàp kaanrátthaprahăan khráŋ nī māk nōy khêə năy?///

which on this point (it) does not mean that the king had any role in this coup///

This clearly distances the king from any blame or any role in the staging of the coup, a necessary strategy for Pitch to avoid any blame or censure himself when speaking about this very sensitive topic.

6.4.2 Exclusion

As with Khien’s and Chaiwat’s texts, exclusion of social actors is also a feature of Pitch’s text. Exclusion occurs through the nominalisation of processes whereby the social actors may be suppressed or backgrounded, and also by means of ellipsis or zero anaphora in the text. While the uses of nominalisation in the text that exclude social actors are too numerous to adequately discuss in detail here, a few typical examples will suffice to illustrate their occurrence in the text.

6.4.2.1 Grammatical metaphor

The use of grammatical metaphor realised as nominalisation in the grammar can effectively erase the actions of a social actor. As with both Khien's and Chaiwat's texts, the coup is represented as a nominalisation with the coup makers suppressed as in:

(125) (P8.1)

kaantham ráttaphrahãan mûa 19 kanyaa [[thiî phàan maa]] nán
the staging of the coup on 19 September [[that passed]]

This realisation of the coup in this way is common across all three texts, though the direct connection between the coup group or military and the staging of the coup is made by both Khien and Pitch at some points in their texts. However, the use of the nominalisation in the texts suggests a necessity to avoid such blatant attributions of responsibility. In the following example, Pitch backgrounds the coup group through a nominalisation that is qualified by another social actor. “*Undercurrents*” – “*khluun-tây-náam*” functions as modifier in the following example. The coup group can be retrieved from the co-text as it is identified in an absolute Theme in (P10.1).

(126) (10.3)

kaansakàtkân “khluun tây náam”
the intercepting of the “undercurrents”.

Also excluded through the use of nominalisation are the social actors that were responsible for the threatened violence and bloodshed that might have occurred had there not been a coup.

(127) (P12.4)

khwaamrunræeη [[thiî ca nam pay sùu kaannæηlúât]] nán ca tōη kàət khûn
violence [[that is followed by bloodshed]] must occur

This may not be so much a case of Pitch suppressing these actors, but rather another example of the construal of the rhetoric of the coup group and supporters of the coup.

6.4.2.2 Ellipsis

As discussed earlier in the discussion of Chaiwat's text, the use of ellipsis is a common feature of Thai discourse. One common use of ellipsis is as a means to assign

meaning to an assumed audience. Pitch's text also has clear examples of this strategy, as in the following example:

(128) (P15.6-12)

<p><i>sûŋ tham hây Ø khít pay dâŷ //</i> <i>wâa thâa Ø mâŷ hěn dũay</i> <i>kàp kaanrátthaprahãan</i> <i>ciŋciŋ //</i> <i>lécæw Ø kô khuan tŋŋ ʔòk maa siãŋ</i> <i>chiiwít //</i> <i>phûa hây kàət</i> <i>khwaamrunræcæŋ lé? kaan</i> <i>nɔŋlûat, //</i> <i>daŋnán mûa raw “mây hěn”</i> <i>khwaamrunræcæŋ lé? kaannɔŋlûat</i> <i>nay kaantãan kaanrátthaprahãan //</i> <i>kaan rátthaprahãan khráŋ ní Ø kô thũŋ //</i> <i>wâa Ø prasòp khwaamsãmrèt. ///</i></p>	<p><i>Which makes (us) think//</i> <i>that if (we) really don't</i> <i>agree with the coup//</i> <i>and (we) should come out and risk</i> <i>[our] lives//</i> <i>in order to create violence</i> <i>and bloodshed//</i> <i>therefore when we “don't see”</i> <i>violence and bloodshed in the</i> <i>opposition to the coup//</i> <i>this coup is believed//</i> <i>that (it) met success//</i></p>
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This idea that the ellipsis refers to an assumed audience is given support in this example as the use of *raw – we* in (P15.10) picks up this thread of ellipsis. The final example of ellipsis in (P15.12), however, picks up *the coup*, which is instantiated in the previous clause.

6.4.3 Summary

The analysis of social actors in Pitch's text helps to reveal ideological processes in the construal of certain actors. The state, the military, the coup group and *phrai* are the most prominent social actors that are instantiated in the text. The *state* is represented through possessivation and classification. In the possessive forms, *state* functions as modifier in the nominal group. In this way, the *state* is realised as agentive, but the manner of representation in the possessivated form serves to background its agency. The military is realised as agentive through its representation as possessivated and also as impersonalised. The military is also specified and named in terms of the group that staged the coup and established the interim governing body, the coup group. *Phrai* are represented exclusively as generic and classified participants and the representations are construed as very passive compared to the state and the military. The construal of *phrai* taps into the ideological discourses of the people, but its coupling with *citizen* challenges the ideological import of the word. This point will be supported when looking at transitivity in the next chapter. The king and the monarchy are also represented in the text. For the most part, the agency of the king is

backgrounded, for example through circumstantialisation or possessivation. Unlike Khien's and Chaiwat's texts, individuals play a lesser role in the body of the text, though there is a comprehensive set of footnotes that support the arguments in the body of the text, following the conventions of citation practices in academic writing (Hood, 2010; Hyland, 2001). Again, the particular choices made in Pitch's text reflects both the nature of the argument that Pitch was making and also his stance on issues that he deals with, and thus is both an expression of his rhetorical agency and a representation of agency in the text.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the representation of social actors in the three texts as an expression of rhetorical agency. Each writer was driven by his rhetorical goals, and these were realised in the linguistic choices. While there are some overlaps between the three rhetors in terms of their representations of social actors, this is not surprising considering that they are all working within the same field of discourse – political science and the events of 2006. As such, they refer to structures of power in Thai society such as governments, the state, the military and the monarchy. They also specify groups of people caught up in the events of the coup and they name individuals, for example military generals and the various sources that they draw on to support their arguments.

However, there are also many differences in the choices of social actor representation that each of the rhetors makes. The three writers represent government, state, the military and monarchy to different extents. Khien's purpose was to justify the staging of the coup and demonise the Thaksin government. He therefore establishes the norms of behaviour expected of governments, representing the institution in generic terms, before specifying the Thaksin government in order to hold it to account. At the same time, the Thaksin government is appraised negatively, for example with the use of words like *tyrant*, *criminal* and *tyranny of the majority*. In contrast, government does not feature as a major actor in Chaiwat's or Pitch's texts. Chaiwat does specify the government that was toppled and the government that was legitimately elected, but he only names the government as the Thaksin government once in the text. This is because the main focus for Chaiwat is not so much the coup itself, but to respond to his mentor and in doing so, to contemplate the meaning of politics, which he eventually explains

the significance of at the end of his text. As the coup forms the backdrop of the text, though, the government that was overthrown does rate a mention. In doing this, Chaiwat places himself in opposition to Khien as his position is that, while the Thaksin government did abuse its position, it was still a legitimately elected government. Pitch also does not refer as often to government. Government is briefly represented in generic terms, but is not a key actor in the text. Instead, the state plays a greater role in Pitch's text. The state is represented in generic terms, but more often is classified as different kinds of states that highlight the different roles that different manifestations of the state embody. The state is also represented as possessivated quite frequently, and these representations serve to background the agency of the state. In contrast, the state is not a key actor in Khien's or Chaiwat's texts. The representations of government by Chaiwat and Khien perpetuate the discourses in Thailand that promoted a view about politicians being corrupt and unfit to rule the country, juxtaposed against the discourses about the monarchy and king as pure and morally more suitable for rule. Khien promotes these discourses. Chaiwat challenges the discourse of the corrupt politician by upholding the democratic process and the legitimacy that comes from the electoral process.

The military is another actor in the texts, but again each text adopts a different stance and places different emphasis on this actor. Khien adopts the same strategy that he uses for the representation of government – first representing the military in generic terms to convey the accepted behavioural norms before specifying the military group that staged the coup. However, to support his thesis that the military was justified to act as it did, he introduces a caveat to circumvent the view that the military should remain politically neutral. He does this by attributing private citizenship rights to the institution of the military as a whole. For Chaiwat, the military is not a key actor, with only a small number of times that it is instantiated in the text. For these few occurrences, Chaiwat specifies the military group that staged the coup only. Again, this reflects Chaiwat's purpose, which is not to engage with the concrete events of the coup, but to consider a philosophical problem that relates to the coup more tangentially. The military is, however, a key actor in Pitch's text. There are some generic representations of the military, but mostly, Pitch specifies the military group that staged the coup and managed the post-coup period – the Council of Democratic Reform. In addition, the military is realised as modifier in the nominal group or as possessivated, for example

when referring to the political theory about military professionalism, a theory that Pitch draws on to critique the actions of the military in staging the coup. Pitch also represents the military in terms of its utterances. This representation of the utterances of the coup group allows Pitch to then challenge the claims that were circulating about the necessity of the coup, a key aim of the text. Though Pitch and Khien draw on similar strategies for representation following van Leeuwen's social actor network, their construal of the military is in contrast. This contrast will be more clearly observable in the transitivity analysis in the following chapter. However, there is a clue to this contrast in the impersonal – abstract representations of the military in the two texts, for example, Khien's representation of the military as *khṛḥāṅmṛṛ khṛṛ phūunam fāay bṛihāan* – *tool of the administrative leader* which conveys a passive role for the military as opposed to Pitch's representation of *phalaṅ phadṛtkaan* – *power of dictatorship* and *kṛṛṛayakaansṛk* – *martial law* which conveys a more active and negatively appraised representation.

People are represented as groups and as individuals in the three texts. Generic references of groups tend to homogenise these actors as thinking and acting as one, en masse. Some groups are specified and differentiated to enable the writer to position these groups in particular ways in relation to each other to make a point. The differences between the realisations in the three texts reflect the position and purpose of each writer. Khien refers to people and to groups in generic terms, which sets up a dichotomy between good and bad, *winners* and *losers*. This dichotomy feeds into the notion of the “good” coup. Khien also refers to “the people” in generic terms, which has the effect of removing these social actors from the immediate experience of the reader (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 36). Khien also specifies and differentiates groups of people, often through the use of embedded clauses. In this way, Khien construes various groups allied with or against various factions that existed at the time of the coup with positions either for or against the coup. These representations give a sense of the turmoil that was occurring on the streets of Bangkok at that time. Only some of these people are represented in terms of class – as poor people, the grass roots or the middle class. The experts that Khien draws on to support his thesis are functionalised. In addition, Khien names, specifies and also appraises his sources. It is of course a common feature of academic writing, to build upon the work of others. However, the inclusion of these actors as sources serve to legitimate Khien's subsequent argument

through expert authority. Other individuals that are named in Khien's text are the two generals – one the head of the CDR and the other the head of the interim government. One actor that is not explicitly named but occurs as modifier in the nominal group or as someone else's locution is Thaksin. This backgrounds and delegitimises him. Chaiwat's text more often specifies groups of people using the same strategy as Khien, through the use of embedded clauses. Like Khien's specified and differentiated groups, the groups that Chaiwat specifies also lived through the events of 2006, but they are categorised according to their experiences of past coups rather than their political position on the 2006 coup. Chaiwat also names and appraises various individuals. These include his teacher and mentor, Ajarn Sombat, as well as the sources that he draws on to support his argument. However, the motivation for doing this differs quite significantly from Khien. Chaiwat is defending his professional identity, and to do this, he draws on the ideas of some of the key thinkers that define his profession. As such, he also represents these individuals by means of their utterances. And in his interpretation of the ideas of these key thinkers, Chaiwat represents people in generic terms, as humans and as Thai society.

Pitch for the most part represents people as generic and as classified in terms of class. This is to be expected considering this is an academic text in the discipline of political science, and Pitch is a Marxist scholar. People are represented as *phrai*, as subjects, as citizens and civilians. In addition, these representations are associated with other actors – *phrai* are associated with citizens, and civilians are associated with the military for example. Pitch states that he was the first to use the word *phrai* with the political connotations that accompany the word in this text, that is, to refer to a category of people stripped of their citizenship. The representation of *phrai* in this way is significant given that the word subsequently became a term of self-identification used by the red shirt protestors to distinguish themselves from the pro-royalist yellow shirt movement. *Phrai* are also realised as modifiers in the nominal group, and the particular representations construe the passivity of these participants. Pitch also represents people as specified, for example, as people who came out to protest the coup, though specified actors like this are not as frequent in Pitch's text. People are also represented in terms of their utterances. Utterance autonomisation is used by Pitch to represent the words – explanations and also silence – of generic participants. While some individuals are referred to as sources in the text, most of these sources are

included in footnotes (which have not been analysed in this thesis). Compared to Khien's and Chaiwat's texts, few actors are named and titled in Pitch's text. However, Pitch does name the taxi driver who crashed his taxi into a tank in protest against the coup (and who later committed suicide). Even though this representation is realised as a modifier to *death*, this is in contrast to Khien's representation of the same individual, as a *case of a taxi driver* only. Pitch's representation personalises this social actor.

Finally, the king and the monarchy also occur in the texts, but not so frequently. In fact, Khien only refers to the Thai king in terms of the *lèse majesté* law. However, he does refer to kings or emperors as "sovereign rulers", which morph into a representation of leaders, linking to Thaksin the Thaksin government as leader. Chaiwat only refers to the late king as an abstraction in terms of the 60th anniversary of his reign in 2006. Considering the constraints imposed on these writers, this could be construed as an avoidance strategy. However, more likely, these two writers have not invoked the king or the monarchy because they are not implicated in the content or thesis of their respective texts. The king does not figure as a social actor in the justification for the military coup of 2006 except in the fact that the Thaksin government was said to have committed *lèse majesté*. Similarly, the king is not an actor in a consideration of Aristotle's politics. The king, and to a lesser extent the monarchy, are implicated in Pitch's text as Pitch associates the king with the Thai legal system, considers the status of the *lèse majesté* law in the current Thai political context and explains the difficulties faced by the coup group in the translation of *ʔan mii phrámahāakasàt soṅ pen pramúk – with the King as Head of State*".

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that the construal of social actors as generic or specified can differ depending on social class. This is an interesting insight into the cryptogrammar, for example of texts produced for working class or middle class audiences. What emerges from the analysis of social actor representation in the three texts of this study suggests that Khien is more interested in representing experts and real people or groups in the physical world. Pitch maintains a distance from specific people and specific events. Instead, he represents more of the utterances of the participants in the events in order to challenge their rhetoric. Chaiwat only names experts that he draws on and people in stories. The real life events do not feature so prominently. Instead he maintains an even greater distance "above the hurley-burley"

(Bourdieu, 1986, as cited in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 35). The effect is one of gradually shifting from more concrete to more abstract focus. The more concrete the focus, the more accessible the text becomes for the general reader. Khien did state in his interview that he published on the Thai World website to inform Thai people about political events in Thailand and internationally (Interview, 5/1/12). The more abstract the text becomes, the more exclusive the audience becomes. Chaiwat's text most definitely, then, is written for the political philosopher. In the construction of each of these texts, the rhetors exercise agency to intervene in the public discourse and position social actors in particular ways to make their points. The next chapter will look at how these social actors are positioned in relation to each other in the clause and the clause complex, construing these actors as more or less agentive than others.

Chapter 7

Represented agency: Transitivity

7.1 Introduction

As argued in previous chapters, rhetors make certain lexicogrammatical choices to achieve a particular rhetorical effect, and the choices they make offer clues to the different positions they hold vis-à-vis the nature of Thai socio-political context and the various events about which they are writing. To understand how a text means what it does and to “appreciate the deeper ideological content of the discourse – the messages we had received without becoming aware of them” (Halliday, 1987, p. 143), we need to attend to language below the surface, the “hidden grammar”, or “cryptotypes” (Whorf, 1956, p. 92), or what Halliday and Matthiessen call “cryptogrammar” (1999, p. 569). Represented agency can only be revealed by a penetrating analysis of the cryptotypical patterns in the texts. Chapter 6 uncovered cryptotypical patterns in the lexical representations of social actors, such as the way *phrai* are construed as subsumed and marginalised by the state, by the way that Thaksin is delegitimised by not naming him personally, and in the strategies of exclusion of social actors from the text through ellipsis and grammatical metaphor.

This chapter turns to another means by which represented agency is realised in a text, through “role allocation” (van Leeuwen, 2008). Role allocation refers to the way in which a social actor may be represented as an active participant in the process, impacting on another actor such as *the military in the military protected the civilians*. Alternatively, *civilians* are allocated a more passive role in the process, acted on by *the military*. A social actor may also be realised as an instigator, external to the action encoded in the process as *the military in the military made the bomb explode*. The category of “instigation” was added to the categories of activation and participation in van Leeuwen’s (2008) social actor network to account for the frequent use of analytical causative constructions in the three texts. An actor may be represented as benefitting in some way as *the state in citizens pay tax to the state*, or an actor may be represented on the periphery, not directly involved in the process, but realised in a circumstance in the clause structure as *the king in the legal system was a gift from the king*. An analysis of role allocation will reveal further cryptogrammatical patterns, this time in the clause

grammar, in which social actors are represented as being more or less involved in what is going on and as exercising greater or lesser agency. As with the analysis in Chapter 6, role allocation is realised linguistically, captured through an analysis of transitivity in the texts.

To illustrate how agency or lack of agency is construed in the three texts and the mechanisms that the writers use to support or challenge dominant discourses in Thai society, this chapter first considers the way that the social actors identified in the previous chapter are represented in terms of transitivity and the complementary perspective of ergativity, as configurations of participants, processes and circumstances. The analysis also looks at the way different participants in each of the texts are represented above the clause in the clause complex. First, as process type is a key consideration in the analysis of the cline of dynamism, a comparison of the different process types will be presented. The analysis will then address each text in turn before summarising the patterns of construal of the different social actors in terms of the cline of dynamism. The particular categories to be analysed are government, the state, the military, the coup group, people and the king/monarchy, as elucidated in Chapter 6. A final category of what has been termed semiosis will also be considered as the representations of meanings, ideas or ideologies play a key role in establishing causes and effects of the coup, particularly for these political scientists. The analysis is presented in a three-row table, the top row presenting the Thai phonetic transcription of the clause or clause complex and English gloss, the second row presenting the transitive analysis and the third row presenting the ergative analysis after Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). The translation is supplied underneath.

7.2 Summary of process types

A comparison of transitivity structures in the three texts reveals some key differences in the configurations of participants and processes that reflect the particular stance that each writer has on the events and the social actors involved. As argued in Chapter 6, Khien's focus is more closely on the coup and the people and institutions caught up in that event. Pitch's text is also partly concerned with the coup events, but is also more removed, focusing on words and meanings and how these impact on different groups of people or institutions. Chaiwat's argument is even further removed from the coup, focusing on more philosophical and ethical considerations as argued by expert

sources. These differing preoccupations of the three rhetors are manifested in the choices of process types that are realised in their texts.

Khien's text uses a greater number of material processes than other process types. The greater use of material processes is a result of his more concrete construal of the social events in Thailand. Khien's construal of these events focuses on the actions of participants in the material world. The text is, at least partially, about what was done and by whom, for example, *the Thaksin government violated the social contract* or *the military group staged the coup*. Khien's text also deploys relational processes, most frequently attributive processes, in order to characterise participants that helps him to build his argument. For example, the *Thaksin government* is characterised as *corrupt* and the *military* are characterised as *frustrated*. Mental and verbal processes are used to project ideas and locutions. For example, the expert sources are represented in verbal processes with projected locutions, and these locutions are used to build the grounds for Khien's argument.

Pitch's and Chaiwat's texts are more abstract than Khien's text and this abstraction is reflected in their choices of process types, with greater use of relational processes in their texts, a common feature of academic discourse. The more frequent use of relational processes in Pitch's text means the discourse is more removed from the actions in the material world. For example, the use of relational processes allows Pitch to classify and identify people, and particularly *phrai* in different ways. In addition, the text makes much of what was said, for example, by the coup makers and coup supporters. These "sayings" or "ideas" are not represented so often by means of verbal processes, however, but are realised as grammatical metaphors, for example in the nominalisation of verbal processes such as *kaan-pathiibaay – explanation*, or mental processes such as *khwaam-khit – idea*. These representations were discussed in the previous chapter as "utterance autonomisation", according to van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic network. By representing these "sayings" and "ideas" in the nominal group, the text can then classify and identify the explanations or ideas in relational clauses. The text also juxtaposes what was said with what was done, thus contrasting the words of the coup makers and coup supporters with their practices. This may account for the relatively high use of material clauses in the text.

Chaiwat’s text is even more removed from the material world than Pitch’s text. In Chaiwat’s own words (Interview, 12/1/12), the text is more “esoteric”, dealing as it does with highly specialised knowledge about Aristotle’s *Politics*. Thus the text has more relational processes that carry forward Chaiwat’s argument about Aristotle’s meaning of politics. Clauses are used to define, identify and attribute value to participants. In addition, it is not just people that are represented as agentive, but also ideas that compel people to action. The text also construes what was said – by his colleague, Ajarn Sombat, and by other philosophers. As in Pitch’s text, Chaiwat’s text deploys grammatical metaphor to represent verbal or mental processes as things that can then be construed as impacting on other participants that are represented in the text. But Chaiwat’s text is also characterised by the use of a greater percentage of mental and verbal processes than the other two texts. This reflects the more overtly dialogic nature of Chaiwat’s text, as discussed in Chapter 5, in which he staged his text as a point-by-point response to Ajarn Sombat’s critique, for example, *Ajarn Sombat said... Actually, I think that...*

The occurrence of process types across the three texts are provided below in Table 7.1. These are represented in terms of a bar chart in Figure 7.1.

Table 7.1 Comparison of process types across three texts

Process types	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
Clauses (total)	389	500	408
Material	44.73%	20.8%	24.02%
Relational (total)	27.51%	46.8%	52.94%
Mental	10.03%	16.4%	8.82%
Verbal	8.23%	10.4%	6.86%
Existential	7.97%	4.8%	5.64%
Behavioural	1.54%	0.8%	1.72%

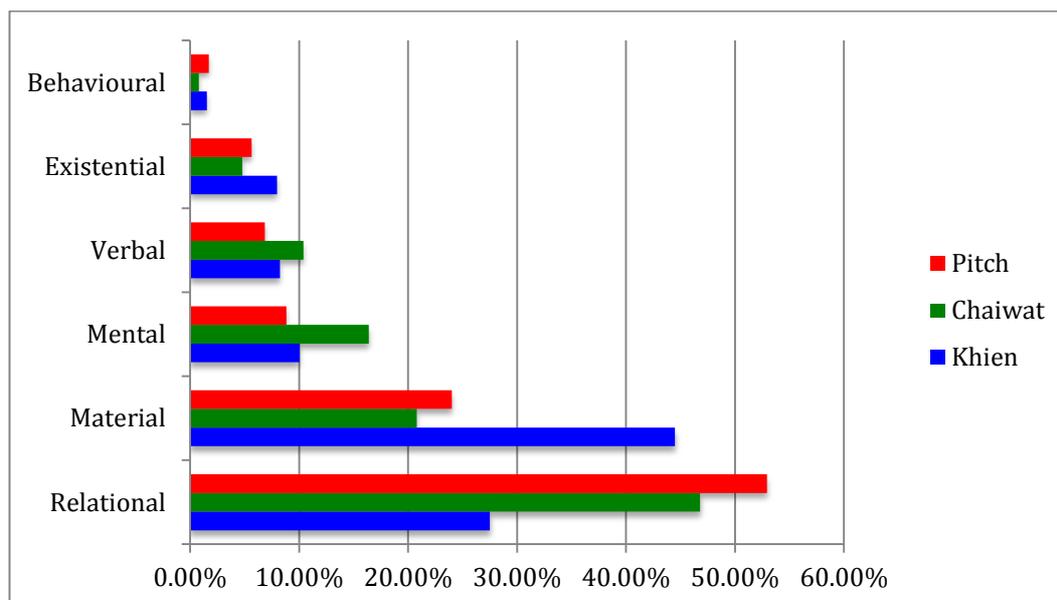


Figure 7.1 Comparison of process types

The analysis also reveals how agency in the Thai clause is diverse in its realisations. It can be realised through the process types, for example Actor-Agent participants in a material process, such as *the military* in *the military toppled the government*, occurring at the more dynamic end of the cline of dynamism. It can also be realised through the use of analytical causative constructions where the process is instigated by a participant that is external to the action encoded in the process in the clause, such as *the military made the bomb explode*. Agency can also be discerned as it is distributed along the clause in a verbal group complex or even across clause boundaries in a clause complex. This diversity in the representation of agency below the clause, as demonstrated in Chapter 6 in the possessivated nominal groups such as *the order of the state*, at the level of the clause such as Actor-Agent in a material process, and above the clause in the clause complex as in *the government pulled the military in// to fight with the opposition*, suggest the need for a dynamic theory of the representation of agency in SFL. The identification of these cryptogrammatical patterns in the three texts will provide a more nuanced understanding of the representation of agency in the three texts and the different values and world-views constructed in each of the texts. The following sections will address the patterns of transitivity and dynamism in each of the texts.

7.3 Khien

Of the social actors identified in Chapter 6, there are three key actors that are represented frequently as Agent in Khien's text: the Thaksin government, the military and the Council of Democratic Reform (CDR – the military group that staged the coup). Just as there were patterns in the representations of these social actors as demonstrated in Chapter 6, a transitivity analysis also uncovers patterns in the grammatical roles that these social actors fill. Government, for example, is represented as Actor-Agent, Actor-Medium and Goal-Medium in the clause. The coup group is largely represented as Actor-Agent but is also represented as Goal-Medium. The military is represented more frequently as Goal than as Actor-Medium, but also with some realisations as Actor-Agent once the grounds for staging the coup have been established. The people, as a homogenous and anonymous group, fill a variety of roles, including Agent, and some individuals occur as Actor-Agent, while a slightly greater proportion of choices occur in Band 4 as Sayer on the cline of dynamism. The patterns of representation can be explained at least in part by the rhetorical goals of the text, that is, to justify and legitimise the staging of the coup and suggest a strategy to avoid future problems of constitutional legitimacy should it be necessary for a future government to be ousted.

7.3.1 Government

Government - rátthabaan is represented as Actor-Agent in a material process in about 33% of the choices and as Actor-Medium in a material process in almost 14% of choices. It also occurs as Goal in almost 14% of the choices. *Governments* occur as Medium (Actor-Medium and Existent-Medium) when they are referred to in generic terms to present a normative view of governments. The following clauses clearly indicate this position:

(1) (K5.5-5.8)

<i>wâa</i> <i>that</i>	<i>rátthabaan</i> <i>government</i>	<i>mii wáy</i> <i>exist AspPerf/Purposive</i>
	Existent	Process: Existential
	Medium	

...that governments exist

<i>phúá</i> <i>in order to</i>	<i>pòkpôj ləʔ bərikaan</i> <i>protect and serve</i>	<i>khon khǒj prachaakhom</i> <i>people of the community</i>
	Process: Material	Goal
		Medium

in order to protect and serve the people of the community.

<i>rátthabaan</i> <i>government</i>	<i>ca sîn</i> <i>will exhaust</i>	<i>saphâap</i> <i>condition</i>	<i>pay</i> <i>go</i>
Actor	Process: Material	Range	...Process
Medium		Range	

A government will be wiped out

<i>mâa</i> <i>when</i>	\emptyset <i>(it)</i>	<i>mây sāmáat</i> <i>ráksāa</i> <i>cannot preserve</i>	<i>khwaamchûamân (trust)</i> <i>khǒj prachaachon</i> <i>the trust of the people</i>	<i>?aw wáy dāy</i> <i>Asp.Perf. can</i>
	Actor	Process: Material	Goal	... Process
	Agent		Range	

when (it) cannot retain the trust of the people.

In the final clause in example (1) above, *rátthabaan* – *government* is ellipsed. The ellipsed participant is Actor-Agent in this clause. However, the clause is negated and so any agency is also negated in this clause. The point to be noted in this example is that the construal of government in this generic sense as Actor/Medium (in 5.5 and 5.7) establishes a norm. As Actor/Medium, *governments* sit at Band 4 on the cline of dynamism, at about the mid-way point. This means that they are represented as neither passive nor highly agentive in the clause.

This normative position is contrasted with the behaviour of the Thaksin government to legitimate the intervention of the military. The *Thaksin government* - *rátthabaan Tháksīn* occurs in all three participant roles cited above. When it is first introduced explicitly into the text at paragraph 11, it is realised as Goal, placing it at the passive end of the cline of dynamism:

(2) (K11.3)

∅ (military group)	<i>khôn lóm</i> <i>topple</i>	<i>rátthabaan tháksĭn</i> <i>Thaksin government</i>	<i>loŋ</i> <i>down</i>
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	...Process
Agent		Medium	

(The military group) toppled the Thaksin government.

However, the Thaksin government is more frequently realised as Actor-Agent to support the argument that the coup was justified. In the example below, Khien sums up the argument for why the Thaksin government had to be removed:

(3) (K14.2)

<i>rátthabaan Tháksĭn</i> <i>Thaksin government</i>	<i>dây lámâət</i> <i>Perf.ASP. violate</i>	<i>sănyaa prachaakhom</i> <i>social contract</i>	<i>sám léæw sám lâw</i> <i>again and again</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	Extent: frequency
Agent	Process	Medium	Extent

The Thaksin government violated the social contract again and again.

In this clause, the Thaksin government is Actor-Agent. With the non-human Goal in this clause, the Thaksin government is placed at Band 3 on the cline, more dynamic than the representations in example (1) above. The material process *violate* negatively appraises this Agent and strengthens the case for military intervention. Between paragraph 11 where it is first introduced and paragraph 14 where Khien sums up the argument in the analytical exposition genre, the Thaksin government is instantiated or implied through ellipsis twelve times. In the majority of these cases, it is represented as Actor-Agent, and in some of these the Goal in the clause is a human or institutional actor, which raises the dynamism even higher to Band 2 on the cline:

(4) (K12.5)

<i>wâa</i> <i>that</i>	∅ (<i>Thaksin government</i>)	<i>dây tham</i> <i>Asp.perf. do</i>	<i>kaankhâa tàttōn</i> <i>prachaachon phūu bōrisùt</i> <i>murdering censoring</i> <i>innocent people</i>	<i>maa léæw</i> <i>come</i> <i>Asp.perf.</i>	<i>lăay khráŋ</i> <i>many times</i>
	Actor	Pro: Mat	Goal	...Process	Circumstance: Extent
	Agent		Medium		Extent

*...that (the Thaksin government) murdered and censored innocent people many times.*³⁵

³⁵ Literally – *did the murdering and censoring of innocent people*. There is only one verb *tham* – *do* and *murdering and censoring* are nominalised with *kaan-* to form a noun depicting the activity.

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The Goal in example (4) is literally *the murdering and censoring of innocent people*, so people are represented as a modifier for the grammatical metaphor. However, the action of the Thaksin government can be seen to be impacting on the people, albeit more indirectly. The use of *murder and censor*, juxtaposed with *innocent* again negatively appraises the Thaksin government in this clause.

The construal of agency, and in particular the exercise of agency by the Thaksin government, is also realised across clause boundaries, in a clause complex. The following hypotactic enhancing clause complex of cause: purpose, made up of three clauses, extends the agency of the Thaksin government to impact on the judiciary, represented as Medium, which then in turn is represented as Actor/Agent in the final clause.

(5) (K12.7)

<i>lê?</i> <i>and</i>	∅ (Thaksin govt.)	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>ʔitthiphon</i> <i>influence</i>
	Actor	Pro. Material	Scope
	Medium		Range

And (the Thaksin government) used its influence

∅ (Thaksin govt.)	<i>bìip banḡháp hây</i> <i>force make</i>	<i>rábòp yútìtham</i> <i>judiciary</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal
Agent		Medium

to force the judiciary

∅ <i>judiciary</i>	<i>lâwén</i> <i>refrain</i>	<i>kaan-patìbàt nâathî</i> <i>performance duty</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal
Agent		Medium

to refrain from the performance of their duties.

There is another possible analysis of this series of clauses with the use of *cháy... bìip banḡháp hây* – *use... force* analysed as a verbal group complex, following the same pattern as identified by Patpong (n.d., p. 35):

(6)

<i>khăw</i> <i>he/she</i>	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>kankray</i> <i>scissors</i>	<i>tàt</i> <i>cut</i>	<i>kràdàat</i> <i>paper</i>
Actor	Pro...: material α	Goal 1	...cess: material β	Goal 2

He/She used/uses (the) scissors to cut (the) paper.

and similarly, by Diller (2006, p. 171), as in:

(7)

<i>phīichaay</i> <i>elder-brother</i>	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>phráa</i> <i>machete</i>	<i>hùat</i> <i>slash</i>	<i>máy-phày</i> <i>bamboo</i>
Actor	Pro...: material α	Goal 1	...cess: material β	Goal 2

Elder brother used/uses a machete to slash the bamboo.

The use of *cháy* – *use* in examples (6) and (7) carries a semantic feature of instrumentality (Diller, 2006, p. 171) and realises a logico-semantic relation of Manner: Means (Patpong, n.d., p. 34). If example (5) (K12.7) above were to be analysed along the same lines as examples (6) and (7) above, we could arrive at the analysis of a verbal group complex followed by a simple verb below:

(8) (K12.7)

<i>lê?</i> <i>and</i>	\emptyset <i>(Thaksin</i> <i>govt.)</i>	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>ʔitthiphon</i> <i>influence</i>	<i>bīip baŋkháp hây</i> <i>force make</i>	<i>rábòp yútitham</i> <i>judiciary</i>
	Actor	Pro: Mat	Goal 1	...cess: material	Goal 2
	Agent		Medium		Range

\emptyset <i>judiciary</i>	<i>lávén</i> <i>refrain</i>	<i>kaan-patibàt nâathī</i> <i>performance duty</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal
Agent		Medium

and (they) used (their) influence to force the judiciary to refrain from their duty.

No matter how this clause complex is analysed, the fact is that the agency of the Thaksin government is distributed down the clause or across clause boundaries to impact on the actions of the judiciary. The Thaksin government is agent and the judiciary is represented as more or less ineffectual because of the Thaksin government's action. That is to say, the agency of the judiciary is diminished in this clause complex because the Thaksin government is represented as the ultimate source of their action. This clearly serves to support Khien's position on the Thaksin government and the right of the military to stage the coup. The actions of the Thaksin government are also represented as impacting on the military. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the Thaksin government is also instantiated in other ways besides through explicit naming. In the example below, either the Thaksin government or Thaksin himself is instantiated as *criminal that has influence and political power*:

(9) (K10.24)

<i>léc? “phûuráay [[thîi mii ðitthíphon” léc? mii ðamnâat thaay kaanmuaay]] and “criminal [[that have influence” and have power political]]</i>	<i>tîhkaan duij need pull</i>	<i>phûak khăw that group (military)</i>	<i>khâw pay enter go</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	...Process
Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process

and criminals with influence and political power need to pull that group in

<i>sanàpsanûn support</i>	\emptyset (criminal...)	<i>nay kaantòssûu in the fight</i>	<i>kàp fâay tronkhâam nán with the opposition</i>
Process: Identifying	Idr./Value	Cause: purpose	Accompaniment
Process	Medium	Cause	Accompaniment

to support (them) in the fight with the opposition.

Again, a decision needs to be made whether this example is to be analysed as a hypotactic enhancing clause complex of cause: purpose (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 485) or as verbal group complex (p. 567). However, the fact that *phûa thîi ca* – *in order to* could be inserted before *sanàpsanûn* – *support* suggests that this example should be treated as two separate clauses.³⁶ The first clause in example (9) has been analysed as a material process, following Patpong (n.d., p. 70). It is clear from these examples that the Thaksin government is afforded a high degree of agency in the text. It must be noted, though, that this agency is again appraised negatively. This is very clear in example (9), with the use of *phûuráay* – *criminal* to represent Thaksin and/or the TRT government. As discussed in Chapter 6, this is a strategy of “deviation” (van Leeuwen, 2008) in which the role of the prime minister or the government merges with a social actor that does not fit the norm for a government. Portraying the Thaksin government as Actor-Agent at the same time as negatively appraising the participant works towards legitimising the ousting the Thaksin government. That is, when the message is negative, the Thaksin government is realised as Agent.

In the hortatory exposition in which Khien proposes changes to the constitution, *governments* are again represented in generic terms, but are realised as Goal/Medium and Actor/Agent. This mirrors the realisations of the *Thaksin government* in the text.

³⁶ Martin et al. (2010, p. 115) add support to this reasoning when they state that when processes occur in sequence like this in English, if each process can be associated with separate circumstances, then it needs to be analysed as two separate clauses, e.g. *and offenders with influence and political power want to pull that group in immediately to support them next week in the fight.*

This is because the purpose of this section of the text is to suggest measures to avoid problems of constitutional legitimacy that were occurring in 2006 to occur in the future.

As Khien tries to build the case for legitimately deposing a corrupt government through political theories of social contract, natural rights and law of the jungle, he uses *rátthāathípàt* – *sovereign power, the highest ruling power in the state* to generalise across different political systems. As illustrated in Chapter 6, this word is associated with words like *kasàt* – *king* and *rátthabaan* – *government*. These participants occur most frequently in the Grounds stage of Khien’s article. They occur as Carrier/Medium or as Possessor/Medium in relational processes and as Behavior/Medium in behavioural processes. The possessive relational processes refer to characteristics, qualities or attributes possessed by the individual or group, for example:

(10) (K3.7)

<i>phrǎʔ</i> <i>because</i>	<i>kasàt</i> <i>king</i>	<i>ca tǎʔ mii</i> <i>will must have</i>	<i>khunnatham</i> <i>virtue</i>
	Possessor	Process: Possessive	Possessed
	Medium		Range

because a king must have virtue.

While the roles of Carrier or Possessor in a relational process are placed at Band 5 and Behaver is placed at Band 4, that is, the mid-lower end of the cline of dynamism, they still have to be seen as a choice by the rhetor. The purpose here is to establish the appropriate behaviour and characteristics for a *sovereign ruler*. Once this point has been established, the shift to bring the focus to the current political crisis in Thailand is made by means of a hypotactic enhancing clause complex of condition in which the *sovereign ruler*, appearing as absolute Theme, is construed as Actor-Agent, high on the cline:

(11) (K4.11-4.14)

<i>phûu ráp mǎʔp ʔamnâat léʔ tham</i> <i>nâathîi thæcen “prachaakhom”</i> <i><<(Ø ca riák Ø wâa kasàt rǎu</i> <i>ʔaray kǎ dây)>> nán</i> <i>person accepting power and</i> <i>doing duty represent</i> <i>“community” << call (him/her)</i> <i>king or anything>> Th.part.</i>	<i>thâa</i> <i>if</i>	<i>khǎw phûu</i> <i>nií</i> <i>this person</i>	<i>lámâət</i> <i>violate</i>	<i>sǎnyaa</i> <i>prachaakhom</i> <i>social contract</i>
(Actor) (Absolute Theme)		Actor	Process: Material	Goal
(Agent)		Agent		Medium

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<i>khon ʔh̄h̄n ʔh̄h̄n k̄s</i> <i>other people Cj.</i>	<i>mii</i> <i>have</i>	<i>sit</i> <i>right</i>
Possessor	Process: Relational:Possessive	Possessed
Medium		Range

<i>thī ca</i> <i>to</i>	<i>lám̄ə̄t</i> <i>violate</i>	∅ <i>(social contract?)</i>	<i>dây</i> <i>can</i>	<i>chên kan</i> <i>in same way</i>
	Process: Material	Goal	...Process	Manner: comparison
		Medium		

The person accepting power and representing the community (call him/her king or anything), if this person violates the social contract, other people have the right to violate (it) in the same way.

This hypotactic clause of condition legitimises the actions of *other people* who revolt against a sovereign leader who has acted inappropriately in his or her position. There is a clear parallel to be drawn here between this hypothetical situation and the crisis in Thailand. Following this condition, the *sovereign power* is represented as Goal – constrained and toppled by the people. Goal is placed at Band 7 on the cline, realising a very passive role for this participant. Once this scenario has been outlined in the Grounds stage where Khien builds support for his argument, other words to depict the *sovereign ruler* who abuses its power are used, as presented in Chapter 6, Figure 6.2. These words are linked specifically with the Thaksin government. In the following example, the *tyrant* is represented as Initiator in a material clause, high in dynamism, while the *people’s state* is represented as less dynamic as Actor/Medium in middle voice.

(12) (K7.11-12)

<i>wâa</i> <i>that</i>	∅ (<i>rátthăathípàt</i>) <i>(sovereign power)</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>“thə̄rarâat”</i> <i>“tyrant”</i>
	Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute
	Medium	Process	Range

∅ <i>(tyrant)</i>	<i>tham hây</i> <i>cause</i>	<i>saphâap “prachaarát”</i> <i>condition people’s state</i>	<i>mót sîn pay</i> <i>end finish go</i>
Initiator	Pro.... Material	Actor	...Pro.: Material
Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process

that (the sovereign power) is a tyrant causing the condition of the “people’s state” to end.

The *tyrant* in K7.12 is highly agentive. What is strongly implied in the text is that the Thaksin government or Thaksin himself, though he is not named as an individual, is the tyrant in Thai politics at that time. This idea clearly draws on the discourse of the corrupt politician that was prevalent in Thailand at the time and adds support to the argument that the Thaksin government needed to be forcibly removed from office. As stated earlier, when the Thaksin government is high in dynamism, it is negatively construed, and this helps Khien to justify his argument that the government needed to be deposed.

In the hortatory exposition in which Khien proposes changes to the constitution, *governments* are again represented in generic terms, but are realised as Goal/Medium and Actor/Agent. This mirrors the realisations of the *Thaksin government*. This is because the purpose of the hortatory exposition is to suggest measures to avoid problems of constitutional legitimacy were a similar crisis to occur in the future.

It is obvious from the examples above that *government* (including the meaning of *sovereign power of the state*) plays a number of roles in Khien's text, realised as high, mid and low in dynamism depending on how this participant is being positioned in the text. It is at the mid-point when establishing a norm for the appropriate conduct of a *sovereign power*, high in dynamism when represented as a malevolent force acting against "the people", and it is low in dynamism when being punished for its illegitimate acts. This construal of *government*, and in particular the Thaksin government, clearly supports Khien's stance on this government and the legitimacy of the coup. The analysis by means of the cline of dynamism allows us to tease out these cryptotypes that would not be explicit without such close analysis.

7.3.2 The military and the coup group

Similar to *government*, the *military* is also represented both as agent and as an affected participant. However, the pattern of representation for the *military* is in stark contrast to the pattern identified for *government*. That is, as indicated in Chapter 6 while the same pattern as with *government* is used with the generic representation of the *military*, establishing the norm, the specific military group that staged the coup is not held to account in the same way as the Thaksin government. So while the military is

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represented as both Agent and Medium, the *military* is portrayed more positively. The *military* as an institution is represented as exercising agency in the past:

(13) (K8.8)

<i>yàaŋray kô taam</i>	<i>tântææ pii 1932 pen tôn maa</i>	<i>thahãan thay</i>	<i>dây lámâət</i>	<i>lækkaan daŋ klàaw</i>	<i>lăay khráŋ</i>
<i>However</i>	<i>since 1932</i>	<i>Thai military</i>	<i>PerfASP violate</i>	<i>principle as mentioned</i>	<i>many times</i>
	Location: time	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	Extent: frequency
	Location	Agent	Process	Medium	Extent

However, since 1932 the Thai military has violated that principle many times.

As Actor-Agent with a non-human Goal, the military is positioned on Band 3 of the cline, quite high in dynamism. As suggested in Chapter 5 in the discussion on engagement strategies in Khien’s text, this clause anticipates a position that may be held by the reader of the text. Khien uses this to align his readers before he rejects this position in the following clause. However, the military is also represented as an affected participant (Medium) in a passive clause, as in examples (14) and (15) below, that stands in contrast to the Actor-Agent role in the example above:

(14) (K8.3)

<i>nay rábòɔp prachaathíppa tay nán</i>	<i>thahãan</i>	<i>thiuk khâatmăay hây pen</i>	<i>khrăaŋmuu khɔɔŋ phûunam fâay bɔrihãan</i>	<i>nay yaam [[thiï kàət kɔɔranii phîphâat khâtyéæŋ kâp tâaŋ prathêet]]</i>
<i>In democratic system</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>PASS expect to be</i>	<i>tool of leader executive</i>	<i>in occasion [[that occur case dispute conflict with foreign country</i>
Location	Id/Tk	Pro.:Id	Idr/Vl	Contingency: Condition
Location	Medium	Pro.	Range	Contingency

In a democratic system, the military is expected to be the tool of the executive leader in times when there is a dispute with a foreign country.

(15) (K10.2)

<i>wâa that</i>	<i>thahãan military</i>	<i><<mûa when</i>	<i>thiï carry</i>	<i>?aawút weapon</i>	<i>lécæw>> Perf.ASP.</i>
	Actor		Pro. Material	Scope	...Process
	Medium		Process...	Range	...Process

(K10.3)

Ø	<i>ca tōŋ thūuk tāt</i>	<i>sīt khān phūunthāan nay thaŋ</i> <i>kaanmuaŋ</i>	<i>pay</i>	<i>dūay</i>
(military)	<i>will must PASS. cut</i>	<i>basic political rights</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>also</i>
Client	Pro. Material Passive	Goal	...Pro.	Accomp.
Beneficiary		Medium		Accomp.

...that the military/soldiers, when (they) carry weapons, must have their basic political rights cut also.

The use of the passive places the military as Token/Medium in example (14) and as Client/Beneficiary in example (15). In both examples, the military is affected by the actions of others and is located at Bands 5 and 6, the mid-low level towards the passive end of the cline. In example (14), the agent that is subjecting the military to his or her expectations is the executive leader, that is, the head of the government. But this agent is buried in the nominal group, *khrūaŋmūu khōŋ phūunam fāay bōrihāan* – *the tool of the administrative leader*. The agent is not identified in example (15). In both these cases, the military and the deleted agents of the passive clauses function to establish expectations about the role of the military.

The military also occurs as Carrier/Medium in attributive clauses. Example (16) occurs in the process of legitimising the actions of the military. This places the military at Band 5 on the cline. It is still at the mid-point in terms of dynamism:

(16) (K10.25)

<i>thahāan</i> <i>military</i>	<i>yōm pūt?ātcaŋ</i> <i>likely frustrated</i>	<i>māak</i> <i>a lot</i>	<i>nay rūaŋ kaanwaaŋtua</i> <i>about attitude</i>
Carrier	Pro.: Attributive	Manner: degree	Matter
Medium	Process	Manner	Matter

The military is likely very frustrated about this behaviour.

The military is also represented as Goal/Medium, as in example (9) above, reproduced below. This places the military at Band 7 on the cline of dynamism, meaning that the military is construed as passive and subject to the whims of others:

(9) (K10.24)

<i>lě? “phūurāay [[thū mii pītthiphon” lě?</i> <i>mii ?amnāat thaŋ kaanmuaŋ]]</i> <i>and “criminal [[that have influence” and</i> <i>have power political]]</i>	<i>tōŋkaan duŋ</i> <i>need pull</i>	<i>phūak khāw</i> <i>that group</i> <i>(military)</i>	<i>khāw pay</i> <i>enter go</i>
Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	...Process
Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process

and offenders with influence and political power need to pull that group in

Khien uses these representations of the military as adversely affected by the actions of the government to legitimate the actions of the Council of Democratic Reform, the military group that staged the coup, and in turn, as stated in chapter 6, to delegitimise Thaksin and the Thaksin government. Immediately following example (16), the turning point for the military is signalled by the conjunctive Adjunct, *nay thîi sùt* – *finally*, as marked Theme in the clause complex below:

(17) (K11.1)

<i>nay thîi sùt</i>	<i>klùm thahăan</i>	<i>phaaytây kaannam khǝŋ phon?èek sonthi? bunyarátklin [[...]] under leadership of General Sondhi Bunyaratkalin...</i>	<i>kô</i>	<i>dây tâtsincay tham</i>	<i>rátthaprahăan</i>
<i>Finally</i>	<i>group military</i>		<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Perf.ASP. decide do</i>	<i>coup</i>
	Actor	Loc. Place (abstract)	Conj.	Pro. Material	Goal
	Agent				Medium

(K11.3)

<i>khôn lóm topple</i>	<i>rátthabaan tháksin Thaksin government</i>	<i>loŋ down</i>
Pro. Material	Goal	...Process
	Medium	

Finally, the military group under the leadership of General Sondhi Bunyaratkalin decided to stage the coup to topple the Thaksin government.

The verb group in example (17) (K11.1) has been analysed as a verbal group complex of the projecting type, following Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 587). Again, the Actor-Agent in the first clause, the military group, extends its influence to the Goal in the second clause, the Thaksin government, leading to the toppling of the Thaksin government. This marks a complete reversal of the roles of these two social actors in that the military is now represented as Actor-Agent, close to the more dynamic end of the cline, and the Thaksin government is represented as Goal-Medium, impacted by the actions, or the intended actions, of the military, placing it at Band 7 at the passive end of the cline. Up to this point, the military has been portrayed as relatively low in dynamism, constrained by its position and society's expectations. However, the excesses of the Thaksin government, signalled by the way it drags the military in to support the government and the frustration that the military feels, force the military to act. It is the Thaksin government that then finds itself impacted by the actions of the military. It is interesting to note that the action of the military is tempered somewhat by

the verbal group complex. The military group is represented as *deciding to stage the coup*, not staging the coup outright. In this way, the responsibility for the act of staging the coup is mitigated to some extent.

Towards the end of the section titled “The military and the coup”, the group that staged the coup is represented as *Senser* of a mental process, and the connection to the staging of the coup is embedded in the nominal group – *klùm phûu* [[kòò ... - the group [[mounting...:

(18) (K13.12)

<i>wâa</i>	<i>klùm phûu</i> [[kòò <i>kaan ráttaphrahãan mûa wan thû 19 kanyaayon 2006</i>]]	<i>yôom tranàk</i>	<i>nay sàtcatham khôò níi</i>	<i>dii</i>
<i>that</i>	<i>the group of people</i> [[mounting the coup on 19 September 2006]]	<i>likely aware of</i>	<i>in this truth</i>	<i>well</i>
	Senser	Pro.: Mental	Matter	Manner: quality
	Medium	Process	Matter	Manner

that the group mounting the coup on 19 September 2006 must have been well aware of this truth.

The construal of the coup group here as *Senser*, while not possessing a high degree of agency, still does possess a degree of dynamism with the potential to act. The coup group is construed as interpreting its own situation, which is positively appraised through the construal of *sàtcatham khôò níi* – *this truth* and *dii* - *good*. *This truth* refers back to the theory of the political philosophers and the notion of “the law of the jungle” cited earlier in the text to support Khien’s thesis. The combination or “syndrome” (Halliday, 1993) of choices of processes and positive appraisal choices combine to strengthen Khien’s legitimation strategy.

The following clause reinforces the agency of the military. Again, the military, through ellipsis, is construed as an Actor-Agent whose actions are imbued with positive appraisal choices in the Circumstance of the clause. The coup, it must be noted, is not overtly named, but is represented by anaphoric reference through the use of *kaan danjklàaw* – *the aforementioned action*.

(19) (K13.13)

<i>lê?</i> <i>and</i>	∅ (military)	<i>dây kratham</i> Perf.Asp. do	<i>kaan daŋklàaw</i> action aforementioned	<i>pay</i> go	<i>dúay khwaamrúusuk</i> <i>phìtchôpchúadii</i> [[...]] with moral sense
	Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal	Pro.	Manner: quality
	Agent	Process	Medium		Manner

And (the military) did this aforementioned action with a moral sense

(K13.14)

[[<i>wâa</i>]] [[<i>that</i>]]	<i>ton</i> self/they	<i>tham</i> do	∅ (it)	<i>phûa khray</i>]] for whom]]
	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	Cause: Behalf
	Agent	Process	Medium	Cause

that they did (it) for whom (of whom they were doing it for)

In the embedded clause (K13.14), the coup is suppressed and a Beneficiary, possibly ‘us, we Thai people’, is also excluded. As noted in the previous chapter, if Khien indeed is referring to “we Thai people” in this embedded clause, this exclusion carries an interpersonal meaning in that it is an expression of solidarity among discourse participants. The suppression of the coup in example (19) again confirms the tendency, as in example (17) above, to avoid directly attributing responsibility to the perpetrators of the coup, despite the legitimation of the military’s actions up to this point in the text. That is, even though the aim in this text is to justify the actions of the military in staging the coup in 2006, coups were still considered illegal acts in the constitution. The use of *kaan daŋklàaw* – *the aforementioned action* refers back to the coup, but by not explicitly naming the action in this clause that positions the military group as Actor-Agent, their possibly illegal actions are mitigated. The military in Khien’s text is thus juxtaposed with governments and with the Thaksin government in particular. Both governments and the military are placed either at the mid-point or low end of the cline to present a normative view of these institutional actors. However, when the Thaksin government occurs as Actor-Agent, it is negatively appraised while the military is positively appraised when represented as Actor-Agent. These representations of the two institutional actors undeniably convey a stance on the political situation at the time of the 2006 coup. By portraying the Thaksin government as exercising agency for nefarious purposes and in turn the military as having its hand somewhat reluctantly forced to take action, Khien clearly positions himself in support of the coup.

Figure 7.2 below plots the realisations of government (generic and specific) and the military (generic and specific) as they occur over the first fourteen paragraphs. The horizontal axis represents the paragraph number and the vertical axis represents the levels on the cline of dynamism, with most dynamic at 1 and least dynamic at 8. The transformations of the different actors that occur as the text unfolds can be viewed here. The government in its generic form appears (mostly) earlier in the text and is not high in dynamism, but the Thaksin government appears at both ends of the cline. Similarly, the military in its generic form appears (mostly) earlier in the text and is not high in dynamism, but the specified military group appears later and is higher overall in dynamism. With the first appearance of the specified military group in the text high, in dynamism at paragraph 11, the Thaksin government's dynamism drops down the cline to Band 7.

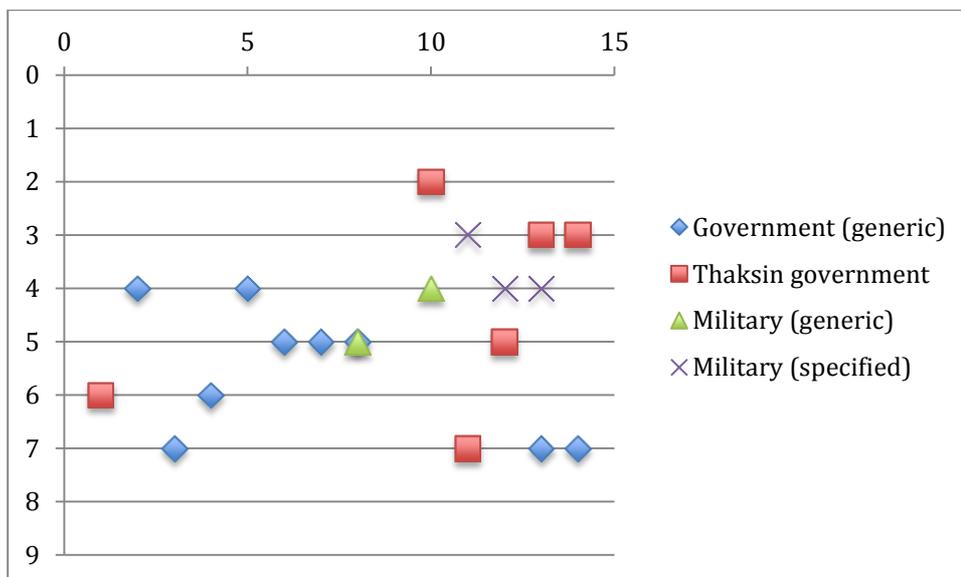


Figure 7.2 Logogenetic representations of military and government participants on the cline of dynamism

7.3.3 People

The construal of the people in this text also helps to convey Khien's position in support of the coup. The people are represented for the most part as affected or lacking in agency in Khien's text, construed, for example, as Behavior in a behavioural process:

(20) (K7.3)

<i>thúk khon</i> <i>everyone</i>	<i>ca tōj tham taam</i> <i>must do follow</i>	<i>kòtmăay lăe? rătthammanuun</i> <i>the law and the constitution</i>
Behaver	Process: Behavioural	Phenomenon ³⁷
Medium		Range

Everyone must follow the law and the constitution

Behavioural processes are used to construe physiological or psychological behaviour of usually human participants; they are partially like material processes and partially like mental processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). These processes appear in Thai as well as in English. Behavioural processes construe a decreased level of dynamism, placed at Band 4 on the cline, and no agency in the sociological sense as the (usually human) participant is represented as reacting rather than consciously and intentionally taking part in directed action. People or groups are also represented through relational – attributive clauses, for example to express value-laden polar opposites. Again this participant is not Actor-Agent in a material clause, but is located at Band 5 at the mid-lower end of the cline, as Token-Medium, identified and qualified, as in example (21):

(21) (K9.5)

<i>mâa</i> <i>when</i>	<i>pūn</i> <i>gun</i>	<i>yūu</i> <i>be (located)</i>	<i>kàp fāay day</i> <i>with side any</i>
	Carrier	Pro. Circum.	Attribute: Circumstantial
	Medium	Process	Range

When the guns are with a particular side

(K9.6)

<i>fāay nán</i> <i>that side</i>	<i>yōm pen</i> <i>likely be</i>	<i>phūu chaná?</i> <i>person win</i>
Identified/Token	Pro. Identifying	Identifier/ Value
Medium	Process	Range

that side is likely to be the winner

(K9.7)

<i>măe wāa</i> <i>even though</i>	\emptyset <i>(that side)</i>	<i>ca pen</i> <i>will be</i>	<i>phūu phit</i> <i>person wrong</i>
	Identified/Token	Pro. Identifying	Identifier/ Value
	Medium	Process	Range

even if (they) are the wrongdoers (lit. wrong people)

(K9.8)

<i>rūn</i> <i>or</i>	\emptyset <i>(that side)</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>fāay ?atham</i> <i>side amoral</i>	<i>kô taam</i> <i>whether</i>
	Identified/Token	Pro. Identifying	Identifier/ Value	
	Medium	Process	Range	

or (they) are the amoral side.

³⁷ See Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (2010, p. 126)

These portrayals of “the people” confirm the analysis in the previous chapter. The people for the most part are an anonymous, homogenous group that behave in predictable ways and can be characterised and qualified as winners and losers or as right and wrong. They are thus depicted as not exercising agency. This characterisation is consistent with the prevailing discourses of the people in Thailand and feeds into the notion of the “state of exception”, also noted in the previous chapter. However, there are some instances where “the people” may exercise some agency, as in the following examples:

(22) (K3.14)

<i>m̄a</i> <i>when</i>	\emptyset (<i>prachaachon</i>) (<i>people</i>)	<i>tham</i> <i>do</i>	<i>kaanpatiwát</i> <i>revolution</i>	<i>dây sám-rèt</i> <i>Perf.ASP complete</i>
	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	...Process
	Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process

When (they) have finished staging the revolution...

(23) (K7.1)

<i>klàaw dooy</i> <i>sarùp, m̄a</i> <i>In brief, when</i>	<i>ph̄u khon</i> <i>people</i>	<i>dây kòo tân</i> <i>Perf.Asp. build</i>	<i>“prachaakhom”</i> <i>community</i>	<i>kh̄un</i> <i>up</i>
	Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal	...Process
	Agent	Process...	Medium	...Process

(K7.2)

<i>l̄e?</i> <i>and</i>	\emptyset (<i>people</i>)	<i>tham</i> <i>make</i>	<i>s̄nyaa prachaakhom</i> <i>social contract</i>	<i>kan</i> <i>together</i>	<i>l̄eæw</i>
	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	Manner	...Pro.
	Agent	Process...	Medium	Manner	...Pro.

In brief, when people have built up a “community” and (they) have made a social contract

The people in these examples impact on non-human Goals, so they are placed at Band 3, higher in dynamism. Note that the people as Actor-Agent in K7.1 is picked up in K7.2 through ellipsis. In the following example, *other people* are construed as Possessor in a relational clause, with their agency displaced somewhat in a down-ranked hypotactic clause as the second clause in a clause complex:

(24) (K4.13)

<i>khon ?àun ?àun</i> <i>other people</i>	<i>k̄</i> <i>Conj.</i>	<i>m̄i</i> <i>have</i>	<i>s̄it</i> <i>right</i>
Possessor		Pro. Poss.	Possessed
Medium			Range

(K4.14)

<i>thiī ca lámâət</i> <i>to violate</i>	∅ <i>(social contract)</i>	<i>dây</i> <i>can</i>	<i>chên kan</i> <i>in same way</i>
Pro. Material	Goal	...Process	Manner: comparison
	Medium		

Other people have the right to violate (the social contract) in the same way.

That is, the agency of the people is expressed through their possession of rights when the *sovereign power* violates the social contract. Thus, while the people for the most part are represented as Medium in the text, with little or no agency, Band 4 or 5 at the mid-lower end of the cline of dynamism, in order to justify the overthrow of the Thaksin government in a coup, the people in cases such as those expressed in examples (22), (23) and (24) can be construed as exercising agency to effect the necessary change. However, these people still remain anonymous to the reader. Their exercise of agency, en masse, to defend the social contract, is a functional measure to achieve a desired outcome. In fact, about 17% of representations of the people are as Actor-Agent in Khien's text, but arguably, these representations are strategic to support the overall thesis of the text.

The representations of the people that are categorised in terms of class occur with different process types, for example, as Senser and Phenomenon in mental processes or as Beneficiary in a material process. While Senser is located at Band 4 on the cline, both Phenomenon and Beneficiary are located at Band 6, so are nearer to the passive end of the cline:

(25) (K20.13)

<i>hây</i> <i>so that</i>	<i>khon-con</i> <i>poor people</i>	<i>kliät chay</i> <i>hate</i>	<i>chonchán klaay</i> <i>middle class</i>
	Senser	Process: Mental	Phenomenon
	Medium		Range

so that poor people hate the middle class

(26) (K20.15)

<i>[[thiī</i> <i>that</i> <i>(populist</i> <i>policies)]</i>	<i>sâay</i> <i>build</i>	<i>khwaamkhâatwăy lomlom</i> <i>léæŋléæŋ</i> <i>expectation futile</i>	<i>hây kèæ khon yâakcon</i> <i>camnuan mâak]]</i> <i>for poor people amount many</i>
Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal	Client
Agent		Medium	Beneficiary

(populist policies) that built futile expectations for many poor people.

In the second example, the poor people are represented as Client/Beneficiary of the Thaksin government's populist policies, no doubt including the subsidies for farmers, the universal health care scheme and the village funds, which the Thaksin government did deliver, hence the popularity of that government with so many Thai people. However, the policies are negatively appraised as *futile*, hence the people are represented as passive and as negatively benefitting from the action. Thus both the people and the Thaksin government are delegitimised in this way.

For Khien, then, the people come across as rather two-dimensional, lacking a more nuanced sense of the different social actors that make up the Thai socio-political landscape. They are represented in terms of binary distinctions: they are right or wrong. They follow the law, but if a sovereign ruler does not, the people have the right to overthrow that ruler. Grammatically, they may be realised as Actor-Medium in material processes, but they are only realised as Agents in the building up and maintaining of a community, bound by a social contract, or to depose a tyrant. At other times, “the people” are represented as affected participants, or their agency is curtailed somewhat. Just who or what these people represent is never unpacked; the nature of these people is taken as given. As Fairclough argues, “relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 58).

A final group of people construed in Khien's text is the philosophers that Khien draws on to support his thesis. These social actors are represented with a degree of agency or dynamism, as Sayer in verbal processes such as *klàaw – say* or *sǎn – teach*, as in:

(27) (K3.3)

<i>khǒncǎu (551-479 kǎn khǎ. sǎ.) paramaacaan ciin [[phǎu sǎn sǎn hǎy khon nay sǎkhom mii khunnatham]]</i>	<i>dây klàaw wáy</i> <i>Perf.Asp. say keep</i>
Sayer	Process: Verbal
Medium	Process

Confucius (551-479 BCE), a great Chinese teacher [[who taught people in society to have virtue]] said...

Each of the philosophers that are cited in the text to support the thesis, Confucius, Mensius, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Aristotle, are represented in much the same way, as Sayer in a verbal process, Band 4 on the cline. Thus, while Khien's text displays several features that Thompson (2008) attributes to popular history texts, that is

as more concrete and drawing on “facts”, there is also an attempt to represent the argument as “mediated through the consciousness of academic researchers” (p. 24), or philosophers in this case, as is common in academic texts. Khien uses the teachings of these philosophers to buttress his argument that the coup was justified and legitimate.

7.3.4 Non-human participants as Agent

While the concept of agency refers specifically to human agents with the capacity to act that is enabled and constrained by the structures within which they operate, grammar allows rhetors to attribute agency to other, non-human participants such as events and semiosis, imbuing these participants with a causal power to affect the world. Analytical causatives provide a means in Thai to express external causation and are a feature of the three texts, conveying a high degree of dynamism. What is interesting about these clauses is how the rhetors construe meanings or semiosis and precipitous events, as well as social actors, as having the power to shape the actions and reactions of other social actors as they take part in social practices. As discussed in the previous chapter, Khien’s text is more concerned with a concrete focus on real people acting in the material world. As such, agency is more often than not attributed to individuals, groups or institutions. However, there are some key points at which he construes particular meanings or abstractions as agentive. Khien’s text has nine of these clause types. When semiosis is construed as external causation, invariably the process is mental and the semiosis functions as Inducer in the clause. For example, in paragraph 10 (K10.15-10.20), Khien argues that the military is in an invidious position because, when soldiers are in uniform, they forfeit their right to speak and are dragged in to support the government in its conflict with the opposition. This argument is then encapsulated as the Inducer-Agent (ellipsed) in the following clause:

(28) (K10.21)

<i>nay saphaawá? [[thií bāanmuaŋ kàət khwaam-khàtyáeəŋ kan yàəŋ runræəŋ// lăə? mii fāay “phúu ráay” thaəŋ kaanmuaŋ]] in situation [[that country occur violent conflict// and there is side “criminal” political]]</i>	∅	<i>praakòt hây</i>	∅	<i>hěn</i>	<i>yàəŋ dèŋchát</i>
	(this problem)	<i>appear make</i>	<i>(us)</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>clearly</i>
Circ: Contingency	Inducer	Pro: Causative...	Senser	...Pro: Mental	Manner
	Agent		Medium		

In a situation when the country is experiencing violent conflict and there is a politically “criminal” side, (this problem of the military being pulled in to support a particular side) appears for (us) to see clearly.

History is also construed as engendering knowledge:

(29) (K12.22)

<i>tèæ</i> <i>but</i>	<i>prawàttisàat</i> <i>history</i>	<i>kô</i> <i>Cj.</i>	<i>dây chíi hây</i> <i>Perf.Asp. indicate make</i>	\emptyset <i>(us)</i>	<i>hěn láæw</i> <i>see Perf.Asp.</i>
	Inducer		Process...Causative	Senser	...Process: Mental
	Agent			Medium	

But history has shown us...

In these examples, the chain of causation is construed with a particular use of the verb *hây* in Thai to indicate a weak form of causation, what Iwasaki (2008) regards as the “inducive *hây*”.³⁸ Iwasaki states that the first verb in the verbal group complex, *praakòt* – *appear* in example (28), classifies the type of exchange that is taking place. What follows the first verb and *hây* is realised as New information and therefore what is more pragmatically salient in the clause. In example (28), the problem that *appears* (of the military being pulled in to support the government) will induce a result (Iwasaki, 2008, p. 474). The result here is that the reader will become aware that the Thaksin government has caused this problem for the military by dragging it into partisan politics. In example (29), it is history that is construed as Inducer-Agent, which instils in the Senser (that is, *the reader* or *we*) greater knowledge or understanding about an event or phenomenon. In terms of the cline of dynamism, the role of Inducer is very high in dynamism at Band 1. The role of the Inducer in these constructions attributes a kind of agentive power to meanings and phenomena, such as *problems* or *history* in this case, in order to influence our understanding of a matter or make us respond in particular ways. This strategy can also be used by the rhetor to impress upon the reader an important point in the argument or even to legitimate through authorisation (van Leeuwen, 2008). Example (29) is a good example of this strategy of legitimation used

³⁸ It is interesting to note the convergence of descriptive terminology in Iwasaki’s label of the “inducive” for this particular construction with *hây* and the labelling of the Inducer role as external agent in a mental process in SFL.

by Khien at this point. Example (29) (*but history has shown us*) is a projecting clause, followed by an attributive clause presenting what history has shown us:

(30) (K12.23)

<i>wâa</i>	<i>phadètkaan thəɔrarâat dooy siăŋ khâaŋ mâak nân</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>?antaraay</i>	<i>yîŋ kwàa látthi?</i> <i>phadètkaan dooy thahăan</i>	<i>mâak maay nák///</i>
<i>that</i>	<i>dictatorship tyranny of the majority Th.part.</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>dangerous</i>	<i>more than dictatorship by military</i>	<i>more emph.</i>
	Carrier	Pro Att.	Attribute	Manner: comparison	Manner:degree
	Medium		Range	Manner	Manner

that a dictatorship of a tyranny of the majority is much more dangerous than a dictatorship by the military ///

The agency construed in the preceding clause (K12.22) and attributed to no greater an authority than *history* itself prepares the reader for these words of great import to the case that is being made, and suggests weighty evidence to justify Khien’s claims in this text, notwithstanding the fact that there is no empirical evidence cited here to support this claim. Meanwhile, the agency of the military is backgrounded in this projected clause as it is an element of the nominal group instantiated in a Circumstance of Manner: comparison. A Circumstance occupies the periphery of the clause and is more removed from the process than the Carrier and the Attribute. The rhetor thus has the ability to attribute agency to external, inanimate forces in an attempt to urge their audiences to accept their argument. As will be seen below, Pitch’s and Chaiwat’s texts attribute agency to inanimate participants, and particularly semiosis, to an even greater degree, signalling the importance of ideas in their academic arguments.

7.3.5 Summary

The transitivity choices identified in the three texts and viewed in terms of Hasan’s cline of dynamism support and add depth to the findings of the social actor analysis outlined in Chapter 6. The different representations of these social actors in the transitivity of the clause emerge from Khien’s position on the coup and help to shape his argument in relation to the political debates and the prevailing discourses. The analysis found that the representations of government differ depending on whether it is a generic representation or whether it refers specifically to the Thaksin government.

Generic governments tend to occur from the mid to low end of the cline, so are not high in dynamism. The purpose is to establish a normative position on how governments should behave. In contrast, the Thaksin government occurs as Actor-Agent and also Initiator-Agent, high on the cline of dynamism, and also has a more passive role as Goal-Medium. When the grammatical role is high in dynamism, it is appraised negatively and thus adds weight to Khien's message that that government needed to be removed. The Thaksin government is low in dynamism when it is impacted by the military. Similarly, the military as a generic participant is represented towards the more passive end of the cline of dynamism until the case is made for the necessity to stage the coup. The specific military group that staged the coup is then represented as Actor-Agent, though unlike the Thaksin government, this military group is portrayed in positive terms that help to legitimise its actions.

People, as an anonymous and homogenous group, as specified groups and as individuals are assigned different roles that also contribute to Khien's message. People as a homogenous group do not for the most part possess high degrees of dynamism except for when they have to rise up to overthrow a corrupt leader. However, while "the people" are attributed this limited capacity to exercise their agency, in fact, it is really only the military that has the power to act in such a situation. The frequent passivation of "the people" in Khien's text perpetuates the discourse that the people are ignorant and not to be trusted in the electoral choices they make. Specified groups are attributed some degree of agency, occurring most frequently as Actor in material processes, for example to protest on the streets at the time of the coup. The political philosophers cited by Khien to support his argument are represented most often as Sayer, according them mid-level dynamism in the text.

Events and semiosis are also depicted as Agents in the clause, impacting on other participants. While Khien's text is predominantly concerned with concrete participants taking part in social practices, there are some cases where ideas or other abstractions such as *history* occur as Agent in analytical causative constructions. These appear in mental clauses as Inducer, and the abstraction is construed as having some kind of effect on another participant, shaping their understanding or subsequent actions. The ability to construe ideas and meanings as having agency is a key strategy in a text where the aim is to represent the causes and consequences of the coup.

A numerical summary of the representations of these actors in Khien's text can be found in Appendix D.

7.4 Pitch

Compared to the more concrete construal of the events surrounding the coup in Khien's text, Pitch's text is more abstract and removed from the actual material events. This characteristic of the text was highlighted in the analysis of the representation of social actors in Chapter 6. As was the case with the analysis of Khien's text, another important consideration in the transitivity analysis of Pitch's text is his overall purpose in writing the text. Pitch sets out to challenge the discourse of the coup makers and coup supporters and to expose the deeper play of conflicting interests at work and the impact the coup had on political rights in Thailand. This purpose has to be kept in mind in any interpretation of the representation of agency in the data. Of the social actors that were identified in Chapter 6, Pitch's text has a number of actors represented as agents in the text. The social actor for whom agency is most foregrounded is the coup group. The *military* and the *state* are also represented as highly agentive in different ways. Unlike in Khien's text, *government* is backgrounded in Pitch's text in favour of the *state*. This reflects his different theoretical approach to the nature of the political. What Pitch is doing with the concept of *state* is identifying a deeper level of reality. For Pitch, the *state* is a real relationship of power that cannot be equated with government. The people, on the other hand, are classified and identified and represented as more passive because they have been stripped of their rights. Once again, the representation of agency in the transitivity patterns in the clause reflects Pitch's concerns and motivations for producing his text. Without a close analysis of the text, many of the meanings realised in the text would remain opaque.

7.4.1 The military and the coup group

The coup group – *khaná? rátthapraháan* – or the Council of Democratic Reform (CDR) is represented as the most highly agentive participant in Pitch's text. Altogether, the coup group is represented in an agentive role (Bands 1-3 on the cline of dynamism) in nearly 45% of times it occurs in the text. Among these choices, it occurs most frequently as Actor-Agent (+ non-human Goal) (24.1%, Band 3), Actor (+ human Goal) (10.3%, Band 2) and as Initiator-Agent (6.9%, Band 1). It also occurs once as Agent in

a Circumstance. The military is also highly agentive, with 26.9% of occurrences as Actor-Agent.

The coup group is first instantiated as modifier in a complex nominal group that serves as absolute Theme in the clause: *kaanthamrátthaprahään lè? kaanpòkkhrɔɔj dūay khaná? rátthaprahään phaay tây chûu “khaná?pàtirûup kaanpòkkhrɔɔj nay rábðɔp prachaathípatay ʔan mii phrámahăakasàt soj pen pramúk” nán* – *the staging of the coup and the governing by the coup group under the name “Council of Democratic Reform with the King as Head of State”*. The coup group is then picked up through ellipsis in the ensuing clause:

(31) (P10.1)

<i>méæ wāa</i> <i>even though</i>	<i>dāan nūj</i> <i>side one</i>	∅ (CDR)	<i>ca³⁹ dāy</i> <i>yóklāək</i> <i>will Perf.Asp..</i> <i>annul</i>	<i>rátthathammanuun chabàp 2540</i> [[<i>(thiū riāk kan wāa rátthathammanuun chabàp prachaachon)</i>]] <i>constitution CLF 1997</i> [[<i>(that call together that constitution CLF people)</i>]]
		Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal
		Agent		Medium

...even though on the one hand (the coup group) annulled the constitution [[that was called the people’s constitution

In this example, the coup group is represented as highly agentive. The annulment of the 1997 “People’s Constitution” was a significant event for many Thais and this act is repeated later in the text also (P47.14). As the constitution is a non-human Goal, it is positioned on Band 3 towards the higher end of the cline of dynamism. The coup group is also represented as exercising agency over the state, which puts it higher at Band 2 on the cline:

(32) (P47.18)

<i>phaaylāj cāk</i> <i>after from</i>	<i>kaan thiū khaná? rátthaprahään</i> <i>fact that coup group</i>	<i>yūt</i> <i>seize</i>	<i>ʔamnāat rát</i> <i>power of state</i>
	Actor	Pro.: Mat.	Goal
	Agent		Medium

After the fact that the coup group seized the power of the state

³⁹ Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005, p. 124) label *ca* as a “challengeability” marker rather than a future tense marker. (Thai does not have tense markers, but indicates time with aspect markers or temporal adverbs). This explains why it is often used to indicate the future from a past time.

Chapter 7 Represented agency: Transitivity

The coup group appears also as Initiator as in the following material clause with a verbal group complex of expansion interrupted by a Goal (Patpong, n.d., p. 43), in this case the *military*. This positions the coup group at Band 1 on the cline of dynamism:

(33) (P11.6)

<i>kaanthiū khaná? rátthaprahāan</i> <i>fact that coup group</i>	<i>sòŋ</i> <i>send</i>	<i>kamlaj thahāan</i> <i>force military</i>	<i>pay pracamkaan</i> <i>go stationed</i>	<i>taam sāmnaḱḱaan khǒŋ</i> <i>sūmuanchon</i> <i>along office of mass media</i>
Initiator	Pro.: Mat	Actor	...Process	Location: Place
Agent		Medium		

...the fact that the coup group sent a military force to be stationed at the offices of the mass media

The fact that the coup group is represented as impacting on both the state and the military, both similarly dynamic social actors, the coup group is accorded a high degree of dynamism in Pitch’s text. Unlike in Khien’s text, there is no representation of the coup group as reluctantly exercising agency in this text or as being subjected to the actions of others. Nevertheless, despite the coup group acting on the *power of the state*, the place of the coup group as subsumed within the state is specified:

(34) (P13.3)

<i>phró?</i> <i>because</i>	<i>khaná? rátthaprahāan nán</i> <i>coup group Th.part.</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>suàn nḱḱ khǒŋ konkay rát</i> <i>part one of mechanism of state</i>
Conj.	Carrier	Pro. Att.	Attribute
	Medium	Process	Range

Because the coup group is one part of the mechanism of the state

This apparent contradiction is a point that Pitch highlights, hence the representation of the coup group in this attributive clause and the implication that the coup group should not be *seizing the power of the state* since its job is to protect the state. While this example does not highlight any agency in the clause (it is placed at Band 5, at the mid-lower end of the cline of dynamism, just past the mid point of the cline), it does bring back into focus the agency exercised by the rhetor in the manner in which the social actors are positioned in the text to convey a particular stance.

As Pitch’s aim is to “challenge the rhetoric of the coup”, it is no surprise that the coup group is also represented as Sayer. The process in this example is realised as an extending verbal group complex:

(35) (P17.4)

<i>day thiī</i> <i>as</i>	<i>khaná? rátthaprahāan</i> <i>coup group</i>	<i>phayaayaam ṛḍḍayṛāaṅ ṛaw wáy</i> <i>try claim take keep (Perf.Asp.)</i>	<i>tāæ tōn</i> <i>from beginning</i>
	Sayer	Process: Verbal	Extent
	Medium		

as the coup group has tried to claim since the beginning

While the Sayer is not as high on the cline of dynamism, located at Band 4, there is still an element of dynamism in this clause. The Sayer is not a passive participant and can be said to have exercised some choice. However, the process does not affect another participant and the verbal group complex with the meaning of *phayaayaam* – *try*, which diminishes the potential for agency. This can be construed as a challenge to at least these particular claims of the coup group (that they were coming in as a neutral party to solve the problem of violence between two competing sides).

The military is also construed as Agent in the text. It appears most frequently as Actor-Agent in a material clause with non-human Goal (23.1%), Band 3 on the cline of dynamism. Pitch’s argument in paragraph 42 taps into the concept of “military professionalism” advanced by S.P. Huntington (as cited in Finer, 1988, p. 21) that posits that if the military is professionalised, it will focus entirely on its professional duties and not interfere in matters of politics. This view is critiqued by Finer who argues that this very notion of professionalism may in fact bring the military into conflict with a government in power since the loyalty of the military is to the state rather than a given government (p. 22). Pitch applies Finer’s critique to the Thai case, and in doing so, the military is cast as Actor-Agent. In the example below, the inanimate noun, *khwaam-chōṛpṛtham* – *legitimacy*, functions as Goal-Medium:

(36) (P42.9-42.10)

<i>mūa nán lè?</i> <i>when that emph.</i>	<i>ca pen</i> <i>will be</i>	<i>hūaṅ caṅwà? [[...]]</i> <i>time</i>
Id/Token	Process: Identifying	Idr/Value
Range		Medium

<i>[[thiī</i>	<i>thahǎan</i>	<i>sáaŋ</i>	<i>khwaam-</i> <i>chôp̄tham</i>	<i>nay kaan khâw sâæk-sææŋ</i> <i>thaŋ kaan muaŋ</i>	<i>dooy tron]]</i>
<i>that</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>build</i>	<i>legitimacy</i>	<i>in political intervention</i>	<i>directly</i>
	Actor	Pro. Mat.	Goal	Cause: purpose	Manner: degree
	Agent		Medium		

Right then is the time [[that the military builds legitimacy for direct political intervention]].

The fact that this clause is an embedded clause also means that the proposition therein is unarguable and any possible criticism that Pitch makes of the military is downplayed or not negotiable.

As with the coup group, the military is construed as being a part of the state. Unlike example (34) above, the military is realised as Actor-Agent in this clause, given the authority to act on behalf of the state. This places the military fairly high on the cline of dynamism at Band 3. The following clause occurs in a series of clauses that outline the relationship of the military to *phrai*, treating them as civilians rather than as citizens:

(37) (P43.5)

<i>kaan thiī</i>	<i>thahǎan</i>	<i>nay thǎaná? rát</i> <i>nán</i>	<i>tham</i>	<i>kaankhúmkrōŋ</i> <i>phrây</i>	<i>nay thǎaná?</i> <i>phonlaruan</i>
<i>fact that</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>in position state</i> <i>Th.part.</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>governing phrai</i>	<i>in position</i> <i>civilian</i>
	Actor	Role: guise	Pro. Mat	Goal	Role: guise
	Agent			Medium	

the fact that the military in the position of the state performs the governing of phrai in the position of civilian

The military as a generic group and the specified military group, the coup group or CDR, are represented amongst the more active and agentive of the social actors in Pitch's text. This is achieved by the use of material clauses with these participants construed as Initiator-Agent, or Actor-Agent in an effective clause, which assigns a high level of dynamism to these social actors. By construing these participants in this way, Pitch establishes them as key agents in the 2006 coup. In contrast to Khien's representation, the military and the coup group are not presented to the reader as reluctant and holding back at all in their intervention in politics. Indeed, the reference to Finer's work on military professionalism clearly paints the military as a force actively

carrying out its goals. Pitch's portrayal of the military also does not overtly appraise this actor in the same way that Khien's text appraised both the military and the Thaksin government.

7.4.2 State

The state is represented as Agent in different ways in Pitch's text. As discussed in Chapter 6, the agency of the state is backgrounded somewhat when it modifies a head noun in a nominal group, where the structure of the nominal group encodes agency within it (as in *the power of the state*). In the transitivity of the clause, the state is overtly represented as Agent: as Assigner-Agent (high in dynamism at Band 1 on the cline), as Actor-Agent in a material process with human Goal (Band 2), and with non-human Goal (Band 3). It occurs as Assigner-Agent at a key point in the argument that relates back to the thesis, that the coup turned citizens into *phrai* by stripping them of their rights. The following example is another analytical causative construction whereby the actions of the social actors in the clause are instigated by an outside entity. This type of causative construction with verbal group expansion is a key resource for introducing an indirect, external force to realise the process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 579; Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 330). The *state* here is impacting on its citizens, realised as Assigner-Agent in an identifying process. The use of the predicated Theme further foregrounds *the state*.

(38) (P21.9)

<i>wâa</i> <i>that</i>	<i>rât ʔeeŋ</i> ⁴⁰ <i>state itself</i>	<i>tàaŋ hàak</i> <i>separately</i>	thîi that	<i>tham hây</i> <i>cause</i>	<i>phonlamuaŋ</i> <i>citizen</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>phrây</i> <i>phrai</i>
	Identified	Manner: Quality	Ass.	Pro. Ident.	Token	...Pro.	Value
	Medium	Manner	Ag		Medium		Range

that (it is) the state itself that caused citizens to become phrai

The notion of indirect causation may remove this participant to some degree from direct responsibility, but it can also imply manipulation or orchestration on the part of the Agent. The *state* in example (38) is clearly implicated in depriving the citizens of their own agency. By extension, the purpose may be to implicate the *state* in the coup, perhaps orchestrating events from the background, since Pitch argues that it was the

40 This first section appears to be a predicated Theme, though the verb is ellipsed. If the verb was not ellipsed, this clause would be treated as two clauses, with the second one a relative clause beginning with *thîi tham hây...* and the Assigner ellipsed in the second clause.

coup that turned citizens into *phrai*. The point is that the state here is construed as exercising a high degree of agency, located at Band 1 on the cline.

In the following example, the state is both Actor-Agent in a material clause, impacting on a non-human participant, still located towards the more dynamic end of the cline at Band 3, and Goal-Medium. The agency of the state is backgrounded as the clause is a downgraded embedded clause which renders the proposition unarguable (Martin, 1992, p. 486). The state as Goal is embedded in the nominal group that occurs in the circumstance. This Goal also occurs in an embedded clause within the Circumstance:

(39) (P39.13)

<i>mǎän kòtmǎay nay yúk lǎŋ [[thiī ...]] same as law in era after [[that...]]</i>	<i>rát</i> state	<i>cháy pen</i> use be-as	<i>khruānmuu</i> tool	<i>nay kaancàtkaan kàp phiu [[thiī tətāan rát]]]]</i> in management with people [[that oppose state]]
Goal	Actor	Pro.: Mat.	Goal-Result ⁴¹	Cause: purpose
Medium	Agent		Range	

...like the law in the later period [[that the state used as a tool in the management of people [[that oppose the state]]]]

Examples such as (38) and (30) above, together with the possessivation of *state* in nominal groups (as in *tool of the state*, *power of the state*), make the *state* a highly agentive social actor in Pitch's text that is not reduced to any one institution as in Khien's text, but treats it as a key theoretical concept in political science instead of reducing the discussion of the coup to a problem just of government as in Khien's text. However, despite the agentive nature of these examples, the state is represented most frequently in relational processes. Overall, these relational clauses account for about 44% of occurrences of *the state* in Pitch's text. This can at least partly be explained by the fact that Pitch characterises and identifies different features of the Thai state that he argues created the particular relations of power that characterise the modern Thai state. The following example illustrates how Pitch identifies some of the features of the Thai absolutist state that he argues have continued into the present time.⁴²

41 This analysis follows Patpong (n.d., p. 52) who analyses clauses like this one as an extending verbal group complex ($\alpha + \beta$) realised as a material clause with relational outcome.

42 The absolute monarchy in Thailand was overthrown in 1932.

(40) (P35.1)

<i>rát sǒmbuuranaayaa-sithirâat khǒng thay absolutist state of Thai</i>	<i>cwɨ</i> <i>Cj.</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>tháɲ ráat samǎy mǎy léʔ ráat thun níyom ruamsúun both state modern and state capitalist centralised</i>	<i>maa</i> <i>come</i>	<i>tǎe tǒn</i> <i>from beginning</i>
Carrier		Pro.: Att	Attribute	...Pro	Location: time
Medium			Range		

The Thai absolutist state was thus both a modern state and a centralised capitalist state since the beginning.

Nevertheless, the representation of agency can still be discerned within some of these relational clauses. In the following identifying clause, Token and Value participants are realised by complex nominal groups. These nominal groups include grammatical metaphors that imply the exercise of agency in the nominalised processes:

(41) (P34.1)

<i>kaan-sathǎapanaa ráat sǒmbuuranaayaa-sithirâat khǒng thay establishment state absolutist of Thai</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>kaan-thamlaay ʔitthiphon khǒng thǒngthìn lé dɯɲ ʔaw phráy thúk khon maa khún kàp sùn klaay destruction influence of district and drawing phrai all CLF come enter with part centre</i>
Identifier/Token	Pro: Id	Identified/Value
Medium		Range

The establishment of the Thai absolutist state brought about the destruction of the influence of the regions and the pulling in of all phrai into the centre.

The Token includes the nominalisation *kaan-sathǎapanaa* – *establishment* that implies the exercise of agency by unnamed social actors who orchestrated the formation of the Thai state as an absolute monarchy. The nominalisations that occur as Value, *kaan-thamlaay* – *destruction* and (*kaan-*) *dɯɲ* – *pulling*, imply that someone, the forces that established the absolutist state or even the institutions of the state itself, exercised agency in the process of centralising political power under a single authority. To do this they undermined the influence that local and regional authorities exercised over their subjects. They achieved this by establishing a centralised and national system of government to whom all subjects or *phrai* owed their allegiance (Ferrara, 2015, pp. 45-47). Despite these relational participants occurring at Band 5 (mid-low) on the cline of dynamism, agency is still attributed to *the state* quite powerfully through the use of grammatical metaphor.

Finally, agency may be attributed to a social actor through inclusion in a Circumstance. Van Leeuwen (2008) refers to this representation as circumstantialisation in his social actor network. The following example was presented above as example (37). It is an embedded fact clause in which *state* appears in a Circumstance of Role: guise:

(37) (P43.5)

<i>kaan thiī</i> <i>fact that</i>	<i>thahāan</i> <i>military</i>	<i>nay thāaná? rát nán</i> <i>in position state</i> <i>Th.part.</i>	<i>tham</i> <i>do</i>	<i>kaankhúmkrṓṓṅ</i> <i>phráy</i> <i>governing phrai</i>	<i>nay thāaná? phonlaruan</i> <i>in position</i> <i>civilian</i>
	Actor	Role: guise	Pro. Mat	Goal	Role: guise
	Agent			Medium	

the fact that the military in the position of the state performs the governing of phrai in the position of civilian

Though it is the military in this clause that most obviously exercises agency, the Circumstance of Role with *state* as modifier implies that the agency attributed to the military is essentially conferred by the state. As with the analytical causative construction above, the agency is indirect. Circumstances that construe agency in this way are positioned at Band 2 on the cline and so indicate a high degree of dynamism.

7.4.3 Government

The construal of *government* in Pitch's text does not play the same kind of role as in Khien's text. While Khien essentially conflates *government* and *state* and attempts to portray the Thaksin government in a negative light and as highly agentive, Pitch's construal of the political system draws on different theoretical concepts. He does not refer at all to Thaksin or the Thaksin government. This is not to delegitimise Thaksin as in Khien's text, however, because he does refer to these social actors in the subsequent sections of the text that were not analysed for this study. Instead, Pitch challenges the dominant discourses, for example about the coup, and builds this challenge by looking at structural factors relating to class or systems rather than singling out one government or one person to blame. The most frequent role for the government in Pitch's text is as Circumstance with no agency, Band 8 on the cline of dynamism, as in: (P28.4) *nay kaan-mây-hěn-dúay kàp rátthabaan* – *in disagreeing with the government* and (P39.9) *nay yúk lăṅ kaan-pliànplææṅ kaan-pòkkhrṓṓṅ* – *in the period after the change of*

government. In these examples, *government* unarguably exercises no agency. When the *government* (or related lexical items such as *the governing class* or *people who govern*) is construed as exercising agency, it is largely backgrounded. There are two instances (9.6%) represented as Actor-Agent of a non-human Goal (Band 3) but five instances (16.1 %) as Agent in a Circumstance, or circumstantialisation (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). For example, *phûupòkkhrṵṵ* – *governors* are the Agents in the following two examples:

(42) (P30.3)

<i>thīi</i> <i>that (phrai)</i>	<i>dāyráp</i> <i>receive</i>	<i>kaankhúmkehrṵṵ</i> <i>protection</i>	<i>càak phûupòkkhrṵṵ</i> <i>from governors</i>
Actor	Pro.: Material	Range	Circ.:Manner
Medium		Range	

that received protection from the king

(43) (P31.9)

<i>[[thīi</i> <i>[[that (subjects)</i>	<i>tṵṵ thīuk khūapkhum</i> <i>must PASS. control</i>	<i>dooy phūu pòkkhrṵṵ]]</i> <i>by governors</i>
Goal	Pro.: Material (passive)	Actor
Medium		Agent

that must be controlled by the governors

While *phrai* are represented as Actor/Medium in example (42), *kaankhúmkehrṵṵ* – *protection* is a grammatical metaphor that nominalises the process *protect*. It is the governors that perform this process.⁴³ Similarly, in example (43), the governors perform the action, but this clause is a passive clause in which *rāatsadṵṵ rṵṵ phrāy* – *subjects or phrai* are realised as Goal-Medium. As Agent in a Circumstance, *government*, or more specifically *governors*, in these examples, fall in Band 2. However, the effect of this circumstantialisation of these agents essentially backgrounds the *government's* (or *governors'*) exercise of agency in this text, and thus construes quite a different picture of this social actor from the picture that Khien builds in his text. It is also quite different from the representation of the military and the coup group as outlined above whose agency was more foregrounded and explicit.

⁴³ Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 33) provides a similar example with *receive* as the material process and agent occurring in the circumstantial element with *from...*

7.4.4 People

In contrast to the agency of the military and the coup group, and the state and government, various classes of people such as *phrai* and *citizens* are represented as having very little or no agency at all. While the realisations of *people* including *phrai* are much more dispersed across the different participant roles, most tend to cluster around Bands 4 and 5, the mid-low point on the cline of dynamism, which indicates the relatively little agency that these participants exercise. If they do appear as Actor, it is more likely to be as Actor-Medium (7.6%), therefore having no impact on a second participant. *People*, including *phrai*, are also represented as Senser (4.5%), Sayer (3.2%), Behaver (2.8%) and as Goal (4.5%). *Phrai* occur frequently in relational processes, construed as Possessor of qualities or characteristics (10.2%), or are identified as Token (8.9%) or Value (14%). *People* appear most frequently in Circumstances, but not as Agent (20.4%), which places them at the passive end of the continuum on Band 8.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, linguistically, *phrai* are subsumed by the state. But unlike the military and the coup group, *phrai* are depicted as not being a part of the state:

(44) (P31.6)

<i>dəəm nán</i> <i>formerly</i>	<i>râatsadɔɔn r̥h phrây</i> <i>subjects or phrai</i>	<i>mây thùuk th̃u</i> <i>not PASS. believe</i>
Location: time	Phenomenon	Pro. Mental
Location	Medium	Process

(P31.7)

<i>wāa</i> <i>that</i>	∅ <i>(they)</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>ʔəŋprakɔɔp s̃aən ñuŋ kh̃ɔɔŋ r̃at</i> <i>an element of the state</i>
	Carrier	Pro. Attributive	Attribute
	Medium	Process	Range

Formerly, subjects or phrai were not believed to be a part of the state.

However, they are dependent on the state:

(45) (P38.1-2)

<i>phūu</i> [[<i>th̃i</i> <i>people</i>]] [<i>that</i>	<i>kh̃un t̃ɔɔ</i> <i>depend on</i>	<i>r̃at</i> <i>state</i>	<i>ph̃aan rabòp kòtm̃āy sam̃āy m̃ay</i> <i>through modern legal system</i>
Identified/Token	Pro.:Id. Circum.	Idr./VI	Manner: means
Medium	Process	Range	Manner

(Modern phrai are) people [[who depend on the state through the modern legal system

When *phrai* do act, this may be realised through behavioural, mental or material processes. For example, the following clause contains a verbal group complex of behavioural processes, instantiating how *phrai* behave.

(46) (P1.7)

∅ (<i>phrai</i>)	<i>chûa faṅ pàttibàt taam</i> <i>obey follow</i>	<i>kòtmăay</i> <i>law</i>
Behaver	Pro.: Behavioural	Phenomenon/Scope
Medium	Process	Range

(Phrai) obey and follow the law

The clause below represents *phrai* as Senser in a mental process. Like with the behavioural process above, while there may be some dynamism ascribed to this role, the agency of the state is backgrounded in this clause because it is represented as Phenomenon-Range, adding weight to the notion that the *phrai* are subordinate the state:

(47) (P1.6)

<i>thîi</i> <i>that (phrai)</i>	<i>yɔm ráp</i> <i>accept</i>	<i>ʔamnâat rát</i> <i>the power of the state</i>
Senser	Pro.: Mental	Phenomenon
Medium	Process	Range

that accept the power of the state

In the following clause, a material process, *phrai* are represented as Actor/Medium (also on Band 4). The clause has been analysed as a verbal group complex following Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 572). However, any dynamism that might accrue from this participant role is negated:

(48) (P1.18)

<i>lê?</i> <i>and</i>	∅ (<i>phrai</i>)	<i>mây phayaayaam pay yûṅ</i> <i>not try go bother</i>	<i>kîaw kâp kaanmuay</i> <i>about politics</i>
	Actor	Process: Material	Matter
	Medium		

and (they) need not bother about politics

This status of *phrai* in Thai society is also packaged into nominalisations and circumstantial elements in the clause. Example (41) presented earlier in the discussion

about the exercise of agency by *the state* in Pitch’s text also refers to the subservient position of *phrai*. Circumstantial elements that were omitted in example (41) are included below in (49) to illustrate the total lack of agency or dynamism afforded to these social actors:

(49) (P34.1)

<i>kaan-sathăapanaa rát sōmbuuranaaya asitthirāat khǎ̌w̌j thay establishment state absolutist of Thai</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>kaan-thamlaay ʔǐtthiphon khǎ̌w̌j thǎ̌w̌jthìn lé đuw̌j ʔaw phrây thúk khon maa khûn kàp sùan klaay destruction influence of district and drawing phrai all CLF come enter with part centre</i>	<i>dooy kaansathăapanaa hây pen phrây khǎ̌w̌j phrâbâatsömdèt-phrâcâwyùuhăa by establishment to be phrai of king</i>	<i>nay naam khǎ̌w̌j “râatsadw̌n”</i> <i>in name of “raatsadorn” (subject)</i>
Identifier/Token	Pro: Id	Identified/Value	Manner: means	Role
Medium		Range		

The establishment of the Thai absolutist state brought about the destruction of the influence of the regions and the pulling in of all phrai into the centre by the establishment of phrai of the king under the name “raatsadorn” [subjects].

This construal of people as deprived of any capacity to act and subject to the actions of others is not restricted just to *phrai*. As is clear from the title, citizens are also a part of this process of marginalisation from political decision-making. As with *phrai*, *citizens* appear in roles such as Actor/Medium, as Behaver, as Possessor, as Token or Value, or as a nominal element in a Circumstance. Potential agency exercised by *citizens* has been displaced for example by construal of this actor in a relational process, Band 5 on the cline of dynamism, possessing qualities or characteristics that are nominalised processes, as in the following examples:

(50) (27.11)

\emptyset	<i>mii</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>nay kaansadæw̌j khwaamkhithěn tàanjtàw̌j thaaw̌j kaanbâan kaanmw̌j in expression opinion different political affairs</i>
(citizen)	<i>have</i>	<i>right</i>	
Poss’r	Pro: Rel: Poss.	Poss’d	Cause: Purpose
Medium		Range	

(Citizens) have the right to the expression of different opinions on political affairs.

(51) (P28.3)

<i>thiī</i> <i>that (citizen)</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>nay kaanpòkkhrṓṓ tonḂeeṓ</i>
Poss'r	Pro: Rel. Poss	Poss'd	Matter
Medium		Range	

...that (citizens) have the right to self-government.

As these examples demonstrate, the potential for agency is encoded in the grammatical metaphors that appear in the circumstances of each of these clauses. In example (50), citizens can express political opinions as Sayer in a verbal process (Band 4, at the mid-level of the cline), and in example (51) citizens can govern themselves as Actor-Agent in a material process (Band 2, high in dynamism). Therefore, the instantiation of these clauses as relational processes means this social actor becomes less agentive. The two social actors, *phrai* and *citizens*, are instantiated in the same clause to indicate the process of marginalisation that occurred. In example (38) above (repeated below), *citizens* and *phrai* were realised as Token and Value respectively. This places these social actors at Band 5 on the cline, and so lacking in dynamism. In example (52), they occur in the Circumstances, placing them at the lowest Band 8 on the cline of dynamism in very passive roles:

(38) (P21.9)

<i>wāa</i> <i>that</i>	<i>rāt Ḃeeṓ</i> <i>state itself</i>	<i>tāaṓ hāak</i> <i>separately</i>	<i>thiī</i> <i>that</i>	<i>tham hāy</i> <i>cause</i>	<i>phonlamuaṓ</i> <i>citizen</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>phrāy</i> <i>phrai</i>
	Identified	Manner: Quality	Ass.	Pro. Ident.	Token	...Pro.	Value
	Medium	Manner	Ag		Medium		Range

that (it is) the state itself that caused citizens to become phrai

(52) (P21.7)

<i>thiī</i>	<i>tham hāy kàət</i>	<i>kaanpliàn sathāanā?</i> <i>thaṓṓkaanmuaṓ khḂṓṓ</i> <i>bùkkhon nay rábḂṓp</i> <i>kaanmuaṓ</i>	<i>càak</i> <i>“phonla- muaṓ”</i>	<i>maa sùu</i> <i>khwaampen</i> <i>“phrāy”</i>	<i>yāaṓ chátceen</i> <i>lé? còṓṓcāeṓ</i>
<i>that (coup)</i>	<i>cause to occur</i>	<i>change condition political of individual in political system</i>	<i>from “citizen”</i>	<i>come towards being “phrai”</i>	<i>clearly and obviously</i>
Actor	Pro.: Mat	Goal	Role: guise	Role: product	Manner: degree
Agent		Medium			

...that (coup) caused the change in the political condition of individuals in the political system from “citizen” to being “phrai” clearly and obviously.

The differences in representations between the forces of the state, the government, the military and the coup group compared with the people, specifically *phrai* and *citizens*, make very clear the relations of power in Thai society. Pitch's text exposes the unequal power relations between these actors by representing them in this way. His purpose is not to legitimise any of these actors, but to highlight the inequalities of power that exist between the different classes and social actors in Thailand and so demystify the discourses about the need to stage a coup. The linguistic resources that Pitch deploys to produce his text enable and constrain what he can say and how he can say it. While much of the process of text production is a conscious exercise, the nature of language means that some linguistic choices are not always conscious choices. The cryptogrammatical patterns that were revealed in the analysis of lexical choices in Chapter 6 showed how much the discourses of the people – as low, stupid, uneducated, naïve – are intrinsic in the linguistic choices that were deployed. So too the transitivity analysis and the cline of dynamism help to show why these social actors come across as so ineffectual and powerless.

7.4.5 Monarchy and the king

The king and the monarchy are both represented in the text, but where there is any agency exercised by these actors, it is backgrounded in various ways, through embedding and through circumstantialisation (van Leeuwen, 2008), where the participant is realised in a circumstance. Taken together, they occur more frequently as non-agent Circumstance (41.2%) (Band 8), as Carrier-Medium (23.5%) (Band 5) and Actor-Medium (11.8%) (Band 4) and as Goal-Medium (Band 7). The greatest degree of dynamism that the king or monarchy exercises, then, is as Actor-Medium, with no impact on another participant. There is one occurrence of this social actor as Agent in a Circumstance. This role places the king as peripheral to the main action of the process, which is itself embedded within an embedded clause. This tactic thus buries the agency of the king and makes it non-negotiable (Martin, 1992, p. 486):

(53) (P37.5)

<i>[[thiî</i> <i>that (modern legal</i> <i>system)</i>	<i>yaŋ pen</i> <i>still be</i>	<i>kòtmăay [[thiî “phrârâatchathaan” càak</i> <i>phrâmahâakasât]]</i> <i>law [[that “is royally bestowed” from the</i> <i>king]]</i>
Carrier	Pro.: Attrib.	Attribute
Medium		Range

(the modern legal system) that is still a law that has been “bestowed” by the king.

The agency of the monarchy or the king is also instantiated as Qualifier in the nominal group as in the following example:

(54) (P37.9)

<i>phrɔʔ</i>	<i>kòtmăay samăy mây nán</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>cèetcamnoŋ [[thī sadææŋ ʔòk maa]]</i> <i>khɔ̄ŋ phrámahăakasàt</i>
<i>because</i>	<i>modern law</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>intention [[that is expressed]] of the king</i>
	Identified/Token	Pro. Id	Identifier/Value
	Medium		Range

because the modern law is an intention [[that is expressed]] of the king

Example (55) has two references to the king, realised as Qualifier in the Inducer-Agent nominal group and in the nominal group that is a part of the final circumstance of the clause.

(55) (P37.13)

<i>hàak tèæ</i> <i>nay</i> <i>ʔudomkaan</i> <i>léæw</i>	<i>kaanʔăayʔiŋ thŷŋ</i> <i>khwaamsámphan</i> <i>ráwăay</i> <i>phrámahăakasàt kàp</i> <i>rábòp kòtmăay léʔ</i> <i>sathăaban tùlaakaan</i> <i>nán</i>	<i>mii hây Ø hěn</i>	<i>yàay</i> <i>chátceen</i>	<i>ruam pay thŷŋ</i> <i>kaanʔăayʔăay thŷŋ</i> <i>“phráràatchaʔamnâat”</i>
<i>But in</i> <i>ideology</i>	<i>reference about</i> <i>relationship between</i> <i>king and legal system</i> <i>and judiciary</i>	<i>have let Ø see</i>	<i>clearly</i>	<i>including claim about</i> <i>“royal power”</i>
Manner: quality	Inducer	Pro....Sens... Ment	Manner: quality	Accompaniment: additive
Manner	Agent	Pro. Medium	Manner	Accompaniment

But ideologically, the reference about the relationship between the king, the legal system and the judiciary can be clearly seen, including the claim of “royal power”.

This clause in (55) is another example of the *inducive* use of *hây* (Iwasaki, 2008) in which the abstraction, *the reference to the relationship between the king, the legal system and the judiciary*, is construed as inducing a certain result in an unnamed Senser (possibly the putative reader). In each of these clauses, the king is removed from the main action construed by the process, occurring as modifier, as Circumstance and in an embedded clause. This means that the king does not play a part in the transitivity of the clause and any construal of agency is backgrounded. Thus, while the monarchy and the

king do appear more frequently in Pitch’s text than in Khien’s or Chaiwat’s texts, they are not frequent and any agency is less conspicuous because of the way it is buried in the clause.

7.4.6 Non-human participants as Agent

Pitch’s text makes extensive use of analytical causative constructions. The *tham hây* causative is common in academic writing in Thai. As suggested above, the *tham hây* analytical causative construes indirect causation – an external agent exercises an intermediate level of control (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 330) indirectly on another participant who may or may not impact in some way on a third participant. The Agent in an analytical causative is construed as high in dynamism, occurring at Band 1 on the cline. The Agent may be human, or may be an inanimate participant including an event or an abstract concept (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 331) or semiosis. In Pitch’s text it is used to position events, semiosis or other abstract concepts as provoking some kind of response in another participant or precipitating a chain of events. Pitch’s text includes examples of each type of Agent in these causative clause types. Example (38) above is an example of a social actor, *the state*, in the role of Initiator-Agent that causes citizens to become *phrai*. When the Agent is an event or semiosis, the process is often a mental process. In the following example, an event, the death of the taxi driver, occurs as Inducer-Agent in a mental clause:

(56) (P18.1-2)

<i>thîi</i> (<i>mɔ́rǎnákam khǎ́ɔŋ luŋ nuamthǎ́ɔŋ phraywan</i>) that (death of Uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan)	<i>sathǎ́ɔn</i> <i>hây</i> reflect make	∅ (us)	<i>hěn</i> see	<i>wâa</i> that	<i>kaantham rátthaprahǎan lé?</i> <i>kaanhây khwaamchǎ́ptham</i> <i>kǎæ kaanrátthaprahǎan....</i> staging coup and giving legitimacy ...
Inducer	Pro.: Mental	Sen.	...Pro		
Agent		Med			

(the death of Uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan) that reflects for (us) to see that the staging of the coup and giving legitimacy to the coup...

This clause is another example of the inductive use of *hây*. The action from the first process *sathǎ́ɔn* – *reflect* induces the result – that *we see* the following argument that is proposed regarding the faulty logic of the coup. The following clause provides an example of metasemiotic noun *næawkhít* – *idea* as Agent:

(57) (P42.1)

<i>næəwkhít rûaŋ kaanpen thahăan ʔaachiîp nán the idea of military professionalism</i>	<i>yîŋ more</i>	<i>tham hây cause</i>	<i>thahăan military</i>	<i>yûŋ meddle</i>	<i>kîaw kâp kaanmuaŋ about politics</i>	<i>mâak khûn more</i>
Initiator	Manner: Degree	Pro... Material	Actor	...cess	Matter	Manner: Degree
Agent	Manner	Process	Medium	Process	Matter	Manner

the idea of military professionalism makes the military meddle even more in politics

In this clause, it is an idea - *the idea of military professionalism* – that is represented as high in dynamism and that causes the military in turn to act by meddling in politics. Of course, as stated above, Pitch critiques the actions of the military through the theory of “military professionalism”, following Finer (1988). Pitch supports Finer’s point that professionalism in the military does not mean that the military will stay out of politics. But at the same time that Pitch draws on political theory to support his argument, he appears to convey a hint of sarcasm. The use of *yûŋ* – *meddle* has the effect of tarnishing the gloss of the military. The following example extends this sarcasm further. Again, military professionalism is realised as the Inducer-Agent, this time resulting in *society* gaining knowledge or understanding about military professionalism and the resulting behaviour of the military:

(58) (P42.12-42.16)

*dûay khwaam pen ʔaachiîp khǝŋ thahăan pen khǝŋ ʔâaŋ [[thîi thamhây sǎŋkhom
hěŋ// wâa ton nán mây dây mii phôn prayòot kâp kaanmuaŋ [[thîi damnəən yûu]]//
lé? Ø tham hây Ø hěŋ // wâa nay prawattisàat kaan muaŋ thay samăy mày nán,
kaantham ráttáprahăan dooy thahăan klaay pen suàn nêŋ khǝŋ phaarakít khǝŋ
thahăan thay pay sǎ léəw]]//*

with military professionalism being the excuse [[that makes society see// that the military itself has no interest in ongoing politics// and (it) makes (society) see// that in the history of modern Thai politics, the staging of a coup by the military has become one of the obligations of the Thai military]]//

While the text has not undergone a full Appraisal analysis, the use of lexis such as *khǝŋ-ʔâaŋ* – *excuse* and the representation of the staging of a military coup as an *obligation*, for example, give this section in the text its tone of sarcasm. The fact that the clauses are embedded makes these propositions about military professionalism unarguable, which deflects any possible reaction. This note of sarcasm can be seen to be an expression of

Pitch's agency, which can be discerned in his text through the linguistic choices he makes.

A numerical breakdown of roles allocated to each category in Pitch's text is presented in Appendix D

7.4.7 Summary

In summary, most of the occurrences of people, including *phrai*, citizens and civilians, occur in the mid-range of the cline – as Token or Value, Carrier or Attribute or as Possessor. What this means is that they are identified and characterised to support the challenge that Pitch is making to the rhetoric of the coup supporters. By characterising *phrai* and by drawing a distinction between citizens and *phrai* in terms of active membership or agency within the Thai imagined national community, Pitch draws attention to the impact that the coup had in depriving the people, or some of the people, of their agency in terms of the ability to exercise their rights and govern themselves. What is telling, is the sense of ineffectuality that is attributed to these actors, a consequence of the staging of the coup in Pitch's view and hence his purpose for writing his text.

Conversely, the military and the coup group are represented more often as high in dynamism, appearing as Actor-Agent. The coup group is also depicted as Assigner, which is at Band 1 and very high in dynamism. The agency ascribed to the military, the coup group and also to the state, underscores the role that these social actors played in staging the coup and the responsibility for divesting Thai citizens of their political rights by turning them into *phrai*. As the text is also a stand against the claims that were circulating about the “good” coup, the coup group also appears as Sayer in verbal processes. In contrast, the government and ruling class have their agency backgrounded as Pitch focuses more on the theoretical notion of state. The government is only referred to in a generic sense. Unlike Khien's text, the Thaksin government does not appear in this section of Pitch's text.

Finally, events and abstract concepts are represented as Initiator-Agent or Inducer-Agent. When a participant such as an abstract concept is represented as Agent in an analytical causative, it gives this concept the power to influence other actors,

either to act themselves or to gain some kind of insight into a problem. In academic writing, this is possibly a key strategy to deal with theory and weigh up or apply evidence. For example, in Pitch's text the concept of military professionalism as Initiator-Agent was construed as engendering a response from the military and enlightening society as to the actions of the military.

7.5 Chaiwat

Chaiwat's patterns of choices in transitivity and insights gained by plotting the participants on the cline of dynamism are a result of his rhetorical purpose. As indicated in Chapter 6, Chaiwat's text is the most removed from the physical, concrete world of all three of the texts. As a result, the construal of agency of some social actors that were prominent in Khien's and Pitch's texts is not as prominent in Chaiwat's text. This can be explained by the particular purpose of Chaiwat's text. As well as responding to Sombat's critique of his op-ed piece, and in particular the accusation that Chaiwat did not understand the meaning of politics, the text defends the argument made in the original op-ed text, that coups are morally wrong. It does this by considering Aristotle's argument about whether politics is a practical or ethical science, through the debate between two twentieth century political philosophers and concludes that coups are morally wrong and it is the role of the political scientist to question such immoral actions. As a result, people/individuals are by far the major social actors in the text, while the military and the government are more peripheral to the argument. In particular, Chaiwat is addressing the polarisation of the Thai academic and activist community that occurred subsequent to the coup of 2006. He is questioning the support that those academics and activists gave to the coup, contrasting this support with their previous opposition to other episodes of military intervention in Thailand's politics. Chaiwat is drawing attention to this phenomenon, and by implication is questioning the political stances held by some of those political scientists that were present to listen to his keynote speech. This speech, and subsequent publication in the journal *Faa Diaw Kan*, was written specifically for this specialist academic audience, and the result is a text that is highly technical, abstract and 'in-house'.

7.5.1 Military

The major actors in Khien's and Pitch's texts are not as salient in Chaiwat's text. The military (n=13), coup group (n=3), state (n=1) and government (n=16) are minor actors in Chaiwat's text. The military is represented as Actor-Agent in the text in 15.4% of occurrences, but this is only in reference to past coups and past studies of previous coups. Otherwise, the military and other institutional social actors are not represented as exercising agency. The military is represented as Actor-Medium in about 46% of occurrences, at Band 4 on the cline and is also represented as Goal/Medium in 15.4% of occurrences, on Band 7. In the references to the military in Chaiwat's text, the agency of this social actor is backgrounded, such as through the use of embedding and ellipsis. As illustrated in Chapter 6, except in the first paragraph of Chaiwat's text where he refers to past studies about past military coups, there are only a few overt references to the military as *thahǎan*. In the first example below, *kɔɔŋ thahǎan* – *military force* occurs as Goal, while the Actor-Agent cannot be retrieved from the co-text. This is because the use of the verb *cháy* – *use* here, as stated earlier, carries a passive sense, though it is not overtly marked as passive with the passive marker, *thùuk*, which allows for the deletion of the Agent from the clause (Diller, 1997):

(59) (C16.2)

<i>wāa</i> <i>that</i>	<i>kɔɔŋ thahǎan</i> [[<i>sǔŋ</i> <i>military force</i> [[<i>that</i>	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>nay wanthī 19 kanyaa</i>]] <i>on 19th September</i>
	Goal	Pro. Material (Passive sense)	Location: time
	Medium		Location

that the military force [[*that was used on 19th September...*

In the following example, the agency of the military is displaced by instantiating the military as Goal in the first clause of a clause complex of purpose, which then becomes the understood (ellipsed) Actor-Agent of the following clause:

(60) (C16.10-11)

<< <i>khuu</i> << <i>that is</i>	∅ (<i>they?</i>)	<i>cháy</i> <i>use</i>	<i>kamlaŋ thahǎan</i> <i>military force</i>
	Actor	Process: Material	Goal
	Agent		Medium

∅ (military force)	<i>khâw yút</i> <i>enter seize</i>	<i>ʔamnâat>></i> <i>power>></i>
Actor	Process: Material	Goal
Agent		Medium

<<*that is, to use a military force to seize power*>>

The representation of the military in these two examples as Goal-Medium, at Band 7 of the cline of dynamism, while probably an unconscious choice, construes the military as closer to the passive end of the cline and implies an external source of agency in the staging of the coup. In the second example, the agency of the military is understood in the second clause, though the effect of the ellipsis of this social actor in the clause is to remove any responsibility for carrying out the process.

As well as the few overt references to the military, there are other clauses in the text where the military is implied through the use of unspecified lexical items as in the following example, a Circumstance of Manner: comparison from a relational clause in which the coup is characterised as a conflict between two sides. The agency of the military is buried in an embedded clause in this Circumstance, as is the other *side*:

(61) (C15.7)

<i>rawàŋ</i>	<i>fâay nùŋ</i> [[<i>sûŋ</i> <i>mii thiï maa</i> <i>hècɛŋ ʔamnâat</i> <i>phâan kaan</i> <i>dâyrap luâktâŋ</i> <i>maa dooy</i> <i>chôp</i>]]	<i>kàp</i>	<i>ʔiik fâay nùŋ</i> [[<i>sûŋ</i> <i>another side</i> <i>one</i> [[<i>that</i>	<i>khâw pay yút</i> <i>enter go seize</i>	<i>ʔamnâat</i>]] <i>power</i>
Circumstance: Manner: comparison					
			Actor	Pro. Material	Goal
			Agent		Medium

between a side [[*that came to power through legitimate elections*]] *and another side* [[*that came and seized power*]]

The agency exercised by this Agent is embedded in this nominal group. The use of embedding means that the subject of the embedded clause is not “modally responsible” because the clauses “cannot be tagged or queried” (Martin, 1992, p. 486). This means that the agency of the side that seized power is not at risk in this clause, nor indeed the other side that it is compared with. In addition, the representation of the social actor is indeterminate. Therefore, even if the subject was negotiable, the social actor is not specified and so responsibility is not attributed to any one person or group.

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Furthermore, since this social actor is an element of the Circumstance, it is located at the periphery of the clause. While *the military* in the embedded clause is Actor-Agent, at Band 3, close to the high end of the cline, its occurrence as part of the Circumstance actually places this participant at Band 8, at the passive end of the cline.

Similarly, in this next example the Actor, possibly referring to the military, is ellipsed from the clause:

(62) (C17.19-21)

<i>méæ</i> <i>even if</i>	<i>baaη khon</i> <i>some people</i>	<i>ca hěn</i> <i>will think</i>
	Senser	Pro. Mental
	Medium	

<i>wāa</i> <i>that</i>	<i>māy miī</i> <i>there is not</i>	<i>withii ʔiun ʔiik</i> <i>method other more</i>
	Pro. Existential	Existent
		Medium

\emptyset <i>(they/ some people)</i>	<i>cwη</i> <i>thus</i>	<i>tōη cháy</i> <i>must use</i>	<i>kaanrátthaprahăan</i> <i>coup</i>	<i>bàæp níi</i> <i>like this</i>
Actor		Pro. Material	Range	Manner: comparison
Medium			Range	

...even if some people think that there is no other method, so (they) have to use a coup like this

In this example, the ellipsed social actor, *some people*, is Actor-Medium, so occurs on Band 4 of the cline. Again, the social actors that staged the coup are indeterminate, construed as “some people” and they appear here as Senser and then as Actor-Medium. Thus, the degree of dynamism is at Band 4. Just from these few examples of the construal of the military, it is interesting to note the strategies that Chaiwat deploys to background the military and the responsibility for the coup. As suggested above, this may be because the text is focused more on the response to Sombat and the philosophical problem raised regarding the interpretation of politics in Aristotle’s philosophy. As a result, the events surrounding the coup itself become tangential to the main thrust of the text.

7.5.2 Government

Representations of *government* tend to cluster on Band 5 of the cline, mid-low in dynamism. For example, it is represented as Possessor (25%) and as Carrier (12.5%). It is also represented as Goal (12.5%, Band 7 on the cline). In the following example, the government, that is the Thaksin government though it is not explicitly named, is characterised in an attributive clause. The government occurs in the clause both in the Carrier role and the Attribute. In the Carrier role, the government is represented as affected participant in a passive clause embedded in the nominal group. The agent is deleted from the clause:

(63) (C14.11)

<i>rátthabaan</i> [[<i>thīi</i>]] <i>government</i> [[<i>that</i>]]	<i>thīuk lóm pay</i>]] <i>PASS.</i> <i>overthrow go</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>rátthabaan</i> [[<i>s̄ūŋ mii thīmaa yàaŋ ch̄ôp̄tham phaayt̄ay rátthammanuun</i> [[<i>thīi th̄ū kan w̄aa dii thīs̄ut</i>]] <i>chab̄ap n̄ūŋ</i>]] <i>government</i> [[<i>that have origin legitimate under constitution</i> [[<i>that believed together that best</i>]] <i>CLF one</i>]]
Carrier		Pro Att	Attribute
Goal	Process: Material Passive		
Medium			

The government [[*that was overthrown*]] was a *government* [[*that had (its) origins legitimately under a constitution* [[*that was believed to be the best*]]

Chaiwat thus tends to avoid any direct attribution of responsibility for the staging of the coup. Instead, participants are represented in relational clauses, as Token or Value in identifying clauses or as Carrier and Attribute in Attributive clauses.

7.5.3 People

People as groups (n=100) and specified, named individuals (n=125) are represented more frequently in the text compared to the institutions of power such as the military and government. These representations of people or individuals tend to be clustered on Band 4 of the cline of dynamism, though the representations are dispersed across a range of process types. People as groups or represented in generic terms appear as Actor/Agent in 9% of occurrences (Bands 2 and 3 on the cline), but more often they occur as Actor/Medium (23% of cases) (Band 4), or they are represented in terms of their thoughts or ideas, as Senser (14%) rather than as Agent in the process. Named

individuals such as Aristotle or Ajarn Sombat are represented as high in agency (Bands 1-3 on the cline) altogether in 20.8% of the representations. They are also represented as Actor/Medium (14.4%), Senser (11.2%) and Sayer (12.8%). In addition, Chaiwat makes quite frequent references to himself *khâaphacâw – I* (1st person, male, formal), and again, most of these references cluster around Band 4 on the cline, appearing particularly as Senser (35.3%) and Sayer (26.5%). This greater focus on people and individuals, including himself, contributes to Chaiwat’s attention to two concerns: his personal response to Ajarn Sombat’s critique of his original op-ed piece and his philosophical subject matter – the meaning of politics as theorised by Aristotle and more recent Aristotelian scholars.

People as groups appear most frequently in the middle range of the cline of dynamism at Band 4, particularly as Actor/Medium in a material process and as Senser/Medium in a mental process. However, there are some cases where groups appear as Actor/Agent (Band 2) and also as Goal/Medium (Band 7). In the following example, *political scientists* are represented as Actor/Agent in terms of the duties attributed to them in Aristotle’s *Politics* while *lawyers* are represented as Goal, affected by the actions of *political scientists*:

(64) (C29.6)

<i>nák rátthasàat</i> [[<i>sûŋ</i>]]	<i>sǒŋ</i>	<i>khon ?ǒk kòtmăay</i>]]
Actor	Process: Material	Goal
Agent		Medium

***Political scientists* [[who teach the law givers]]**

The focus here is on the interpretation of Aristotle’s meaning of politics in particular and Sombat’s critique of Chaiwat’s *Bangkok Post* article in general. Therefore, references to people fulfil this function – to move his argument forward or to illustrate a point as in this example above.

While people as groups are not often represented on the high end of the cline of dynamism (or for that matter, on the low end), individual social actors in the text are explicitly ascribed agency. For example, Chaiwat explains how he came to write the “Aristotle” article. In doing so, Chaiwat’s colleague, Ajarn Sombat is represented as agent in a passive embedded fact clause:

(65) (C9.1-9.4)

[[phrɔʔ [[because	rúan daŋ klàaw that matter	thiuk nam pay cháy PASS take go use	pen khɔ̀w sòɔp wíchaa pràtyaa kaanmuaŋ rádàp prinyaa-ʔèek as exam question subject political philosophy level PhD	<i>dooy khon sǎmkhan khɔ̀wŋ prathêet khuu sàatraacaan Sǎmbàt Cantharawoŋ.]]</i> <i>by important person of country that is Professor Sombat Chantarawong</i>
	Goal	Pro.: Mat. PASS	Role: Guise	Actor
	Medium			Agent

[[because that matter was taken and used as a PhD-level political philosophy exam question by an important person of the country, that is Professor Sombat Chantarawong]].

Professor Sombat Chantarawong is represented as Agent in a Circumstance, Band 2 on the cline of dynamism. This instantiation of Sombat was illustrated in Chapter 6 as a form of appraisal according to van Leeuwen's social actor network (van Leeuwen, 2008). Not only is he represented as Agent in the Circumstance but he is also introduced into the text in very formal terms.

Other individuals are also represented as agentive in the text. For example, the philosophers whose work Chaiwat draws on are represented as Actor/Agent. Aristotle and also Aristotle and Socrates, for example, are represented as Agents when Chaiwat demonstrates their position and influence on the meaning and role of political science:

(66) (C25.1)

Aristotle	yâæk	wíchaa rátthasàat	ʔòk	pen rátthasàat sǎmràp nàkpràtyaa yàaŋ nàŋ be-as political science for philosopher kind one	kàp rátthasàat sǎmràp phúu [[ʔòk kòtmǎay (law giver)]] ʔiik yàaŋ nàŋ with political science for people [[law giver]] another kind one
Aristotle	separate	subject political science	out		
Actor	Pro Mat	Goal	...Pro	Role: guise	Manner: comparison
Agent		Medium			

Aristotle separated the discipline of political science into political science for political philosophers and political science for law givers.

(67) (C32.15)

[[<i>thi</i> [[that (meaning and role of political science)	<i>thaj aristotle læ? Socrates</i> <i>both Aristotle and Socrates</i>	<i>sathāpanaa wáy</i> <i>establish keep</i>	<i>nay ʔadiit</i> <i>in past</i>]]
Goal	Actor	Process: Material	Location: time
Medium	Agent		

that both Aristotle and Socrates established in the past.

These representations as Agent in the transitivity of the clause raises these social actors to Bands 2 and 3 on the cline of dynamism, so they are accorded a high degree of agency and thus denote significant actors in Chaiwat's text, the focus of which is the philosophy that can be used to explain rather than describe physical events. In addition, these philosophers and experts are represented as Senser and Sayer frequently in the texts. This is not surprising as Chaiwat is drawing on their texts to support his argument. Sayer and Senser occur at Band 4 on the cline of dynamism, and this choice, while not high in agency, does attribute a lesser degree of agency to these social actors.

Another social actor that is represented with varying degrees of dynamism in the text is Chaiwat himself. Compared to the other two texts, Chaiwat's text is more personal as he defends his professional standing as a political philosopher. In contrast to Ajarn Sombat, in example (65) above, Chaiwat introduces this clause by instantiating *khāaphacāw* – *I* in the role of Senser and Sayer in an embedded clause complex modifying *hèetphǒn làk* – *the main reason*. As suggested above, while not high in dynamism, the role of Senser and Sayer still suggests a choice by the rhetor. In the following clause, Chaiwat is represented as Actor-Medium in a causative construction with an external agent (*situation like this*) impacting on Chaiwat and others who think like him:

(68) (C13.9)

<i>saphāap chên nii</i> <i>situation like this</i>	<i>tham hây</i> <i>cause</i>	<i>khāaphacāw (rǎu khon [[thi khít khláay khláay kàp khāaphacāw]])</i> <i>me (or people who think similar with me)</i>	<i>tòk yuu</i> <i>fall be (located)</i>	<i>nay pom prisanāa thaaj siinlatham</i> <i>in complex enigma way moral</i>
Initiator	Pro. Material	Actor	...Process	Location: place (abstract)
Agent		Medium		

This situation (that we have to accept the threat of violence to solve political problems) makes me (or people who think like me) fall into a complex moral enigma.

This is another example of the *tham hây* analytical causative construction whereby the actions of the social actors in the clause are instigated by an outside entity. In this case the idea that the Thai population had to accept the threat of violence is construed as the external force compelling Chaiwat and people who think like him to act – or react – in a particular way. While there is some dynamism implicit in this action, Actor-Medium occurs at Band 4 of the cline, closer to the midway point.

At a key point later in the text, while not explicit, Chaiwat’s agency is embedded in a thematic equative construction and in the grammatical metaphor:

(69) (C32.8-9)

<i>sìj</i> [[<i>thī khâaphacâw tham</i>]] <i>thing</i> [[<i>that I do</i>]]	<i>kô</i> <i>Conj.</i>	<i>pen</i> <i>be</i>	<i>kaantâj khamthăam</i> [[<i>thī phînthăan</i>]] [[<i>wâa râtthaprahăan khrañ nî chôptham rŭm mây</i>]] <i>set up of question</i> [[<i>that basic</i>]] [[<i>whether this coup is legitimate or not</i>]]
Id./Value		Pro.:Id	Idr./Token
Medium			Range

The thing that I did was the setting up of the basic question whether this coup was legitimate or not.

In this example, Chaiwat’s agency is packaged in an identifying clause where it is downplayed in favour of highlighting the exclusiveness of the action, as discussed earlier in Chapter 5. His exercise of agency is realised as a grammatical metaphor as Token in the identifying clause.

Finally, it is worth noting the quite frequent occurrence of the “reader in the text” (Thompson & Thetela, 1995) in Chaiwat’s article. Chapter 6 commented on the frequency of this social actor in Chaiwat’s text. In terms of the transitivity structures that this actor occurs in, references to *we* most often appear as Senser (43.5%) and Sayer (25.4%) in the text, and a large proportion of these occurrences are to the reader in the text. Sometimes *raw – we* is explicitly instantiated in the text, but often it is inferred through ellipsis, as in the following examples:

(70) (C26.1-2)

\emptyset (we)	<i>ca hěn dây</i> will see can	<i>wâa</i> that	<i>khwaammăay khōṅ rătthasàat... nán</i> the meaning of political science...Th.Part.	<i>nay thátsaná? khōṅ Aristotle</i> in view of Aristotle	<i>mii</i> have	<i>làak chán lăay</i> khwaammăay various level meaning
Sen.	Pro.Ment		Possessor	Angle: source	Pro.	Possessed
Med			Medium			Range

(We) can see that the meaning of political science in the view of Aristotle has many layers of meaning.

(71) (C29.15-16; 29.20-21)

<i>thaā</i> if	\emptyset (we)	<i>khít</i> think	<i>thūṅ Politics khōṅ aristotle</i> about Politics of Aristotle	<i>lê?</i> and	\emptyset (we)	<i>khamnūṅ</i> consider	<i>thūṅ rătthasàat</i> [[thi... about political science [[that...
	Sens	Pro.Ment	Phenomenon		Sens.	Pro. Ment	Phenomenon
	Med		Range				Range

If (we) think about Aristotle's Politics and (we) consider political science [[that...

\emptyset (we)	<i>kô</i> Conj.	<i>ca phóp</i> will find	<i>wâa</i> that	<i>rătthasàat</i> political science	<i>mây chây</i> not be	<i>khêæ sàat chəṅ pătibàt</i> only science practical	<i>phiaṅ yàaṅ diaw</i> merely only
Sen		Pro. Mental		Carrier	Pro. Attrib.	Attribute	Manner: degree
Med				Medium		Range	

(we) will find that political science is not only a practical science

As Chaiwat builds up his argument about the meaning of politics, he draws the audience in in a measure of solidarity through this implied “reader in the text”. While this could therefore be considered more a feature of the interpersonal meaning in the text, it is elicited from the analysis of the transitivity structures. While the reader in the text sits at Band 4 on the cline of dynamism, in this case it is not so much the construal of agency in the representation of social actors that is pertinent for the study of agency here, but it is the exercise of agency by the rhetor to draw his audience in and carry them along with his argument that is of interest.

7.5.4 Non-human participants as agent

Chaiwat construes both events and semiosis as agent in analytical causative constructions, making them high in dynamism. Example (67) above illustrates an analytical causative in which Chaiwat and other people like him are affected by a

situation, which makes them react. The coup is also represented as Attributor-Agent in the following example:

(72) (C14.3)

<i>phró?</i>	∅	<i>dây tham hây</i>	<i>sǎŋkhom thay lé?</i> <i>nák rátthasàat</i>	<i>tōŋ phachəən</i> <i>kàp</i>	<i>prìtsanǎa</i> <i>thaay</i> <i>siñlatham</i>	<i>yàaŋ</i> <i>sūŋnāa</i>
<i>because</i>	<i>(coup)</i>	<i>Perf.Asp</i> <i>cause</i>	<i>Thai society and</i> <i>political scientists</i>	<i>must</i> <i>confront with</i>	<i>moral</i> <i>enigma</i>	<i>openly</i>
	Attri'r	Pro. Att.	Carrier	...Pro. (circ.)	Attribute	Manner
	Agent		Medium		Range	

Because (the coup) made Thai society and political scientists confront the moral enigma openly.

In this case, the coup is construed as an external force that brought about a response from Thai political scientists. It is high in dynamism, occurring at Band 1 on the cline. As noted above, when semiosis is represented as Agent in an analytical causative construction, the clause is often a mental process. For example, Aristotle's reasoning is construed as Inducer/Agent in the following embedded mental clause. The entire clause is presented below, followed by a simplified version with gloss to see the grammatical relations more clearly:

(73) (C36.4-9)

*tèæ [[thiŋ hètphǒn khôŋ thòkthiǎŋ yàaŋ aristotle mii námnaŋ lé? khwaammǎay yīŋ]] kô
phró? pen siŋ [[tuən hây raw tranàk// wāa manút mây ðàat banlú? sùu khwaam bǒrisùt
lé? khwaam riáp ŋāay dây // dooy mây sūn siǎ khwaam rûmruay hǎeŋ chiwít]]*

*but [[the fact that Aristotle's reasoning has great weight and meaning]] is because **it is a thing** [[that makes us realize// that humans may not achieve purity and simplicity// without a loss in richness and fullness of life]]⁴⁴*

∅ (Aristotle's reasoning)	pen be	siŋ thing	[[tuən hây [[warn benefit	raw us	tranàk realise
Carrier	Pro.: Attrib.	Attribute/ Inducer	Pro....	Senser	...cess: Mental
		Range/Agent		Medium	

(Aristotle's reasoning) is a thing [[that makes us realise

In this example, the chain of causation is construed with the "inducive *hây*" (Iwasaki, 2008), as discussed earlier. In this case, the act of warning induces a result, which is that

⁴⁴ Chaiwat has translated this text from Nussbaum (2001, p. 421).

we will realise something important about Aristotle's philosophy. As stated above, this construal of ideas or events as high in dynamism is a linguistic resource that can be deployed to great effect in the texts of academics and public intellectuals in the way that they can attribute to events and abstract concepts the power that compels other participants to act or think in particular ways.

To sum up, while the agency of some social actors is construed in the text, the agency of the coup makers is backgrounded or suppressed altogether. This may very well be because Chaiwat either cannot or will not attribute agency to these actors. It is clear that the major categories are those of people, groups and individuals and reference to the writer himself and to the audience. The explanation for this lies in the fact that Chaiwat has distanced his text from a consideration specifically about the coup in order to respond to Sombat's criticism and to debate Aristotle's meaning of politics with his mentor, Ajarn Sombat, through the debates of Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss. A numerical summary of the results can be viewed in Appendix D.

7.6 Comparison of findings across three texts

The main categories of social actors can now be compared across the three texts to highlight patterns in the degrees of agency, in particular in the depiction of *people*, *military*, *government* and *state*. Table 7.2 below summarises the number of times people (as groups or particular categories such as *phrai*) and individuals occur in the three texts on a cline from more dynamic at the top to passive at the bottom. It is clear from this data that Khien's text attributes a higher degree of dynamism to groups of people than Chaiwat and Pitch. In Khien's text, groups of people are represented in agentive roles, occurring as Actor-Agent in a material clause with human Goal (9.9%) and with non-human Goal (13.4%). This is because Khien attributes a much greater degree of agency to "the people" to support his position, which is to legitimate "the people's" right to overthrow a despotic ruler when necessary. People are thus construed as more capable of affecting the world, but only under specific conditions – their purpose is a utilitarian one rather than one in which they have greater opportunities to exercise agency. In no other circumstances are they represented as dynamic participants. In reality, though, it is the military that has this power, not the people, but Khien is representing this coup as a popular coup, one by and for the people.

Both Chaiwat's and Pitch's texts have fewer occurrences of people in an Actor-Process-Goal configuration. The agency of the people is not a key purpose of their texts. Chaiwat's text deals more with philosophical problems rather than the worldly actions of people while Pitch's text deals with the marginalisation of a significant proportion of the population, so these actors are construed as less likely to have some kind of influence on the world. On Band 4 of the cline, 8.5% of the occurrences of people in Khien's text and 7.6% in Pitch's text are construed as Actor in a clause, plus or minus Scope (Range). In Chaiwat's text, people as groups are more often represented in this way, with nearly a quarter of occurrences occurring as Actor-Medium. In a clause with no Goal, while there may be some degree of dynamism, the Actor is not effective, and so the action does not impact on another participant. This means that the people represented in these clauses have less ability to affect the world through their actions. For Chaiwat, groups of people also occur frequently as Senser in mental processes (14%), which is consistent with his consideration of how people interpreted the coup in his text.

At the lower end of the cline, 5.6% of the groups of people construed in Khien's text appear as Goal/Medium. For Pitch's text, this sits at 4.5%, and 3% for Chaiwat's text. For Pitch's text, the greater frequency of representations of people occurs in the relational clauses. People are described and classified rather than imbued with agency or dynamism. Also occurring in large numbers at the passive end of the cline are groups of people that occur as circumstantial elements in the clause. Groups of people that occur in circumstances are quite high in Pitch's text (20.4%) and also Chaiwat's text (10.4%). These participants are not directly involved in the process and so do not possess any agency.

The representation of individuals in the three texts also reveals patterns in the degrees of agency. Individuals are not an important aspect of Pitch's text, with only five individuals represented, and 80% of these as Senser. As stated earlier, though, Pitch's text references individual sources as footnotes, and these were not included in the analysis. For Khien, individuals are mainly represented as Sayer in verbal processes. While this is at the mid range on the cline of dynamism, Sayers still exercise a capacity to act, and so have some degree of agency. In Khien's text, the Sayers include the political philosophers that he draws on to prop up his argument for the right to stage the

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coup. Individuals, such as the sovereign ruler, are also represented as Actor-Agent, and so high in dynamism in Khien's text. Chaiwat refers extensively to individuals in his text. Individuals are represented as high in dynamism, for example as Actor-Agent with human Goal (9.6%) and non-human Goal (8.8%), as well as Actor-Medium (14.4%). These individuals include himself as well as Aristotle and the other philosophers that he engages in debate with. For this reason, these individuals also frequently appear as Sayer (12.8%) and Senser (11.2%). For Chaiwat, the significance of the coup of 2006 was expressed through the words of experts in political philosophy. Chaiwat's agency can be perceived in his didacticism, through the words of experts.

Table 7.2 Cline of dynamism: People as groups and as individuals

Band		Khien %		Chaiwat %		Pitch %	
		Groups n=142	Individ n=35	Groups n=100	Individ n=125	Groups n=157	Individ n=5
1	Initiator, Assigner Attributor, Inducer		2.9		1.6		
2	Actor (+ Goal) (Human)	9.9	11.4	4	9.6	0.6	20
2	Circumstance (Agent)				0.8	0.6	
3	Actor (+ Goal) (Non- human)	13.4	5.7	5	8.8	6.4	
4	Actor (- Goal; +/- Scope)	8.5		23	14.4	7.6	
4	Senser	5.6	5.7	14	11.2	4.5	80
4	Sayer	1.4	22.9	5	12.8	3.2	
4	Behaver	3.5				2.8	
5	Token	7	8.6	3	7.2	8.9	
5	Value	7	11.4	2	8	14	
5	Carrier	4.2	5.7	8	1.6	6.4	
5	Attribute	0.7	5.7	2		7	
5	Possessor	6.3		1	4	10.2	
6	Beneficiary	4.2		6	4.8		
6	Existent	1.1	5.7	6		1.4	
6	Verbiage	0.7	5.7		0.8		
6	Phenomenon	0.7			0.8	0.6	
6	Range/Scope			1		0.6	
6	Target						
7	Goal	5.6	2.9	3	3.2	4.5	
8	Circumstance (non- Agent)	9.9		17	10.4	20.4	

Table 7.3 summarises the transitivity roles of the *military* and the *coup group* in the three texts. Pitch construes the military and coup group as Agents in the clause most frequently, with almost 45% of occurrences of the coup group and 29% of the military occurring in Bands 1-3. Neither the military nor the coup group occur as Goal. This supports Pitch's argument that the military and coup group, acting on behalf of the state

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in exercising their own agency by removing the Thaksin government from office, stripped Thai citizens of their agency to participate in Thai politics. Khien construes the military as both highly agentive (Bands 1-3, altogether 22.1%) and as affected by the actions of others, occurring as Goal (Band 7, 16.7%). This serves Khien's purpose in depicting the military as deprived of their natural rights, but rising up in the face of adversity to save the nation. Chaiwat represents the military as both Actor/Agent (15.4%) and as Goal (15.4%), but the numbers that these are based on are smaller than Pitch's and Khien's texts meaning that the military is instantiated less often in Chaiwat's text than the other two texts. The references to these social actors are non-specific, creating the effect of detachment from the events of the coup.

Table 7.3 Cline of dynamism: Military and coup group

Band		Khien %		Chaiwat %		Pitch %	
		Milit. n=36	cp grp n=21	Milit. n = 13	cp grp n=3	Milit. n = 52	cp grp n=29
1	Initiator, Assigner Attributor, Inducer	2.7					6.9
2	Actor (+ Goal) (Human)	2.7	9.5	15.4	33	3.8	10.3
2	Circumstance (Agent)					1.9	3.5
3	Actor (+ Goal) (Non- human)	16.7	38			23.1	24.1
4	Actor (- Goal; +/- Scope)	13.9	9.5	46.2	66	11.5	3.5
4	Senser	5.6	9.5			1.9	
4	Sayer	2.7	9.5				10.3
4	Behaver						
5	Token	8.3				5.8	10.3
5	Value	2.7	4.8	7.7		9.6	
5	Carrier	5.6				9.6	3.5
5	Attribute					5.8	
5	Possessor	8.3				9.6	6.9
6	Beneficiary	2.7	4.8	7.7			
6	Existent						
6	Verbiage						
6	Phenomenon	5.6					
6	Range						
6	Target					1.9	
7	Goal	16.7	14.2	15.4			
8	Circumstance (non- Agent)	5.6		7.7		15.4	20.7

Table 7.4 below compares the representation of *government* and *state* in the transitivity structure of the three texts. Again, the representation of *government* and *state* differs greatly across the texts. *Government* is both effective as Actor/Agent (human and non-human Goal) (33.3%, Bands 2 and 3) and affected as Goal (13.8%, Band 7) in Khien's text. Much of the focus is the Thaksin government, which the text attempts to demonise to support the claim for the need to stage a coup. The *state* occurs only three times in the text with very little dynamism (at Band 4 and Band 6). Pitch's

text also construes government as effective, as Actor/Agent (9.6%), and as affected as Goal (9.6%). Pitch does not refer explicitly to the Thaksin government. The agency of *government* in Pitch's text is backgrounded by a relatively high occurrence of Agent in the circumstantial element (16.1%, Band 2). In contrast, the *state* is more agentive in his text. However, as was discussed in Chapter 6, agency of the state in Pitch's text is also embedded within lexical choices, so in this respect, the cline of dynamism will not uncover these more surreptitious construals of agency for this social actor. For Chaiwat, the government has little dynamism, occurring as Actor/Medium (6.3%), in relational clauses, for example as Possessor (25%) and as Goal (12.5%). The number of occurrences of *state* and *government* is also fewer than in Pitch's and Khien's texts. The *state* only occurs once in the text. As with the construal of the *military* and the *coup group*, the references to *government* in Chaiwat's text are often undefined, giving a sense of being detached from the concrete events of the coup. Khien's aim specifically was to delegitimise the Thaksin government, so this accounts for his focus on *government* as a key actor. Chaiwat's text does not focus as much on these social actors but instead focuses on the meaning of politics and the role of political scientists. He therefore refers more to abstract concepts and responsibilities of public intellectuals. That is, there is more emphasis on exercise of the agency of academics taking part in the social practices of academics, through using their intellect and understanding of philosophical theory to respond to political crises in more moral and ethical ways. This would account for the greater construal of agency with individuals rather than these institutional actors.

Table 7.4 Cline of dynamism: Government and state

Band		Khien %		Chaiwat %		Pitch %	
		Gov n=87	State n=3	Gov n =16	State n=1	Gov n=31	State n=32
1	Initiator, Assigner Attributor, Inducer						5.6
2	Actor (+ Goal) (Human)	12.6					2.8
2	Circumstance (Agent)	2.3				16.1	2.8
3	Actor (+ Goal) (Non- human)	20.7				9.6	5.6
4	Actor (- Goal; +/- Scope)	13.8	66.7	6.3		3.2	2.8
4	Senser	3.4					
4	Sayer	2.3					
4	Behaver						
5	Token	4.6		6.3			8.3
5	Value	3.4		6.3		16.1	11.1
5	Carrier	3.4		12.5			11.1
5	Attribute	1.1				3.2	11.1
5	Possessor	3.4		25	100		11.1
6	Beneficiary	1.1	33.3				2.8
6	Existent	2.3					
6	Verbiage	1.1					
6	Phenomenon	3.4					
6	Range						
6	Target						
7	Goal	13.8		12.5		9.4	2.8
8	Circum(non-Agent)	3.4		31.3		41.9	22.2

Summarised above are the human and institutional social actors as they are construed in the three texts. It is also worthwhile looking more closely at which participants (social actors and/or other types of participants) are construed as external agent in the analytical causative constructions and the clause complex constructions in which agency is distributed across the clause boundaries. These are shown in Table 7.5 below:

Table 7.5 Agency in analytical causatives and clause complexes

	Khien N = 11	Chaiwat N = 14	Pitch N = 28
Initiator	4	6	11
Assigner		1	1
Attributor	1	3	9
Inducer	4	3	6
Initiator in verbal process		1	
Creator⁴⁵			1
Agency in clause complex	2		

⁴⁵ Analytical causative construction with existential process, see (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 157)

A closer look at the Agent participant that is instantiated in each of these participant roles finds that Khien's text construes human actors in six out of the eleven instances as Agents in a relation of causation. These occur with different participant roles and clause complexes except Inducer in a mental process. In the five remaining clauses, the external agent is a concept such as "*Thaksinomics*" or *history* that impacts on a human participant. This higher representation of human/social actor in the agent role accords with the point made earlier that Khien's text was more like a popular history text that focuses to a greater degree on people and events than ideas (Thompson, 2008).

Comparing Chaiwat's and Pitch's texts, we see that human actors occur much less frequently as Agent in these causative constructions. In Chaiwat's text, human actors occur as Agent in only two of the fourteen clauses. The other twelve clauses represent concepts, facts and events as impacting on social actors. The case is similar in Pitch's text, which has only five Agent roles represented by institutional actors such as the state. The remaining 23 clauses have concepts, events and metasemiotically nouns (for example *announcements*, *explanations*) as causing another participant to act or react. Attributing agency to these metasemiotically nouns is a rhetorical act on the part of the rhetors that enables them to construe these participants as catalysts for action. As Pitch's aim was to "challenge the rhetoric of the coup", he raises this "rhetoric" in terms of explanations, announcements or viewpoints to the status of Agent, and these explanations, announcements or viewpoints then engender a reaction or incite a response in other participants. The explanations make people think in certain ways, or alternatively, the explanations do not make people understand a situation or phenomenon. Similarly, Chaiwat raises problems such as the situation where a society relies on violence to solve political conflict or the reasoning of a philosopher to the status of Agent in the clause. These affect other participants in the clause in different ways, for example causing them to fall into a moral conundrum or to find the truth.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated how the agency (or lack of agency) of social actors in the three texts is realised through the roles that are allocated in the representation of these social actors in clauses or clause complexes. Role allocation was analysed through

the transitivity choices made by the three writers. However, while the analysis of transitivity highlighted participants in the grammar as Agent or Medium, there was a need to distinguish between agency as realised in the grammar and agency in a sociological sense involving human actors. In addition, as well as investigating the agency of social actors, grammatical agency that is revealed through a transitivity analysis also highlights those participants that are construed as causing social actors to act – that is, how ideas or events may impact on social actors.

The analysis of transitivity in the texts was further supported by an analysis of the degree of dynamism that the different roles possess. By focusing on the representation of the various social actors in terms of Hasan's cline of dynamism, we can discern some clear patterns whereby some social actors are represented as acting on the world while others are acted upon. The analysis of the various social actors in terms of the cline of dynamism highlights clear differences in the patterns of activation and passivation across the three texts. Indeed, the close analysis of the texts in terms of transitivity and the cline of dynamism provide an insight into the worlds created by the writers in support of their different positions. Without such a close analysis, we cannot uncover the cryptotypes in the grammar, and therefore cannot understand the ideological import of the texts (Halliday, 1987). A detailed analysis, for example, highlights the differences between the construal of the military in Pitch's text, where it is highly agentive and conveys the point that it was a key actor in disenfranchising Thai citizens, and in Khien's text, where it plays the role of the reluctant hero that had to act to save the nation from an evil tyrant.

The analysis of the three texts in terms of transitivity and the cline of dynamism has highlighted to some extent the values of the writers and the relationships of power that pertain between the various social actors instantiated in the texts. Agency and lack of agency as it is construed in Khien's text embodies conservative values, while Pitch's and Chaiwat's texts value more the rights of the citizen and the democratic process. For Khien, the role of the Thaksin government evolves, first construed as agent, with the dynamism accorded to this social actor negatively appraised. This reinforces the conservative argument that the Thaksin government posed an existential threat to the Thai political system, over which, of course, conservative forces have long held sway. Khien also hints at the threat this government posed for the monarchy by linking the

political process to the *lèse majesté* law. This threat is removed by actions of the military, specifically the coup group, and as a result the Thaksin government is instantiated in less dynamic roles such as Goal in a material process. In contrast, the military/coup group is represented with less agency/dynamism earlier in the text and with increased agency/dynamism once the justification for the coup has been made. The people also are represented with little agency, except in cases where they have to overcome a tyrannical government. For Pitch, the military and the state are represented with higher degrees of agency while the people, including *phrai* are more often lower on the cline of dynamism. This portrayal underscores the unequal power relations in Thai society and implicitly advances the argument that the coup served the interests of some rather than others. Similarly, for Chaiwat, the Thaksin government, though rarely explicitly named, appears on the lower end of the cline while an unnamed force is on the higher end of the cline. People and individuals, on the other hand, are represented as more dynamic, exercising greater degrees of agency through their intellectual endeavours.

While agency of social actors can be elicited through an analysis of transitivity and the cline of dynamism, the writers also deploy strategies that mitigate responsibility of some actors in the texts. For example, there is extensive use of embedding in all three texts. As discussed above, embedded clauses make a proposition unarguable. In addition, ellipsis of nominal groups also serves to background responsibility when the ellipsed nominal group can be retrieved from elsewhere in the co-text, or it can even suppress responsibility. For example, there are some cases in Chaiwat's text where the agent cannot be retrieved from the co-text. As discussed in previous chapters, the Mode and Tenor of Chaiwat's text, differs from Khien's and Pitch's texts in that Chaiwat's text was originally presented as a monologic spoken text (Mode) to a room of political scientists, creating a greater need to be fairly circumspect in the apportioning of any blame (Tenor). Furthermore, agency can also be elicited by looking beyond the clause to the clause complex. Dispersing the agency across clause boundaries can also serve to background the agent involved in the process.

Finally, the analysis has highlighted differences between Khien's text on the one hand and Pitch's and Chaiwat's texts on the other in terms of the level of abstraction dealt with in the texts, confirming other work in the area that describes differences

between popular history texts and academic texts (e.g., Thompson, 2008). This can also be conceived of as a cline from the more concrete construal of popular history texts that deal with people and facts that are taken as given, to the more abstract academic texts, dealing with concepts. Khien's text, with its higher use of material clauses and roles allocated to specific social actors, is more like the popular history text while Pitch's and Chaiwat's texts attend more to abstract concepts and ideas.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study explored how three rhetors, working with given capacities and under constraints imposed by a difficult socio-political context, exercised their agency in crafting and shaping their texts, including the representations contained within the texts. The study sought to answer the following research questions.

1. In times of intense political conflict, how do writers exercise agency in and through the writing of texts to support, oppose, challenge or subvert the status quo?

To answer this broader question, the following sub-questions were posed:

2. How do authors exercise their agency through the texts? That is, what linguistic and generic resources can a rhetor draw on to craft a text in order to persuade an audience to a particular position?

3. How is the agency of key social actors represented in the texts?

4. How do we interpret relationship between the rhetorical agency of the writers and the manner in which the agency of other social actors are represented in the texts?

In this final chapter, the main findings of the study in relation to the research questions will be summarised in Section 8.2. Question 2 is answered in Question 3 is answered in Section 8.2.2 and Question 4 is answered in Section 8.2.3. Section 8.3 discusses the findings in relation to context, text and agency (Section 8.3.1), genre (Section 8.3.2), interdiscursivity (Section 8.3.3), linguistic approaches to the analysis of agency (Section 8.3.4) and methodological implications (Section 8.3.5). Section 8.4 discusses the theoretical and pedagogical implications of these findings including the limitations of the study and suggests possibilities for future research.

8.2 Summary of findings

The texts that made up the data set of this study represent instances of broader social practices in the production of knowledge such as the publication of academic articles, delivery of keynote speeches, interpretation of social events and ongoing debate on philosophical principles. At the same time, the texts deal with sensitive subjects at a time when talking about them could pose either great opportunities or great risks for the writers. The study investigated how the three rhetors deployed generic and linguistic resources to participate in social practices while regulating the use of these resources to negotiate the politically fraught nature of the context (van Leeuwen, 2005a). This section summarises the main findings in relation to the research questions.

8.2.1 Rhetorical agency

The investigation of rhetorical agency in the texts sought to answer the question: How do authors exercise their agency through the texts? That is, what linguistic and generic resources can a rhetor draw on to craft a text in order to persuade an audience to a particular position? The study found that rhetorical agency is realised in the texts in a number of ways. It is realised through the way that rhetors appropriate different genres and combine and embed them to form their texts in a process of interdiscursivity. It is realised in the way that rhetors deploy the resources of periodicity, which they use to manage the flow of information in their texts and to direct the attention of the audience to salient points. It is also realised in the way that rhetors draw on other texts and other discourses and position their own texts in relation to these other texts and discourses, employing the resources of engagement. These aspects of rhetorical agency were presented in Chapter 5. Rhetorical agency is also realised in the text through the representation of social actors. In the process of crafting their texts, rhetors choose to include some social actors and not others. If included, social actors can be represented in different ways. For example, they can be represented as identifiable or anonymous or generic or specified, depending on the rhetorical purpose of the rhetor. The representation of social actors was the focus of Chapter 6. Rhetorical agency is also realised in the attribution of differing degrees of agency through transitivity choices, as detailed in Chapter 7. While the analytical tools that were used in the analysis of genre, periodicity and engagement in Chapter 5, representation of social actors in Chapter 6 and the system of transitivity and cline of dynamism in Chapter 7 were developed to

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analyse English texts, the findings from the study clearly indicate that these tools can also be successfully applied to investigate the Thai data.

The appropriation of elemental genres and combining and shaping them in different ways is a rhetorical act that is connected in a fundamental way to the exercise of agency by the rhetors. They achieved this by drawing on their expert knowledge of genres of argumentation and other genres that suited their rhetorical purposes, and by the affordances offered by their positions as scholars of political science. For example, they variously appropriated an exposition genre, with its basic structure of Thesis ^ Arguments ^ Reiteration of thesis, to persuade an audience to a particular point of view, a challenge genre, with its basic structure of Position challenged ^ Rebuttal ^ Anti-thesis, to argue against a particular position or a discussion genre, with its basic structure of Issue ^ Arguments ^ Resolution, to weigh up evidence on two or more sides of an argument to reach an interpretation or resolution. These genres are staged in fairly predictable ways to carry the argument forward and achieve particular rhetorical goals. These basic generic structures, however, taken from ideal structures identified in school history genres (e.g. Coffin, 2006; Martin & Rose, 2008) do not necessarily reflect what occurs in real practice. Rhetorical agents work within genre to “spin” the account in particular ways to serve their rhetorical purposes. This agency reflects what Bhatia has termed “the world of private intentions (i.e. exploitations of discourse by expert and established writers)” (2004, p. 18) and can be seen in the way that stages are manipulated for specific reasons. Chaiwat, for example, takes an indirect approach to realise his aims. This is manifested in the lengthy Background stage that Chaiwat uses to delay the challenge to his mentor and in the recurring Position challenged ^ Rebuttal stages in his challenge.

Interdiscursivity, as in the act of combining and embedding new genres within genre stages, is another rhetorical act that expresses the rhetorical agency of the rhetors. Interdiscursivity is thus essentially reflective of the social practice of the rhetor. The analysis identified a variety of genres in the three texts, including analytical exposition, hortatory exposition, discussion, explanation, exemplum and procedure genres. The texts were interdiscursive in the way that the rhetors wove together combinations of some of these genres to create different rhetorical effects and realise their rhetorical goals. The analysis of Khien’s text found that he drew on analytical exposition to justify

the staging of the coup and hortatory exposition to suggest a way to avoid a crisis in the future by rewriting parts of the constitution. Chaiwat's text was found to be interdiscursive in the way his text expanded through a series of three challenges, each challenge taking as its point of departure a point in Sombat's critique. Within the challenges, he embedded other genres such as a discussion genre to debate the meaning of politics and the political through two interpretations of Aristotle's *Politics*, and exempla to illustrate a point. Pitch's text was also interdiscursive in that it was structured as an analytical exposition to argue that the coup turned citizens into subjects, but within the exposition he also embedded a challenge genre to dispute the validity of the discourses about a good and necessary coup. The differences in the genres and the interdiscursivity in the way that they were combined or embedded across the three texts reflect the different rhetorical purposes, or the "private intentions" of the three writers as they exercised their agency through discourse.

Similarly, the link between schematic structure of the text and the rhetorical purpose of the rhetor was also observed in the analysis of staging and phasing of the texts. Staging and phasing were managed through the resources of periodicity coupled with the use of grammatical metaphor, which the rhetor deployed to different ends to create a certain effect. Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme were deployed to signpost the staging of the text. HyperThemes and macroThemes were deployed to focus the attention of the audience onto salient points. HyperThemes also helped review what came before and to foreshadow what followed in the unfolding argument. For example, Pitch moves his argument forward by means of grammatical metaphor and complex nominal groups with embedded clauses. This was used as a strategy to package information into the hyperThemes and macroThemes that recap the previous point before anticipating the next point. This strategy manages the flow of information by directing the audience from what has gone before to what to expect in the following stage or phase to move the argument forward. HyperNews were also used, for example by Khien, to summarise and evaluate the meanings in a stage or phase, a strategy that supported his legitimation of the actions of the military and established the need for the military to act. Saliency is also indicated at the level of Theme, for example through the use of thematic equatives, such as *what is interesting is...* in Chaiwat's text, which serve to direct the attention of the audience onto a key point. Theme also signalled a point of departure for the clause, and recurrent Themes helped to establish the field of discourse,

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for example in Pitch's first paragraph with the repetition of *phrai* and other words to refer to classifications of people.

The staging and phasing of the genres were also exploited by the rhetors, for example to introduce a point gradually in order to negotiate constraints imposed by the context such as the relations of power that exist between teacher and student or the legal restrictions imposed by the *lèse majesté* law. The analysis of Chaiwat's text highlighted the way that he deployed this strategy of indirectness to delay the challenge to his mentor, Sombat, until he had prepared the ground and established the expertise of Aristotle, despite this challenge being the stated reason for writing this text (Chaiwat interview, 12/1/12). It was argued that this strategy of delayed challenge was highly interpersonal, achieved through crafting of the genre stages and periodicity in the text, by accumulating evidence and building up the expertise before coming to the point gradually, realising the point in the position of hyperNew or macroNew. The insertion of a lengthy background stage at the beginning of the text assisted the cautious approach that Chaiwat took to make his challenge. This preference for end-weight supports other work on genre analysis in Thai (Hinds, 1990; Jogthong, 2001) and on politeness strategies in Thai (Khanittanan, 1988a; Srinarawat, 2005). The delayed challenge can also be interpreted as a response to the relations of power, in this case the relation of student to teacher, inherent in the Thai socio-political context and manifested discursively.

Periodicity, specifically choices of Theme, was also deployed to signal the dialogism in the texts in terms of the shifts in speaker between the rhetor and external voices. That is, to respond to Sombat in his text, Chaiwat moves through a series of phases that are identified by shifts in speaker, realised as Theme. For example, in his first challenge, Chaiwat organises the dialogue between *Ajarn Sombat* and *khâaphacâw* – *I* as Theme in verbal and mental processes. This clearly establishes the exchange occurring between these two social actors. Thus, through the use of tools of periodicity, the writers are able to express their agency by staging and phasing the genres and to manage the argument and direct the audience to what is salient.

External voices are managed in the texts not only through unfolding dialogic phases but also the extent to which the rhetors align themselves, or not, with other texts

and discourses. It was argued that these strategies positioned the audiences to accept or reject arguments in support of the coup and was an expression of agency by the writers. The management of external voices was observed through an analysis of the Appraisal system of Engagement. The analytical tools of Engagement revealed how the writers sought to align the readers to a particular stance on an issue or distance them from others. For example, each writer employs a strategy whereby he expands and then contracts the dialogic space through shifts in phase. For example, Chaiwat expands the dialogic space by first acknowledging the position of Sombat on an issue and then contracts the space by pronouncing his own position. These shifts in phase are also characterised by shifts in Mood choices, from declarative to interrogative. It was argued that these changes in Mood were a strategy to negotiate solidarity with the audience on an issue that had polarised the country. The analysis of Pitch's text also found that he deployed choices in the Engagement system to expand and then contract the dialogic space so as to position his audience. Pitch expands the dialogic space by acknowledging the explanations of the coup group as to the necessity of the coup before he contracts the space through denial and distancing. Khien also expands the dialogic space, for example by acknowledging the complexity of different voices both supporting and opposing the coup, only to close down this space by countering these views with a concession and counter-claim. Both Chaiwat and Khien were also found to use endorsement to a great extent, aligning their positions with those of well-known and positively appraised external sources. The management of external voices in these ways is another manner in which the rhetors exercised agency through the texts.

The Engagement analysis identified a second aspect of interdiscursivity – the appropriation of ideological discourses that prevailed in the Thai socio-political context. As an example, Pitch invokes the discourse of the “good coup” and why the coup was a necessary act before distancing himself and his audience from this discourse, by means of a metasemiotic noun such as *kaan-ḡāaḡḡiḡ – claim*. Pitch also effectively subverts the discourse of “the people” by making a pronouncement that links citizens with *phrai* that closes the dialogic space. The analysis of intertextuality and how the audiences are positioned in relation to external voices offers glimpses of the rhetors' ideological or political inclinations vis-à-vis the coup, the discourses that were used to support or reject the coup as well as their positions vis-à-vis other events of the time.

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Interdiscursivity was shown to be a rhetorical device through which the rhetors expressed their agency to negotiate the various constraints imposed by the socio-political context. Interdiscursivity was illustrated in the way that the rhetors appropriated different genres and combined and staged these in novel ways to construct their arguments. This aspect of interdiscursivity was revealed in the genre analysis of the three texts, including the deployment of the discourse semantic tools of periodicity. The rhetors also appropriated various discourses that prevailed in the Thai socio-political context at the time and incorporated them into their texts in different ways to either reject these discourses or to modify them or rearrange some of their key elements and claims. This aspect of interdiscursivity was highlighted in the engagement analysis of the three texts.

The representation of social actors in the texts also serves the rhetorical purposes of the rhetors and can thus be considered to be another expression of rhetorical agency. A key contrast to note in the texts was whether a social actor was included, suppressed or excluded altogether. The choice to include, suppress or exclude a social actor depended on a number of factors including the purpose in creating the text, the ideological positions of the writers vis-à-vis the coup and also on the various constraints imposed by the social context. For example, Khien's purpose was to justify the staging of the coup, so government and the military were key actors in his text. Because Khien's position was pro-coup, the military is appraised positively while the Thaksin government is appraised negatively. Chaiwat's purpose on the other hand was to respond to his teacher and debate him on a philosophical matter, so government and military were less frequently instantiated in the text, but individuals such as Sombat, Aristotle and other scholars of Aristotle were explicitly referred to, named and appraised. Chaiwat also explicitly referred to himself. The focus on these individuals in Chaiwat's text gives the text an exclusive quality. In fact, in Chaiwat's own words and as indicated earlier in this thesis, his article was "a very in-house sort of thing" (Interview, 25/11/09). Pitch's purpose was to challenge the rhetoric of the coup and to expose the particular interests at work, especially how the coup produced winners and losers as exemplified by the way it turned citizens into *phrai*. For this reason, people such as *phrai* and citizens were represented frequently, as were the military, and particularly the coup group.

In contrast, actors are excluded from or suppressed in the texts because they do not contribute to the development of the argument, their legitimacy and authority is symbolically withdrawn, or in some cases, exclusions may be a necessary choice as the writers attempt to negotiate restrictions on what or who can be talked about. A notable absence from Khien's text was Thaksin, who was only represented as modifier such as in the *Thaksin government*. It was argued that this absence was an attempt to strip Thaksin of any agency and thus to delegitimise him. There are other examples of this type of backgrounding also. Pitch represents the state, for example, as possessivated, as in *the power of the state, a tool of the state*. These representations background the agency of this actor – it is the state that possesses power and the state that possesses the tool, though in these representations it is not construed as an actor in its own right. This strategy makes the agency of the state less obvious. The monarchy and the king are extremely difficult topics to talk about in the Thai context in relation to events such as the coup because of the stringent *lèse majesté* law. As a result, these social actors are for the most part excluded from Khien's and Chaiwat's texts while Pitch's representations of the king avoid attributing any kind of responsibility to this social actor.

The three texts all used nominalisation, the effect being to suppress or exclude totally some social actors from the texts. All texts at some point represent the coup in the form *kaantham rátthaprahāan – the staging of the coup* where the actors who did the staging are not given. The analysis showed that Khien used this exclusion strategically. The military are not linked to this act until the case has been built that the Thaksin government needed to be deposed. This is another example of how a rhetor can exercise rhetorical agency by exploiting linguistic resources to create a particular effect. The coup makers are also suppressed in Chaiwat's text through grammatical metaphor and also through ellipsis. By doing this, Chaiwat avoids any overt attribution of responsibility for the coup to any explicit individual, group or institution. This is an example of Chaiwat working within certain relations of power and within certain constraints set by the political context in which he was speaking as the keynote speaker of the 7th Annual Meeting of Political Science and Administration. It was safer to avoid any mention of the perpetrators of the coup than to explicitly tie an actor to the event. Thus the inclusion or exclusion of social actors from the texts is a choice on the part of the rhetor that expresses their rhetorical agency and reflects their rhetorical purposes.

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The representation of social actors is shaped in various ways to create a rhetorical effect. For the social actors that are included in the texts, the analysis found that distinctions are made between social actors that are represented in vaguer, more unspecified terms, and those that are represented more explicitly. Representing some social actors as genericised makes these actors anonymous and removed from immediate experience (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is a feature of academic discourse, for example when characterising traits or identifying behaviours or patterns. In contrast, other social actors are specified, classified or nominated to bring these actors into sharper focus for the audience or to categorise them. However, representations of a given actor may not necessarily be fixed or constant through the unfolding of the text, but are manipulated to serve a particular rhetorical purpose. Such manipulation is a clear indicator of how the rhetor crafts the text to create a particular effect and draw the readers in. For example, Khien represents governments or sovereign powers (*rátthāathípàt*) in generic terms in order to establish a normative view of how government should behave and the consequences of transgressing that standard of behaviour. Government is then represented as specified, such as *the Thaksin government*, to contrast its behaviour with the normative position. That is, Khien depicts government as generic to represent how things should be and as specific to represent how things are. Similarly, he represents the military in generic terms before specifying the military group that staged the coup, and these representations, in conjunction with other choices in the social actor network such as appraisal – negative for the Thaksin government and positive for the military – reveal his ideological stance on the coup.

The analysis of social actors in the texts provided some insight into the ideological nature of representation. Khien's representation of the Thaksin government and the military cited above is one example of this. Another example of how representations can be ideological occurs in Pitch's text. The most frequent representation of people in Pitch's text is generic and classified. This representation serves Pitch's purpose, to underscore the deprivation of political agency created by the coup. *Phrai* is a central actor in Pitch's text, represented as a classification in terms of class and also genericised, so that they remain an anonymous group. The representation in terms of class is essential to the meaning of the text, as Pitch construes the inequalities inherent in Thai society based on social structures such as class. The lack of

agency of this social actor was highlighted in the analysis in Chapter 6 in the way that *phrai* was realised as modifier in the nominal group, for example, *kaankhúmkehrōy phrây* – *the protection of phrai* and *kaandamronyūu khōy phrây* – *the existence of phrai*. These and similar representations emphasise the way that this particular class of social actors have been “passivised” because their citizenship rights have been stripped. In other words, it is their exclusion and marginalisation from politics that makes them passive.

Interdiscursivity in the appropriation of discourses to fulfill a rhetor’s “private intentions” (Bhatia, 2004) was also evident in the social actor analysis. The category of overdetermination-deviation in van Leeuwen’s (2008) social actor network was identified as a strategy by which the writer was able to promote and even resist some of the dominant discourses in Thailand. As stated above, Pitch’s text depicts the people such as *phrai* as passive and lacking agency, which ties into the discourses of the people in the Thai socio-political context. The coupling of *citizens* with *phrai* is a form of deviation in the way that it connects citizens (with political agency) to *phrai* (with no political agency) so the practices with which citizens are connected are essentially opposites to the practices of *phrai*, and the actors that they are associated with would not “be eligible to engage in these activities” (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 50-51), that is, taking part in political life. For Pitch and many other Thai people, the coup marked a turning point in democracy in Thailand. Deposing an elected government by means of a military coup signalled a contempt for the democratic rights of citizens and the democratic process in Thailand. For Pitch, it was an indication that the strict social hierarchy that was a dominant feature of Thai society in pre-modern times was still very much alive and resurgent. By positioning *phrai-citizens* in this way, Pitch expresses his agency by challenging the commonly accepted views about the so-called ignorant masses.

Overdetermination-deviation was also identified in Khien’s text in the way that Thaksin or the Thaksin government was represented as a *criminal*. This connects the practices of the politician with the practices of the criminal, a deviation from the norm. The effect that these two deviations have on the respective texts is critical. For Khien’s text, the representation of Thaksin as a criminal is clearly interdiscursive as it appropriates and perpetuates the discourse of the corrupt politician. In contrast, while

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the representation of *phrai* in Pitch's text taps into the discourses of the people as politically ignorant, the connection of citizens with *phrai*, in a strategy of deviation, is a clear challenge to this discourse.

Finally, rhetorical agency was also evident in the strategic use of the resources of transitivity that enable the writer to represent social actors engaging in social practices with other social actors. The relations that are established between these actors and other events or ideas construct the world in ways that evoke particular interpretations or responses from a putative audience. These representations, then, need to be seen as way for the rhetor to position an audience to accept an argument. The contrast in the representation of the military in the three texts illustrates this exercise of rhetorical agency. Pitch frequently represents the military as a generic participant and the specified coup group at the high end of the cline of dynamism. This representation supports Pitch's thesis that the coup, perpetrated by the military on behalf of the state, effectively divested the people of their political agency. The military in Khien's text appears at the extreme ends of the cline – both highly agentive as Actor-Agent and also very passive as Goal-Medium. The change in dynamism from high to low and then back to high creates an image of the military, and specifically the coup group, as the reluctant hero, deprived of its political rights but asserting itself when faced with the conflict that occurred in the country. Khien's attribution of agency to the people provides another example of his own expression of agency in order to legitimise the overthrow of a sovereign ruler. The analysis of transitivity also found that the three rhetors did not portray only human or institutional actors as highly dynamic. They often construed semiosis in the texts in analytical causative constructions whereby agency or causation was attributed to an external force.

What has emerged from the analysis of rhetorical agency is that an in-depth analysis of different grammatical systems is necessary to reveal how the grammar of agency is realised in Thai. As Halliday (1985, 1987) argues a detailed analysis of the grammar of a text can raise to consciousness covert patterns – the “cryptotypes” (Whorf, 1956) or “cryptogrammar” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 569) that is encoded in the language. These covert patterns are largely unconscious, but a careful analysis of the grammar of a text at the levels of discourse semantics and lexicogrammar can lead to a deeper understanding of the ideological content of texts

(Halliday, 1985). The analysis of Thai political science texts in this study revealed that realisations of agency in Thai are diverse and require a comprehensive analysis of a range of different grammatical and discourse semantic systems.

8.2.2 Represented agency

The analysis of represented agency in the three texts sought to answer the following research question: How is the agency of key social actors represented in the texts? The findings suggest that agency is realised in the texts in a number of ways. It can be embedded in the nominal group, such as in nominalisations or embedded clauses that function to modify a head noun, discussed in Chapter 6; it can be represented in the participant roles in the clause; and it can be represented across clause boundaries in the clause complex, discussed in Chapter 7. The tools of SFL and van Leeuwen's social actor network, though developed to analyse English texts, were applied successfully to the Thai data with some minor modifications to the type of activation social actor and the cline of dynamism.

The explicit attribution of agency to participants was realised in the texts in a number of ways by drawing on the resources of Thai grammar. It was represented most obviously through configurations of participants, processes and circumstances. Considering the different process types in terms of the degree of dynamism helped uncover patterns in the representations of agency and lack of agency of selected social and institutional actors. These patterns link to the focus of subject matter and the ideological inclinations of each rhetor. For example, the coup group was represented as highly agentive in Pitch's text, occurring frequently at the high end of the cline of dynamism. It was argued that this representation supported the thesis of Pitch's text that the coup, perpetrated by the military on behalf of the state, effectively divested the people of their political agency. The military in Khien's text appears at extreme ends of the cline – both highly agentive as Actor/Agent and also very passive as Goal. These divergent representations reflect the way that Khien positioned this actor to promote a particular interpretation of the military. The study also revealed that agency of a social actor can be distributed across clause boundaries. For example, the Thaksin government occurred in an enhancing hypotactic clause complex of cause in Khien's text and the agency of this actor was distributed across the clause boundary to impact on the judiciary. In these structures, the agency of the Actor in the α (alpha) clause impacts on

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a Goal, which then becomes the Actor in the subsequent β (beta) clause. As cause and effect is a key relationship in these arguments about the coup and who did what to whom under what circumstances and with what consequences, these linguistic resources to attribute agency are significant.

The inverse situation also needs to be considered in a study of agency, since the agency of an actor is likely to impact on and affect another participant. Compared to the representation of the military, the coup group or the government, the representation of people in the three texts was for the most part low or lacking in agency except for some representations in Khien's text where he ascribes agency to the people who rise up to topple a tyrannical leader. Again, this is a rhetorical move by Khien to support his claims that "the people" have a right to oust a corrupt leader who has broken the social contract. Apart from this specific representation, however, the people were more likely found to be passive, described and categorised, or appearing as Actor/Medium or in a Circumstance rather than activated.

As stated above, the three rhetors, and particularly Chaiwat and Pitch, represent non-human participants such as events and semiosis as highly dynamic in the texts. This was a rhetorical act through which these rhetors could position ideas, explanations or claims as catalysts for action or reaction of a human agent. That is, they construe ideas as powerful forces motivating people to act in certain ways. These participants occurred in analytical causative constructions that construe external causation in the clause. The Agent in the analytical causative was assigned the greatest degree of dynamism on the cline. In the Thai texts, analytical causatives were identified with material, mental, relational-attributive, relational-identifying, existential and verbal processes. These clause types express the agency of human and institutional agents, as in (K7.12) ...*"thəɔrarâat"// tham hây saphâap "prachaarât" mót sîn pay///* – the tyrant caused the "people's state" to be ended, the tyrant referring to the corrupt sovereign ruler. But they also express the agency of other abstract agents such as events as in (C35.13) *saphâap chên nîi tham hây Todorov sarùp wáy nay náŋsũŋ khǒŋ khǎw* – this situation made Todorov conclude in his book ..., with the situation referring to the survival of 50,000 Bulgarian Jews during the Second World War, or metasemiotic nouns to represent meaning or semiosis as in (P42.2) *nææwkhít r̄aŋ kaanpen thahǎan ʔaachiip nán yîŋ tham hây thahǎan yûŋ k̄aw k̄ap kaanm̄uaŋ mâak kh̄n* – the idea of military

professionalism makes the military meddle even more in politics. This is an effective way to represent causation in these political science texts in which relationships of cause and effect play an important role.

The writers also adopt strategies to background the agency of some social actors in the texts. Indeed, the analysis highlighted cryptotypical patterns of representation, revealing ideological processes at work in the texts (Halliday, 1987). Once again, this emphasises the need for close analysis of texts undertaken in this study. The state in Pitch's text was shown to be highly agentive but much of its agency was packaged into the nominal group with the state realised as modifier to the head noun, or possessivated in van Leeuwen's (2008) terms. For example, *the power of the state* and *a tool of the state* construe the state as agentive even if the nominal group does not appear in a clause type that is high in dynamism. Similarly, the use of the passive voice with Agent realised as Adjunct in the clause, backgrounds the agency, as in (P31.9) (*phrai*) *tôn thùuk khûapkhum dooy phûu pòkkrṛṅṅ* – (*phrai*) *must be controlled by the governors*. In some cases, this backgrounding could be seen as a strategy to mitigate responsibility. For example, Pitch's representations of the king backgrounded any agency for example through a circumstance that was embedded within another embedded clause such as when *phrai* are *protected by the modern legal system that is "royally bestowed" from the king*. By placing the participant on the periphery of the clause, the rhetor displaces the agency of the participant. Conversely, *phrai*, were also represented frequently as modifier in the nominal group, but the representations were passive rather than active, as illustrated above in the previous section. The social actor analysis suggests that the particular representations of social actors as more or less agentive are a reflection of the writers' own purpose, their angle on the field of discourse, as well as the particular ideological stance of the rhetor on an issue. These insights into the agency of social actors would not be evident without such detailed analyses of texts at the level of the lexicogrammar.

8.2.3 Relationship between rhetorical and represented agency

The final research question asked: How do we interpret the relationship between the rhetorical agency of the writers and the manner in which the agency of social actors is represented in the texts? The analysis revealed that it is necessary to consider the representations in a text as an expression of the rhetorical agency of the writer. This is

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because the accounts of events and the social actors involved in those events are not neutral. What is selected for attention and the kinds of relations these things have to one another are profoundly affected by the stance of the rhetor and the intentions or goals they have in the creation of their texts. That is, the rhetorical agency of the rhetor conditions the represented agency as manifested in the text. For example, Khien, whose stance on the coup is that it was a necessary and legitimate act, represents the coup group in positive terms and the Thaksin government in highly negative terms. When the two social actors are depicted in relation to each other, the military is activated and the Thaksin government highly passivated. In contrast, Pitch, who is opposed to the coup, represents the coup group and the state as highly agentive in relation to citizens and *phrai*. Their representations of these social actors reflect their positions as well as their private intentions.

The overarching research question in this study was: in times of intense political change and crisis, how can writers exercise agency in and through the writing of texts to support, oppose, challenge or subvert the status quo? To answer the research question, the analysis of agency in these political science texts took a topological approach (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991). This was because, as stated above, the realisations of agency are diverse, and by just focusing on one aspect of the grammar, for example, how agency is realised through the system of transitivity, we would miss other important realisations of agency that are carried through linguistic means other than transitivity. To begin, adopting a dual notion of agency requires an approach that goes beyond just the representational aspects of agency, but involves analyses at the macro-level of the text as well as the micro-level. There were a number of linguistic strategies that the writers deployed in the exercise of agency in this fraught political climate. At the macro-level of the text, the writers deployed the resources of genre to take part in social practices. However, as expert users of genre in the Thai academic context, they were able to exploit different genres and discourses to create macrogenres, texts that were highly complex and interdiscursive in order to take part in the social practices of academics and public intellectuals and negotiate the difficult socio-political terrain. The writers deployed the discourse semantic resources of periodicity to stage and phase their arguments, drawing attention to some points over others and signalling this through resources of Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme. At the same time, the rhetors deployed engagement resources to weave external texts and discourses into their texts to

position their readers to accept or reject alternative claims. At the micro-level, a close analysis of the lexicogrammar was also necessary to reveal how the writers achieved their rhetorical goals through the representation of social actors in the lexicogrammar. Even the representational aspects of agency at the micro-level of the text require a broader view than just realisations in one typological system like transitivity. While transitivity is a key system to highlight agency in the clause, the grammar in the clause complex also reveals how agency of a social actor can be distributed across clause boundaries. At the level of the clause, the notion of the cline of dynamism reveals more subtle features of agency, highlighting degrees of agency of different social actors. At the level of the nominal group, agency can be discerned through an analysis of social actors following van Leeuwen's network. The analysis of ideational metaphor also reveals how agency becomes obscured with the nominalisation of a process. These different realisations of agency as outlined above are summarised below in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Topology of linguistic representations of agency in the Thai texts

Genre	Appraisal	Clause complex	Clause	Group, word
Genres of argumentation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analytical exposition Hortatory exposition Challenge Discussion Other genres: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explanation Exemplum Procedure 	Engagement analysis – agency of rhetor is implied in the choices made in the text to align or disalign readers from other texts and discourses.	Hypotactic enhancement ($\alpha \times \beta$) cause: purpose – agency is distributed across clause boundaries	Analytical causative (with verbal group complex) (<i>tham hây</i> , benefactive with <i>hây</i> , inductive) – external agent in ergative analysis	Grammatical metaphor, nominalisation – agency is obscured when the process becomes a Thing.
			Participant – process – circumstance configuration middle or effective +/- Agent	Representation of social actors – as included, excluded, generic, specific, functionalised, classified, nominated, etc.
			Cline of dynamism – plots representations from most to least dynamic	Nominal group/modification – agency is backgrounded in possessive nominal group or when agent is realised as modifier
Staging and phasing of genres – analysed through periodicity			Embedded clause – agency is displaced, not negotiable	Nominal group/modification – agency is specified in embedded clause in the nominal group
Combination of genres through expansion and embedding – Interdiscursivity				

8.3 Theoretical significance

This study applied SFL theory (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin, 1992), genre theory (Coffin, 2006a; Martin & Rose, 2008) and van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor network to the analysis of Thai academic discourse in political science, written at a time of significant political conflict. The data corpus was limited to three, albeit long and complex, texts, and these texts were not identical in terms of register/ field, tenor and mode (one was originally a speech, one was published online, and the focus on the coup differed between the three). This poses problems for comparison of the texts. Therefore, the study was not an attempt to develop the theory per se. Rather, the thrust of the exercise was to apply a range of concepts to new Thai material. This being said, some contributions of the study to genre theory, SFL theory, and linguistic typology can be noted.

The study undertook to explore how agency is expressed in and through language. The findings outlined above demonstrate that the expression of agency can be investigated through an analysis of texts at the macro-level as well as a close analysis of the texts at the micro-level. These methods illuminate the ways in which the writers realise or manifest their agency amid the enablers that form the necessary conditions and resources to act and the constraints that might inhibit any action. It is important to recognise the link between the two dimensions of discourse that framed this study – discourse as a form of social practice or the rhetorical agency of the writers, and discourse as representation, or the represented agency of the social actors in the text (van Leeuwen, 1993). The representation of degrees of agency or lack of agency as the case may be in the texts is a vehicle through which writers construct a particular view of reality – a view or perspective that can be elicited through the analysis of transitivity and dynamism. The findings outlined above suggest a number of issues regarding these two dimensions of agency and their interconnections that are worthy of further discussion. These include the connections between context and text and how the agency of the rhetor is implicated in a model of context (to be discussed in Section 8.3.1), the essentially rhetorical nature of genre (to be discussed Section 8.3.2), the notion of interdiscursivity as a form of social practice (to be discussed in Section 8.3.3), the linguistic and typological implications of a study of agency in Thai (Section 8.3.4) and methodological implications of the study (Section 8.3.5).

8.3.1 Context, text and agency

This study has grappled with the notion of context. On the one hand, in relation to the text analysis, it adopts an SFL view of context, with context of situation as “the immediate environment in which a text is functioning”, realised as the variables of field, tenor and mode, and context of culture as “the broader background against which the text has to be interpreted” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 46). Martin (1992) takes Halliday’s concept of context of culture further and interprets context of culture semiotically, as genre, above the level of register. On the other hand, this study adopts a view of context including the material and social conditions (relationships of power) within which acts of meaning are produced by rhetors engaged in particular kinds of social practices, of which the text is the product. This is because, when the focus is on agency as a social construct and on the relationship between agency and social structure, the notion of context needs to include not only the linguistic and generic features in the texts, but also “extralinguistic” social factors as well as the broader social, political and historical realities. This focus on non-linguistic factors aligns with the Discourse Historical Approach to critical discourse analysis proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 93). Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 24) also argues for the need to take a sociological view of agency rather than a purely linguistic view so as not to miss instances of agency in a text. The analysis of agency in this study considered not only the “text-internal” and “text-external” aspects of genre (Bhatia, 2004) but also the extralinguistic arrangements of power in Thai society including hierarchy and monarchy as well as the physical and spatial features of the socio-political context that impacted on the exercise of agency, that enabled and constrained these agents’ ability to act in the world.

While the debates on the relationship between agency and structure are complex and beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with in any great depth, it is useful to return to the discussion of agency outlined in Chapter 3. Agency was defined as the socially mediated capacity of human actors to perform specific tasks to realise their goals, including the production of discourse. The exercise of agency, say in the production of texts, always occurs within particular historical, cultural and institutional settings and these settings both enable and constrain a rhetor’s capacity to produce a text. Debates on language, agency and structure in the social sciences (Carter & Sealey, 2000; Potter & Fairclough, 2000) suggest that analysis should focus on how social actors navigate or

mediate their way between the potentialities of agency and the structural constraints that are inherent in any given social context. Fairclough (Potter & Fairclough, 2000, p. 25) thus suggests that accounts of the interconnections between agency and structure are needed. The view in this thesis is that agency and structure are elements of the context of culture (see Figure 8.1). It is argued that the analysis of agency in the three texts, through the application of genre theory, sheds light on the particular strategies by which the writers were able to mediate between agency and structure, traces of which can be discerned in the texts. That is, genre as “a staged goal-oriented social process” (Martin, 1992) can be viewed as a mediating category that makes the link between agency and structures more visible. This is a position supported by Schryer and Spoel (2005) in their analysis of the communication practices of health professionals.

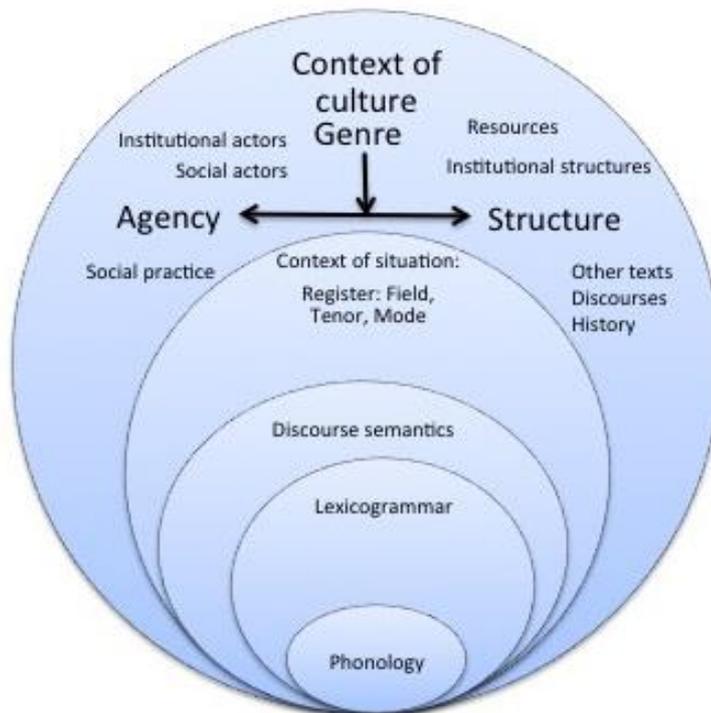


Figure 8.1 Agency and structure as aspects of context of culture, mediated by genre (adapted from Martin, 2011, p. 103)

If we view these texts as forms of social practice, we can see that the world-views that are represented in these three texts take fairly clear positions on various aspects of the political conflict that defined the Thai socio-political context of that time. Indeed, the analysis of represented agency in the three texts captures the “critical juncture”, referred to in Hewison (2013) and discussed in Chapter 2. That is, the old, conservative ideas used to uphold status, hierarchy, exclusion and “Thai-style

democracy”, represented in Khien’s text through the depiction of Thaksin and the need to overthrow a despot, are being fundamentally challenged by newer ideas of equality, access and populism (p. 195) as represented in Pitch’s and Chaiwat’s texts. Pitch’s text, in fact, highlights these elements both of the “old” as well as the ideals of the “new” in the way that he couples *phrai*, representing the old Thai social hierarchy, with *citizen*, representing the newer political ideals of equality and a more robust representative democracy. Future studies of texts produced during this conflict could focus on the various speeches produced, for example, by the red shirt and/or the yellow shirt protestors to gain some insight into how these groups also framed the conflict and engaged with, modified, reproduced or challenged the dominant discourses. Are *phrai* more agentive in the red shirt texts? Are *phrai* represented in the yellow shirt texts? If so, are they more or less agentive? How are they appraised? As the political space for debate has narrowed even further since the coup in 2014 and with the death of the Thai king in October 2016, critical discourse analyses are even more crucial if we are to understand how rhetors are able to intervene into the public discourse and deal with the persistence of unequal relations of power.

8.3.2 Genre

The focus of this study on how agency is realised in language highlights the essentially rhetorical nature of genre (Schryer & Spoel, 2005). Expert users of academic discourse appropriate and exploit genres and discourses to serve their rhetorical purposes. Genre therefore needs to be understood rhetorically, as a form of social practice. As argued above, genre theory helps the analyst view and explore the interconnections between structure and agency in the social practices of public intellectuals. By analysing genre at the macro-level in terms of generic structure and at the micro-level in terms of the realisation of field, tenor and mode as discourse semantics and lexicogrammar, the analyst can gain some insights into the way in which agency is actually expressed as rhetors take part in social practice – how actors deploy their repertoire of linguistic resources and extralinguistic knowledge to negotiate the constraints inherent in the social context that might inhibit their agency. The analysis of the texts, which are instances of these social practices, reveal the linguistic strategies that rhetors deploy to argue a case, defend a position, address an audience, call an audience to action.

As expert writers, the three rhetors of this study were enabled by their knowledge of genres (Bhatia, 2004), their specialist knowledge of the field and their academic positions. At the same time, they were also constrained in what could and could not be said, in this case by the nature of the conflict and the prevailing structures of power in the Thai context in which the dominating powers shape and define interpretations of the nature of the conflict, promoting some interpretations and voices and marginalising others in the attempt to control the discursive agenda. For Khien, who concurs with this dominant pro-monarchy, pro-military agenda, these features of the social context were more permissive whereas Chaiwat and Pitch needed to structure their arguments rather more carefully. However, despite these constraints, or perhaps because of these constraints, the analysis indicated that the writers deployed genres in novel ways to achieve their rhetorical purposes. For example, one way their purpose was achieved was by preparing the ground with a background stage, in Chaiwat's case quite lengthy, before advancing or challenging a particular interpretation of the need for a coup. Another strategy was to expand a text, for example with serial challenge genres to respond to each point in a critique or to expand on an analytical exposition with a hortatory exposition to legitimate the military's actions before suggesting a change to the constitution to avoid similar problems in the future. A final strategy was to embed one genre inside another such as an exemplum genre to illustrate a point or discussion genre embedded into a challenge genre to debate an issue to support the challenge. This creative use of the resources of genre, by combining and shaping generic forms and appropriating dominant discourses such as the discourses of corrupt politicians or the naïve and uneducated masses, can thus, given the context, be understood as a form of resistance (Fairclough & Kress, 1993, as cited in Wodak, 2002, p. 12).

An example of the manipulation of generic structure for rhetorical purposes was illustrated in Chapter 5 in the way that Chaiwat's text deployed a strategy of indirectness. This was a clear example of how Chaiwat chose to negotiate the relationships of power that imposed constraints on his ability to directly challenge his teacher and mentor. As a result, the statement of purpose and the challenge to the critique was delayed in the text. This delay was achieved through staging and phasing in order to build up the background and support for the argument before launching into the response to Sombat. While indirectness has long been a topic of interest in research into

politeness in language (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987), this strategy of indirectness may also be interpreted as a way of negotiating power.

8.3.3 Interdiscursivity

The study indicates that an investigation of agency can also profitably advance a broad view of genre that encompasses the notion of interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity offers a means by which to integrate linguistic analysis with an analysis of agency as a social phenomenon. It views texts as products of different social practices in which writers express or realise their agency by exploiting a combination of generic resources to achieve a rhetorical purpose. Thus, interdiscursivity provides a fluid and socially oriented view of genre. As discussed in Chapter 3, Fairclough (1992, 2003, 2013) identifies two forms of intertextuality: manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity). Interdiscursivity for Fairclough includes the combination of genres and discourses in the construction of a text. Bhatia (2004; 2010; 2012) also makes a distinction between intertextuality, in which texts and voices, that is “text-internal” resources, are incorporated into a text, and interdiscursivity, in which rhetors appropriate and combine “text-external” resources, including generic resources (2012, p. 25). In SFL, interdiscursivity can be illustrated through an analysis of macrogenre (Martin, 1994) to highlight the linguistic realisations of genre mixing. In addition, the analysis of texts through the system of Engagement in SFL can highlight the interdiscursive appropriation of dominant discourses in the text. What the study has confirmed is the need to understand genre interdiscursively as a dynamic social process in which the rhetor can manipulate and shape their texts to achieve a particular rhetorical effect subject to the opportunities and limitations afforded by both the discursive and non-linguistic context.

More detailed research is needed into the analysis of genre and interdiscursivity in Thai academic texts, particularly from the perspective of SFL to extend and offer more nuanced findings regarding the way that linguistic resources and appropriation of genres and discourses are used strategically to achieve a rhetorical purpose. The texts in this study indicate that there are similarities between academic discourse in Thai and English. However, some differences were observed, such as the detailed Background or Orientation stages, particularly in Khien’s and Chaiwat’s texts, and the delayed statement of Theme. Whether this is a feature of Thai discourse, as Hinds (1990) for

example has suggested that Thai expository writing prefers an inductive style with delayed statement of purpose, or whether it is present in these texts because of the sensitive nature of the content cannot be fully determined from an analysis of only three texts. As stated in Chapter 3, while there are some studies on genre and rhetorical traditions in Thai (e.g. Somsongse Burusphat, 1991; Hinds, 1990; Jogthong, 2001; Kanoksilapatham, 2007; Kanoksin, 1989; Knox & Patpong, 2008; Knox et al., 2010; Patpong, 2006) and student instruction manuals on academic writing also exist for Thai (e.g. Laksanasiri & Imsamran, 2008; Suwantada et al., 2010), a more comprehensive study into the genres of argumentation, and into disciplinary discourses in Thai is worthy of investigation. The studies cited here cover mainly narrative genres, science research articles, and media discourse. Further work on expository discourses from the humanities or social sciences is needed to complement these studies. Also important is an investigation into interdiscursivity in Thai academic discourse. Is the interdiscursive nature of these three texts a feature of other academic texts in Thai political science or in other disciplines, and to what extent? To date, except for the work of Knox and Patpong (2008), Knox, Patpong and Piriyasilpa (2010) and Patpong (2006), there is little work that applies SFL theory to Thai. This study offers a small contribution in this direction.

8.3.4 Linguistic approaches to the analysis of agency

While van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic network takes a more sociological approach to the analysis of social actors in discourse, a transitivity analysis helps to reveal not only how these social actors are activated or passivated in the text but also how other participants such as semiosis are realised in semantic relationships of causation. These participants cannot be considered social agents as such, but the analytical causative construction that writers deploy is a rhetorical strategy to show how words, explanations, ideas or other semiosis cause other social actors to act. The system network of Transitivity (Agency and Process type) as presented in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 355) does not account for the different analytical causative constructions that appear to be a productive resource for construing causation in Thai academic writing. It appears that these analytical causatives can occur with all process types in Thai, unlike the system network for English suggests. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) only include Initiator, Attributor and Assigner in the system network, though in Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 157), Creator (Agent participant in an existential

clause) is also identified. In the Thai data, the analytical causative occurred with all process types except relational-possessive processes. However, it is not enough to just identify these differences. Future studies need to investigate more fully the analytical causative and other uses of *hây* - *benefit* in a verbal group complex, including differences between *tham hây* clauses such as *thəɔrarâat tham hây saphâap* “*prachaarát*” *mót sîn pay* – *the tyrant caused the people’s state to end* with a material process and *X sathóɔn hây Ø hěn// wâa...* - (literally) *X reflects for (us) to see// that...* (*X shows (us) that*) or *X thán hây Ø tranàk* – *X warns for (us) to realise* (*X warns us*), what Iwasaki (2008) has labelled the inductive *hây*. The verbal group complex is coded as a mental process from the final verb in the complex, but the initial process type can vary. Further typological study into the nature of these verbal group complexes will be useful to provide a more nuanced account of the representation of agency and causation in the Thai clause.

Another aspect of Thai grammar that is worthy of mention here is the use of ellipsis. Patpong (2006, p. 277) identifies the system of ELLIPSIS in the textual meanings of clause grammar that is concerned with the difference between consistent and contrastive information in the text (following Halliday & Hasan, 1976). If the participant is consistent, the information is considered non-prominent and can be ellipsed. If it is contrastive information, it is prominent and therefore present in the text. However, there is more that can be said about ellipsis in Thai. The ellipsed participant may not be one that is instantiated earlier and then trackable through the unfolding text. It may be suppressed, as Chaiwat appears to do in *Ø chây kamlaŋ thahăan* – (*they?*) *used a military force*, but it might also be understood as the “reader-in-the-text”. The findings suggest that this particular use of ellipsis was not only a textual resource, but an interpersonal resource to create solidarity between writer and reader. The discernible pattern in the uses of ellipsis between participant tracking and specifically tracking of the reader-in-the-text suggests that this feature of Thai grammar should be further explored. For example, the uses in these texts often occurred in clauses of the inductive type above, with mental processes. What other process types does ellipsis of reader-in-the-text occur in? Also, is the explicit instantiation of *raw* – *we* to indicate a semantic feature of contrast or prominence? Issues such as these would be useful and important to document, particularly to have a fuller account of the cryptotypical patterns that are deployed by rhetors in Thai.

8.4 Methodological implications

While the main analytical approach has been through SFL, the study has drawn at various points on other approaches to CDA, particularly van Leeuwen (1993, 2008) and Fairclough (1992, 2003, 2013). In terms of interdiscursivity, both Fairclough (1992) and Bhatia (2004, 2010, 2012) have informed the study greatly. While SFL no doubt offers an exemplary set of tools by which to analyse discourse (Matthiessen, 2012), studies into agency in political discourse can benefit from these other approaches to discourse analysis.

The findings indicate that the analytical tools deployed in this study, developed largely for research in English, can be usefully applied to the Thai data, with some modifications. For example, van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor network was adapted to increase the delicacy of the activation-passivation system in his network. The data highlighted a need for a choice that distinguished between a process that was self-instigated as *the military in the military toppled the government* and another that was instigated by an external agent, to account for the relatively frequent use of analytical causative constructions in the data, as *the military in the military made the government fall*. Important to note is that any analysis of social actors needs to somehow account for the logogenetic developments in representations of social actors in a text. This is a point noted also by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 31). This means that the methodology needs to capture not just one-off selections but patterns of selection and shifts in these over the course of a text or a body of work and carries methodological implications for a dynamic account of agency. As Khien's text illustrated, the representations of actors such as *military* or *government* changed over the course of the text depending on the picture that Khien was painting regarding these two actors, as agentive or passive.

The findings of this study have some implications for future research into the Thai verbal group. The system network of Transitivity (Agency and Process type) as presented in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 355) can also be amended to account for the different analytical causative constructions and their use in academic argument to attribute agency, responsibility, causation or to establish reasons or grounds of an argument. It appears that these analytical causatives can occur with all process types in Thai. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) only include Initiator, Attributor and Assigner

on the system network, though in Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 157), Creator (Agent participant in an existential clause) is also identified. In the Thai data, the analytical causative occurs with all process types except relational-possessive processes. If any analysis was to be conducted in the future using text annotation software such as the UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell, 2012), this system network would need to be more fully developed to capture the diverse representations in Thai. In addition, verbal group complexing (or serial verb constructions) is a key feature of Thai clauses. While there have been non-SFL studies into this phenomenon (e.g. Diller, 2006), typological studies from an SFL perspective could enhance the field.

Hasan's (1985) cline of dynamism was adopted to gauge the degree of agency accorded to different participants in the text. However, while the cline of dynamism provides a nuanced account of participants and the roles they are assigned in the clause, dynamism and the sociological concept of agency that was adopted in this thesis are not identical concepts, since agency necessarily entails the agency of human actors, but grammatical agency, as indicated above, can also be assigned to non-human participants. This must therefore be taken into account in any analysis. Nevertheless, the cline of dynamism can shed light on the rhetorical agency of the writer. The construal of participants with greater or lesser degrees of dynamism is another rhetorical strategy to create the effect of positioning the audience in a particular way.

The application of the cline of dynamism to the data in this thesis indicates that it is necessary to adapt the cline to best suit the data. For example, the analytical causative construction in the data was a key clause type to represent agency and causation, and was placed at Band 1, the most dynamic point of the cline. This followed Thompson's (2008, p. 27) adaptation of Hasan's cline. However, as the analysis revealed, particularly in Pitch's and Chaiwat's texts, the analytical causative constructions not only represented human or institutional actors in the role of Initiator, Assigner, Attributor, etc., but also predominantly represented inanimate participants in this position such as events and semiosis. Therefore, the cline needs to be adapted to distinguish between the two sets of participants – human/institutional and inanimate, with human participants higher on the cline than inanimate participants. However, in a discipline such as political science, the analytical causative construction may be a key

resource in Thai by which writers can establish chains of causation and position events or abstract concepts as having the power to cause further action.

Other positions on the cline also need to be updated. For example, Hasan placed Circumstance at the passive end of the cline. However, this thesis found that it was useful to distinguish between Circumstance with Agent and Circumstance with no Agent to account for the difference in dynamism between the *king* in *[[thīi yaŋ pen kòtmǎay [[thīi “phrârâatchathaan” cǎak phrámahǎakasàt]]]]* – which is a law that is “royally bestowed” **from the king** and *intellectuals* in *nay mùu panyaachon mii kaan thòkthiǎŋ kan* – **amongst the intellectuals** there is debate. The Circumstance + Agent (*from the king*) was therefore placed at the higher end of the cline while the non-Agent Circumstance (*amongst the intellectuals*) was placed at the passive end of the cline, following Hasan. The point to take away is that the use of the cline of dynamism needs to be contextually sensitive to the data.

A distinction on the data was made between participants occurring as Actor/Agent with human Goal and Actor/Agent with inanimate Goal. With hindsight, these two bands could be collapsed into one band on the cline as, for example, an agent murdering innocent people cannot really be said to be any more agentive than an agent who violates the social contract. Rather, what needs to be taken account of is whether the agent itself is human, institutional or semiotic. Other process types are also plotted on the cline, and while they may not construe agency of a social actor to the same degree as the analytical causatives or material processes, they do carry some dynamism. This includes, for example, *Senser* in a mental process, *Sayer* in a verbal process and *Behaver* in a behavioural process. The placement of these participant roles on the cline appeared to be appropriate for this study.

The application of the system of ENGAGEMENT in this study also demonstrates that this method of analysing reader positioning can be applied to Thai discourse. Indeed, while this study only looked at Engagement in the system of Appraisal, Knox and Patpong (2008) undertook an Appraisal analysis of Thai newspaper articles, focusing on Engagement and Judgement. While some modification of the system networks would be required should further analyses be undertaken, the ability of SFL theory that has been demonstrated in this study and in the earlier work to

describe the means by which Thai rhetors construe meaning is encouraging. Further research will also have implications for linguistic typological studies.

Interdisciplinarity is a key aspect of the work in CDA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). While this thesis cannot be considered interdisciplinary in a strict sense (the study did not seek input from other experts in the field of political science, except for the interviews with the writers of the texts), it did attempt to adopt a variety of data sources to inform the research. This thesis thus takes what van Leeuwen (2005b) has called a “centralist model of interdisciplinarity” (p. 3). While van Leeuwen argues for an “integrationist model” of CDA in which academics from different disciplines collaborate on a research project, this was not an option for this particular study. Nevertheless, the study drew on various sources of data such as the textual data, the interview data and the sociological and political science accounts of the Thai context. Moreover, the key concept of agency was adopted from the social and political sciences and combined with the concept of grammatical agency. This merging of two distinct concepts of agency did pose some difficulties, as it was problematic to conflate social and grammatical agents at times. What the results of the analysis revealed was the way that rhetorical agency was so integral to understanding the differences in some of the grammatical representations of agency in the texts. That is, to understand the difference between Khien’s representation of the military as the reluctant hero, only exercising agency as a last resort, and Pitch’s representation of the military as highly agentive we need to have some insight into the “private intentions” of these writers.

Another point to be raised here is the use of the interview data as a form of ethnography that further informs the study. According to van Leeuwen (2005b, p. 13), ethnographic research can inform discourse analysis to provide a more rounded picture of the agents taking part in social practices, of which the texts are an outcome. Van Leeuwen also notes that, while SFL has developed comprehensive methods to analyse discourse, it has not developed the methods to analyse the context of culture to the same extent (2005, p. 6). By supplementing the analysis of texts using the tools of SFL with sociological, political or historical analyses and ethnographic data, we may be able to gain a fuller understanding of the text as a form of social practice. For example, the study of agency necessitated an examination of sociological debates into structure and agency and the relationship between the two. These are material, non-linguistic features

of the context of culture. As stated above in the discussion on context, text and agency, the analysis of the generic resources and schematic structure of the texts in conjunction with an understanding of political events that led to and followed the coup provided a lens on the opportunities and constraints and the way the writers navigated these to produce their texts. The interview data also offered complementary insights into the writers' own perceptions of their social practices and the texts that they produced.

8.5 Pedagogical implications

This study has important, practical implications for the teaching of Thai academic discourse to speakers of languages other than Thai in general terms as well as more specifically for the discipline of political science, for the teaching of Thai academic literacy in the tertiary context, and for the teaching of academic English to Thai speakers. Though the texts were all macrogenres, students need to first be aware of elemental genres. Explicit teaching of schematic structures and linguistic features of different genres, has been shown to be an effective strategy in helping students to develop academic literacy (e.g. Coffin, 2006a; Jones, 2004; Rose & Martin, 2012). A facility with academic writing is a first step in being able to use the knowledge of genre in more creative ways (Bhatia, 2004). To this end, more research is required on documenting the features of different academic genres in Thai. Students can then learn to recognise conventional schematic structures of different genres as well as discourse semantic and lexicogrammatical features of different genres such as the development of the argument in political science texts through the use of Theme, hyperTheme and macroTheme, the use of grammatical metaphor together with hyperTheme and macroTheme to collect and package meanings, the grammar of agency and causation in Thai, and the strategies for aligning with other texts.

A study of the dynamic and creative aspect of genre as an expression of agency has implications not only for teaching writing, but also has benefits for teaching reading. Once students have some knowledge about different elemental genres used in academic writing in general and political science in particular, they can be encouraged to use these resources more creatively in writing, or to be more aware of them in reading academic texts. Bhatia (2004) argues that it is necessary to introduce the notion of creativity into the teaching of genre since there is often a great disparity between genre in classroom teaching contexts and genre in real-world professional contexts.

Indeed, the findings from this study have raised awareness of how academics express agency in the creation of their texts by creatively combining different genres and by deploying a range of generic and metafunctional resources that work together to create particular rhetorical effects. In developing genre-based language programs to teach this more dynamic and creative aspect of genre, they need to be understood as a combination of process, product, purpose and the participants (Bhatia, 2004, p. 205). Bhatia suggests a number of ways to facilitate creativity into the teaching of genre, for example, by varying the purposes for producing a text, the nature of participation and the relationships between participants in the construction of texts (p. 207). Moreover, viewing genre through the lens of agency has the potential to highlight for students how processes, rhetorical or communicative purposes and the other participants, real or imagined, impact on a writer's production of a text, how they use language resources and why they use language in that way.

The question could be asked as to how representative these texts are of written genres in political science in Thai, and thus what it is necessary to teach students about reading and writing in political science in Thai. In order to identify genres in Thai political science writing, a study of the writing of expert writers is important. On the basis of the close analysis of the three exemplary texts, some initial observations can be made. For example, the exposition, discussion and challenge may prove to be key genres that political scientists draw on in their production and dissemination of new knowledge, which may also be used in other disciplines. At the level of discourse semantics and lexicogrammar, the construal of agency and causation appears to be an important resource for political science writing, as has also been noted in writing in history in English (Coffin, 2006a). What requires closer attention is whether these genres and grammatical features are common across a range of disciplines and if so, what other, perhaps more subtle, disciplinary differences can be observed.

This study has implications for the teaching of academic writing in English to Thai students. As has been noted in this study as well as in other studies (e.g. Hinds, 1990), there is sometimes a preference for end-weight or delayed statement of purpose. Pitch, for example, referred to this as "Thai style" (Pitch interview, 20/11/2009), though Hinds (1990) suggests that this preference may not only be restricted to Thai. Therefore, English academic preparation programs should focus on the staging of academic genres

and the need to state the purpose or the thesis early in the text. Comparisons can also be made between the ways that writers in English use the resources of Engagement to position their text in relation to other texts and how writers achieve this in Thai. In addition, comparisons can be made of the differences in the way that agency and relations of cause and effect are construed in Thai and in English. This line of enquiry may thus help enrich research in intercultural rhetoric (Connor & Rozycki, 2013).

This study has contributed to an understanding of how agency is expressed in Thai political science texts. The study has shown that the realisation of agency in Thai is diverse, strategic and innovative. While this has been an exploratory study on a limited number of texts, it is hoped that this work will pave the way for future studies into the theorisation of rhetorical and represented agency in Thai, and a possible refinement of the relevance for SFL systems for accommodating agency.

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Appendix A: Genre analysis

Khien Theeravit. (2006, 13 October). สิทธิในการทำรัฐประหาร [The right to stage the coup]. *Thai World*. Retrieved from http://www.thaiworld.org/th/thailand_monitor/answer.php?_id=578

Khien Theeravit

Sit nay kaantham rátthaprahään

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
Thesis	Sit nay kaantham rátthaprahään	The right to stage the coup	Title
1. Background	<p>rátthaprahään [[thiî kəət khûn nay prathêet thay mɛ̂a wan thiî 19 kanyaayon 2006]] mæ̂æ ø ca prasòp khwaam sǎmrèt// dooy mí? dâ̂y sũun sǎ lɛ̂at nɛ̂á læ̂y kô taam//</p> <p>tæ̂æ khwaamsàpsǒn dâan khwaamkhít khwaamkhâawcay kǎw kàp panhǎa [[thiî kəət khûn nay mùu khon thay]] nán kô yan̄ mii yùu mâ̂y nǒ̂y///</p> <p>phûak [[thiî níyom “rábò̂p Tháksǐn” yàan̄ khlǎ̄ŋkhláy camnuan nɛ̂ŋ]] khon̄ ca kròt khæ̂æn mâak //</p> <p>thiî hě̂n phûunam nay duan̄cay khǒ̂y phûak khǎw //</p> <p>t̄ŋ sátsee-phaneecò̂n pay tòk kháan̄ yùu tàan̄ dæ̂æn phaay nay weelaa chûa khâam</p>	<p>The coup [[that occurred in Thailand on 19 September 2006]] even though (it) met success// by not losing flesh and blood at all//</p> <p>but the confusion of opinions and understanding about the problem [[that occurred in the group of Thai]] there is still not [just] a little.</p> <p>The group [[that fanatically prefer “Thaksin’s system”]] is probably furious// to see their beloved leader //</p> <p>have to take off (drift off) overnight to a foreign country.///</p>	<p>hyperTheme with absolute Theme; marked hypotactic condition: concessive clause complex; Material clauses predominate, Lexis: coup, groups of people/ people with political leanings</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>kh๗๗n/// tææ phûak ní <u>ca ruam</u> tua kan <u>sadææn</u> patìkiríyaa <u>tòc tãan</u> KPK (khaná? patirúup kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ nay rábòɔp prachaathíppatay ʔan mii phrámahãakasàt soŋ pen pramúk) yàaŋ pəətphəəy kô <u>mí dây</u> // nɔ̀ɔk càak <u>mii</u> khon khàp tækxií raay nɛ̀ŋ// Ø <u>nam</u> rót ton// Ø <u>phûŋ khâw chon</u> rót thǎŋ [[thií <u>còɔt</u> <u>ráksãakaan yùu</u> nay krɛ̀ŋthêep m̄a wan thií 30 kanyaayon 2006]]///</p> <p>phûu [[thií <u>ʔòɔk maa tàkoon</u> “Tháksín.... s̄u s̄u”]] kàp fàay tronkhâam [[thií <u>ʔòɔk maa takoon</u> “Tháksín ... ʔòɔk pay”]] kô <u>sũnhãay pay</u> càak thɔ̀ɔŋ thanõn læ? cɔ̀ɔ thoorathát <u>lææw</u>///</p> <p>ʔiik thǎŋ <u>mii</u> phûukhon // <u>nam</u> d̀òɔkmáay, ʔaahãan læ? khr̄ãaŋdɛ̀ɛm// <u>pay sadææn</u> khwaam khòɔpkhun thahãan [[thií <u>y๗๗n ráksãakaan yùu</u> kàp rótthǎŋtaam cùt tàaŋtàaŋ khɔ̀ɔŋ krɛ̀ŋthêep talòɔt chûaŋ weelaa 10 wan lǎŋ càak kaanrátthaprahãan]]///</p> <p>(rótthǎŋ <u>klàp kh๗๗n</u> s̄u thií tâŋ dæm m̄a wan thií 1 tulaakhom 2006.)///</p>	<p>But this group can't collect themselves together to express their opposition openly to the CDR (Council of Democratic Reform under the King as Head of State) // except for the case of the taxi driver who crashed his car into a tank [[that was parked on duty in Bangkok on 30 September 2006]]///.</p> <p>The side [[that came out shouting “Thaksin ... fight...fight”]] and the opposite side [[that came out shouting “Thaksin... get out”]] have disappeared from the streets and the television screens. ///</p> <p>As well, there were people// bringing flowers, food and drink// to convey their thanks to the soldiers [[that were standing on duty with the tanks at different points in Bangkok for 10 days after the coup]] (the tanks returned to where they came from on 1 October 2006). ///</p> <p>On the pages of the newspapers and amongst the groups of</p>	

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	<p>nay nâa nânsuəp̄him læʔ nay mùu panyaachon mii kaan thòkthiǎŋ kan yàaŋ khêmkhôn rawàaŋ phûak níyom prachaathíppatay [[thií tòtâan “rábòɔp Tháksǐn” //læʔ tòtâan kaantham rátthaprahǎan [[s̄ŋ hǎn maa lén ɲaan KPK]]]] kàp ʔiik sùn n̄ŋ [[s̄ŋ pen phûak níyom prachaathíppatay hǔa kâaw nâa [[thií ʔɔk maa sadææŋ khwaamkhíthěn thamnɔɔŋ diaw kan// wâa kaantham rátthaprahǎan ʔaat ca nâakliət// tææ “rábòɔp Tháksǐn” nán nâakliət kwàa]]]]//</p> <p>sùn dusìt phool læʔ mahǎawíthhayaalay ràatchaphát suǎn dusìt dây sǎmruət khwaamkhíthěn khǔɔŋ prachaachon læʔ raay ɲaan//</p> <p>wâa khon thay th̄ŋ 83.89% hěn chòɔp [[thií mii kaanpatiwát]]//</p> <p>mii phiaŋ 16.02% thâwnán [[thií mây hěn dûay]]//</p> <p>læʔ phûu [[thùuk sǎmruət]] 75.04% hây khwaam hěn</p> <p>wâa kaanm̄ŋ thay nâa ca dii khên/// sùn phûu khon læʔ rátthabaan khǔɔŋ mít prathêet k̄ tòk yùu nay khwaamsàpsǔn thamnɔɔŋ kàp khon thay dûay///</p>	<p>intellectuals there is strong disagreement between the democratic group [[that opposes “Thaksin’s system”// and opposes the staging of the coup [[which criticised the CDR]]] and another group [[that is progressively democratic [[that expressed their opinions in the same way// saying that the staging of the coup may be ugly// but “Thaksin’s system” is uglier.]]]]</p> <p>The Suan Dusit poll and the Suan Dusit Rajabhat University surveyed the opinions of the people// and reported// that 83.89% of Thais agreed [[that there be a coup]]//</p> <p>There were just 16.02%[[that did not agree]] and 75.04% of people [[who were surveyed]] gave their opinion that Thai politics will probably improve///</p> <p>As for the people and governments of our allies, they also became confused in the same way as the Thai///</p>	
2. Claim	<p>nay khanàʔ thií fàay [[thií hěn chòɔp]] læʔ fàay</p>	<p><i>While the side [[that preferred]] and the side [[that protested]]</i></p>	<p>HyperTheme – concessive</p>

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	<p>[[tòwtân kaan tham rátthaprahăan khǒwɔŋ thay khráŋ ní]] yan khon tóothiăŋ kan yuu dooy mây mii khǒw yúti?// tææ khâaphacâw ʔeɛŋ mii khǒw sarùp lææw ///</p> <p>khæ kaantham rátthaprahăan nán mây mii ʔaray thùuk rǔǔ phìt, dii rǔǔ mây dii///</p> <p>mây wâa raw ca chǒwɔp rǔǔ mây kô taam// kaanpǒwɔŋkan rátthaprahăan nán Ø mây ʔàat tham dâ// tææ kaanpòkɔŋ rátthathammanuun <<...>> nán săamâat tham dâ/// <<mí? hây thùuk chiik thǐj>></p> <p>hèet day Ø cɛŋ tham dâ// læ? Ø tham dâ yàaŋray///</p> <p>khǒw ʔanuyâat ʔathíbaay // dooy ʔiŋ phuumíʔpanyaa khǒwɔŋ pràat khǒwɔŋ lôok tawanʔòk læ? tawantòk thaŋ thrátadii rátthasàat sàk 4-5 thân dooy săŋkhèep daŋ ní///</p>	<p><i>the staging of this Thai coup are still arguing</i> <i>with there being no end//</i> <i>but I myself have a conclusion///</i></p> <p>That is the staging of the coup was not right or wrong, good or not good///</p> <p>whether we like it or not// (we) may not be able to prevent the coup//</p> <p>but the defence of the constitution <<...>> (we) may be able to do <<so it is not torn up>></p> <p>For what reason can (we) do (it) // and how can (we) do (it)?///</p> <p>Let me explain// by leaning on the intellect of 4-5 Eastern and Western philosophers of political theory briefly as follows///</p>	<p>Neg. polarity</p> <p>khâaphacâw ʔeɛŋ – Writer inserts own voice Claim</p> <p>Concession</p> <p>Transition – shift with verbal process – Request to audience</p>
Argument 1 – grounds	thrátadii wâa dūay sithí nay kaantham rátthaprahăan	Theories about the right to stage the coup	Title
3.	nay prathèet ciin chūaŋ raaw sǒwɔŋ phan pii sèt	In China about 2000 years ago the ruler <<...>> was overthrown an	Marked theme, locating

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	<p>[[thiī phàan maa]] rátttháathípàt <<...>> nán dây thùuk khôn lóm pay náp mây thúan raay láæw///</p> <p><<(r^u thiī ríak khãan taam yúk samăy wâa ?oorót hææŋ sawăn/thian c^u, kasàt/luăŋ r^u càkkaphandi?/hũaŋ)>></p> <p>khõŋc^u (551–479 kòcn khoc. sǎw.) paramaacaan ciin [[phûu sàŋ sǎcn hây// khon nay sãŋkhom mii khunnatham]] dây klàaw wáy//</p> <p>wâa thúk khon nay sãŋkhom <<...>> lúan mii sít – nâathíi – khwaamrápphitchôp tháŋsîn///</p> <p><<(mây wâa ca pen “kasàt”, “khũnnaaŋ”, “biidaa”, “bùt”)>></p> <p>thâa kasàt mây dây praphrút ton yùu nay khunnatham khǎŋ kasàt//</p> <p>bùkkhon phûu nán kô mí? chây kasàt//</p> <p>phró? kasàt ca tǎn mii khunnatham//</p> <p>Ø mii méettaatham //</p> <p>láe? Ø mii khwaamkàttanyuu, sǎ salà? láe? ?^u ?^u///</p> <p>sǎawók ?èek khǎŋ khõŋc^u kh^u mênŋc^u (372–289 kòcn khoc. sǎw.) kô sǎcn//</p> <p>wâa thâa “?oorót hææŋ sawăn” mây tham</p>	<p>uncountable number of times. <<(or as (he/she) was called at that time son of heaven/ thian jeu, king/luang or emperor/huang>> Confucius (551-479 BCE), a great Chinese teacher [[who taught // people in society to have virtue]] said</p> <p>that every person in society <<...>> all have rights – duties – responsibilities. ///</p> <p><<(whether (he) is “king”, “nobleman”, “father”, “son”)>></p> <p>If the king does not behave according to the moral principles of a king// that person is not a king// because a king must have virtue// (he must) have compassion// and (he must) have gratitude, sacrifice etc. ///</p> <p>Confucius’ disciple that is Mensius (372-289 BCE) taught // that if “the son of heaven” does not do his duty//</p>	<p>source, “sovereign ruler”, lexis for different examples of these Confucius +verbal Projected clause</p> <p>Mensius + verbal Projected clause Lexis: people, revolt, ruler</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p><u>taam</u> nâathîi khǒɔŋ thân <u>lǎæw</u> sáy// prachaachon <u>yǒɔm mii</u> sit [[thîi <u>ca patiwát</u>]] <u>dây</u>/// mûa Ø <u>tham</u> kaan patiwát <u>dây sǎmrèt</u>// Ø kǎ <u>thâw kàp</u> [[Ø <u>dây</u> “ʔaanáttiʔ hææŋ sawǎn” (“thian mîŋ”)// <u>hây pòkkhrǒɔŋ</u> prachaachon thææn khon dæm]]///</p>	<p>the population has the right [[to revolt]]/// When (they) have finished their revolution// (it) is the same as [[(they) got “a heavenly mandate” (“thiang ming”)// to rule the people in place of the former person]]///</p>	
4.	<p>pràtyaa meethii tawantòk lǎay thân kǎ <u>dây klàaw</u> <u>thǎŋ</u> rǎŋ níi <u>wáy</u> yàŋ yǎt yaaw/// ʔaathîʔ Thomas Hobbes (Thomas Hobbes khǒɔ. sǒɔ. 1588–1679) <u>dây klàaw wáy</u> // wâa dæm phûu khon samǎy dǔkdamban [[thîi <u>yùu</u> kan taam thammachâat]] nán <u>cháy</u> “kòtmǎay pàa” (law of the jungle)/// tǒɔ maa phûak khǎw <u>dây khón phóp</u>// wâa phaay tây rábǒɔp nán <u>mây ʔàat hǎa</u> khwaamsaŋòp lǎeʔ khwaamplǒɔtphay <u>dây</u>// phróʔ mǎæ tǎæ khon khǎŋrææŋ thîi sùt kǎ <u>yaŋ tǒŋ mii</u> weelaa [[phlǎŋphlǎə]] // (rǎɔ Ø <u>tǒŋ nǒɔn lǎp</u>)/// Ø cǎŋ <u>tòklɔŋ</u> kan// thîi <u>ca yǒɔm salàʔ</u> sit thammachâat (natural right) <u>hây</u> kǎæ khon rǎɔ khanáʔ bùkkhon</p>	<p>Many western philosophers have spoken about this at length./// For example, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679 CE) has said// that originally, stone aged people [[who lived naturally]] used “the law of the jungle” /// Later, they found// that under that system they may not find peace and safety// because even the strongest people would still have careless moments (or they have to sleep)/// (they) thus agreed// to sacrifice their natural rights for a person or a committee// on the condition (having the condition)// that all the people in the “community” including</p>	<p>Western philosophers Thomas Hobbes + verbal Lexis: people, community, social contract, law of the jungle, natural rights, sovereign ruler</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>//</p> <p>dooy mii ๏๓๓๓๓๓// wâa thúk khon nay “prachaakhom” ruam tháj phûu [[ráp mōɔp ๓๓๓๓]] ca tōŋ tham taam sǎnyaa prachaakhom (social contract) [[thiī tòkloŋ kan wáy]]. ///</p> <p>phûu [[ráp mōɔp ๓๓๓๓// lǎe? tham nâathī thææn “prachaakhom”]] <<...>> nán thâa khǎw phûu ní lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom// <<(∅ ca riák ∅ wâa kasàt ๓๓ ๓aray kō dây)>> khon ๓๓ ๓๓ kō mii sít// thīī ca lámêət dâi chên kan///</p> <p>thâa mii khon ๓๓ khaaná? bùkkhon camkàt rátthǎathípàt // ๓๓ phayayaam thīī ca khôn lóm rátthǎathípàt//</p> <p>∅ sadæŋ// wâa khǎw ๓๓ phûak khǎw kamlaŋ cháy “kòtmǎay pàa”// ๓๓ ∅ cháy “sít thammachâat” dooy</p>	<p>the people [[accepting the power]] must follow a social contract [[that was agreed upon in advance]].///</p> <p>The person [[accepting power// and representing the “community”]] <<...>> if this person violates the social contract// <<(we) will call (him) king or whatever>> other people have the right// to violate it also//</p> <p>If there is a person or committee// abolishing the ruler // or trying // to oust the sovereign ruler,// this shows // that he or they are using the “law of the jungle” // or they use “natural right” at their own risk.///</p>	

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
5.	<p>khwaam-siàngphay khǒṅ ton ʔeen///</p> <p>John Locke (John Locke 1631–1704) kǎ pen nákpràtyaaʔ iik khon nṅṅ [[thiī yɔ̀m̀ráp sít khǒṅ khon nay “prachaakhom” [[thiī tò̀tāan thɔ̀rarāat]]]///</p> <p>khǎw klàaw// wāa rǎtthabaan mii wáy// phṛā pò̀kpṅ lǎeʔ bɔ̀rikaan khon khǒṅ prachaakhom///</p> <p>rǎtthabaan ca sîn saphāap pay mṛa Ø mây sǎamāat ráksǎa khwaamchṛamān (trust) khǒṅ prachaachon ʔaw wáy dāy// lǎeʔ Ø ʔàat thùuk kabòt (revolt)// rṛṛ Ø mây dāyráp kaananàpsanṅn càak rǎtthasaphaa///</p>	<p>John Locke (1631-1704) was another philosopher [[who advocated for the right of people in a “community” [[that oppose a tyrant.]]]]</p> <p>He said// that governments are in place// to protect and administer people in a community.///</p> <p>Government will be exhausted // when (it) can’t maintain the trust of the people // and (it) may suffer a revolt // or not get support from the parliament///</p>	<p>John Locke + verbal</p> <p>Lexis: government, community, people, parliament</p>
6.	<p>Aristotle (Aristotle 384(?)–322 kṓṅ khɔ̀. sṓṅ.) kǎ klàaw wáy wāa rǎtthāathípàt [[thiī tham tua nṛǎ kòtmāy// dooy ʔaasǎy khon camnuan māak]] nán pen “thɔ̀rarāat khǒṅ khon khān māak” (tyranny of the majority)///</p> <p>khǎw ca tṅ thùuk khōn lóm dooy kaan kabòt</p>	<p>Aristotle 384 (?) - 322 BCE) said // that a ruler [[who places him/herself above the law// by depending on the majority]] is a “tyranny of the majority”///</p> <p>They will be overthrown by revolt///</p>	<p>Aristotle + verbal</p> <p>Sovereign ruler, tyranny of the majority, revolt</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>(revolt)///</p> <p>tææ aristotle kô tân khôw sǎŋkèet wáy dûay // wâa kaankhôn lóm thowrarâat nán tham dây yâak // phró? khǎw mák pen [[khon mii lêe liam mâak]]///</p> <p>ʔiik thánj Ø ca pen nák sadææŋ [[thiï chamnaan nay kaan sâaŋ phâap]] duây</p>	<p>But Aristotle noted (tân khôw sǎŋkèet) // that the overthrow of a tyrant is difficult // because (they) may be [[people having a lot of tricks or else (the leader) is an actor [[who is good at painting an image]]</p>	
7.	<p>klàaw dooy sarùp, mûa phûu khon dây kòw tân “prachaakhom” khên // lǎe? Ø tham sânyaa prachaakhon kan lǎeæw // thúk khon ca tîŋ tham taam kòtmǎay lǎe? rátthathammanuun///</p> <p>phûu day [[thiï tham phìt rǔǔ lamêæt Ø]] ráttháathípát yôwm mii ʔamnâat thiï ca sàŋ loŋ thòot Ø///</p> <p>thâa hàak Ø mây tham // rǔǔ Ø pen phûu [[lámêæt kòtmǎay- rátthathammanuun siǎ ʔeeŋ]]// rǔǔ Ø tham tua yùu nûa kòtmǎay// Ø kô tîŋ thǔǔ //</p>	<p>In sum, when people build community // and make a social contract, // everyone has to follow the law and constitution///</p> <p>Anyone [[who violates (the law and constitution)] the ruler will have the power to punish (them)///</p> <p>if he/she does not // or (he) is the person [[violating the law and constitution himself]]// or putting themselves above the law// (we) can believe// that (he) is a “tyrant”//</p>	<p>Conclusion – text.Th; hypotactic clause enhancement; behave.</p> <p>Marked Absolute Theme</p> <p>Lexis: social contract, people, sovereign ruler, law, constitution, tyrant, state of nature, law of the jungle, natural rights, Causal-conditional</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>wâa Ø pen “thɔɔrarâat”// <u>tham hây</u> saphâap “prachaa rát” <u>mót</u> <u>sîn pay</u>///</p> <p>phuû khon ca klâp pay yùu yàaŋ thammachâat (state of nature) // dooy cháy “kòtmăay pà”///</p> <p>khu mây mii kòtmăay//</p> <p>kaan patiwát – rátthaprahăan nán pen kaan cháy “kòtmăay pà”///</p> <p>phûu [[thîi kratham]] pen phûu [[cháy “sît thammachâat”]]///</p> <p>mây mii phît-thùuk// dooy phûu loŋ mu kratham sîaŋ phay ?aw ?eeŋ///</p> <p>thâa khăw pen fâay chaná?// Ø kô ca dâw pen phûu [[thu đâap ?aayaasît kò tâŋ prachaakhom khên mày]]///</p> <p>tàæ thâa pen fâay pháæ// Ø kô ?àat ca thùuk loŋ thòot nàk thŷŋ prahăan chiiwít///</p>	<p>causing the “people’s state” to collapse///</p> <p>people will revert to a state of nature using the law of the jungle///</p> <p>that is there is no law//</p> <p>Revolution – coup is the use of “the law of the jungle”///</p> <p>The person [[who acts]] is a person [[ising “natural tights”]]///</p> <p>There is no wrong-right// With people taking their own risk///</p> <p>If they are the winning side (they) will be the person [[wielding absolute power to build a new community]]///</p> <p>but if they are the losing side// (they) will be punished even executed///</p> <p>or if (it) was the past</p>	

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>รຸ້ hæk Ø pen samăy kòcn// Ø kô ?àat ca thùuk prahăan lăay chùakhòt thii diaw///</p>	<p>(they) may be executed many generations//</p>	
Argument 2: Justification	<p>thahăan kàp kaantham rátthaprahăan</p>	<p>Military and the staging of the coup</p>	<p>title</p>
8.	<p>thahăan pen kòcn kamləŋ tit ?aawút khǒcn rát/// (Ø mí? chây khǒcn rátthabaan [[thiî thamkaan// dooy mûŋ wǎŋ phôn prayòt khǒcn pháak kaanmœaŋ pháak day pháak nœŋ)] //</p> <p>nay rábòcp prachaathíppatay nán, thahăan thùuk khâat mǎay //</p> <p>hây pen khrŋaŋmœu khǒcn phûunam fàay bòríhăan nay yaam [[thiî kœt kòcranii phíphâat khàt yæaŋ kàp tàaŋ prathêet]]// (phró? thahăan mii nâathiî ráksăa ?athíppatay khǒcn rát lăe? buuranaphâap hæaŋ dindæen)///</p> <p>tææ nay kòcranii [[thiî kœt khwaam khàtyæaŋ thaan kaanmœaŋ phaaynay prathêet]] thahăan ca tŋ waan tua pen klaaŋ///</p> <p>yàaŋray kô taam tãŋtææ pii 1932 pen tôn maa</p>	<p>Military is armed force of the nation/// (it is not of a government [[that performs// by hoping for benefits of any political party]]///</p> <p>in democratic system military (thùuk khâatmǎay) is expected // to be a tool of leader during a time [[that there occurred a conflict with a foreign country]]// (because the military has a duty to protect the sovereignty of the state and the integrity of the territory)///</p> <p>But in the case [[that there occurs a political conflict within the country]] the military has to keep itself neutral///</p> <p>However, since 1932, military violated this principle many times by helping (or being pulled in to</p>	<p>Identification of issue – Id clauses/Rel clauses Lexis: military is thematic</p> <p>Adversative conjunction concession</p> <p>Adversative Conj.Adj.</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	thahǎan thay dây lámêət lǎkkaan daŋ klàaw lǎay khráŋ dooy kaankhǎw pay chûay (rǔ̌ thùuk dɛŋ khǎw pay chûay) fàay day fàay nɛŋ///	help) one particular side///	Dialogic expansion
9.	rábòɔp prachaathíppatay tɔŋkaan hây khon nay cháat kǎækhǎy khɔ̌w phípáat kan duay kaancháy hètphǒn// Ø mây chây khùmkhùu ʔaw chanáʔ kan dūay kamlaŋ// phrɔʔ dooy thūa pay lǎæw mǎa sǎaŋ pɛn daŋ khǎn // hètphǒn kɔ̌ yɔ̌m ɲiáp pay /// mǎa pɛn yuu kàp fàay day// fàay nán yɔ̌m pen phūu chanáʔ// máæ wǎa Ø ca pen phūu phìt// rǔ̌ Ø pen fàay ʔatham kɔ̌ taam///	Democratic system needs to let people resolve disputes through reason// not by bullying through force// because generally when guns are loud, // reason is quiet /// when the guns are on any side// that side will be the winner // even if (it) is the person in the wrong // or (it) is the amoral side///	Claim – modality Material Relational
10.	tàæ yàaŋray kɔ̌ taam, raw kɔ̌ yàa khǎwcaŋ phìt // wǎa thahǎan <<...>> ca tɔŋ thùuk tàt sít khǎn phǔn thǎan nay thaŋ kaanmɛaŋ pay dūay// <<mǎa thǔ ʔaawút lǎæw >>// phrɔʔ phūak khǎw yaŋ mii “sít thammacháat” [[thǐ tít tua maa kàp khwaam pen manút]]// Ø yaŋ mii sít thaŋ kaanmɛaŋ//	However we should not misunderstand // that military <<...>> must have their basic rights cut// <<when (they) bear arms>>// because they still have “natural rights” [[that are connected to being human // (they) still have political rights// that they use at their own	Counter-claim - adversative conj. adj modality Cause: reason conj Lexis: military material Mental

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>thiī ca cháy dunlaphínít khǒŋ ton ʔeɛŋ // phítcaaranaa // wâa ʔaray phít, // ʔaray thùuk, // rǔǔ ráwàaŋ khûu phípâat nán khray phít, // khray thùuk; // fàay day pen fàay tham má? // rǔǔ Ø pen fàay ʔatham láe? ʔùnʔùn ///</p> <p>tææ phûak khǎw tǒŋ thùuk tàt sít nay kaanphûut rǔǔ sadææŋ tua// phrǒʔ phûak khǎw yùu nay khrûaŋbææp // láe? Ø ʔàat ca thùuk tiikhwaam // wâa Ø sanàp sanǔn fàay day fàay nǔŋ // sǔŋ thâw kàp [[dǔŋ sathăaban khâw maa kîaw khǒŋ dūay]]///</p> <p>nay saphaawá? [[thiī bâan mɛaŋ kèət khwamkhàtyææŋ kan yàaŋ runrææŋ// láe? mii fàay “phûu ráay” thaaŋ kaan-mɛaŋ]] Ø praakòt hây hǎn yàaŋ dèn cháat,/// láe? “phûuráy [[thiī mii ʔitthíphon” // láe? mii</p>	<p>discretion// to decide what is wrong// what is right // or between disputants who is wrong // who is right,// which is the moral side or (who) is the amoral side etc.///</p> <p>But they must have their rights to speech or expression cut// because they are in uniform//</p> <p>and (it) may be interpreted // that (they) support a particular side// which is like [[pulling the institution in also]]///.</p> <p>In times [[that the country has strong conflict // and there is a political “criminal” (“phûu ráay”)]] (it) appears (so we) see clearly///</p> <p>And criminal [[that has influence//</p>	<p>Relational in projected clauses</p> <p>Attributive clauses</p> <p>Adversative conj.adj.</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>ʔamnâat thaaj kaanmɕaŋ]] tɔŋkaan dɔŋ phûak khǎw khǎw pay sanàpsanǔn nay kaantɔɔsûu kàp fàay trongkhâam nán, ///</p> <p>thahǎan yɔɔm ʔɛtʔatcay mâak nay rɛaŋ kaanwaaj tua //</p> <p>lǎeʔ Ø tɔŋ cháy khwaam ʔòtthon yàanyîŋ///</p>	<p>and has political power (“phuúraay thǐi mii ʔitthiphon” lǎeʔ mii ʔamnâat thaaj kaan mɕaŋ) “)] must pull that group in to support (them) in the fight against the opposition/// Military are likely to be frustrated with this behaviour// And They must use extreme tolerance/patience///</p>	<p>Modality,</p>
11.	<p>nay thǐi sùt klùm thahǎan phaaytây kaannam khɔɔŋ phon ʔèek sonthíʔ bunyarátkalin, [[sɛŋ riâk ton ʔeeŋ wâa “khanáʔ patirûupkaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ nay rábɔɔp prachaathíppatayʔan mii phrámahǎakasàt soŋ pen pramùk”]], kô dây tàtsĩncay tham rátthaprahǎan//</p> <p>khôn lóm rátthabaan tháksĩn lon. ///</p> <p>phûak khǎw chiícæaŋ hèetphǎn [[thǐi tɔŋ tham kaanpatirûup]] wáy nay thalǎæŋkaan chabàp thǐi 1</p> <p>wâa rátthabaan tháksĩn dây kòɔ hây kàet khwaam-tææk-yææk nay châat</p> <p>yàaŋ thǐi mây praakòt maa kòɔn nay prawàttisàat châat thay.///</p> <p>kaan bɔɔríhǎan râatchakaan sòɔ pay nay thaaj thútcarit praphrɛt míʔ chɔɔp//</p>	<p>Finally, the group of soldiers under the leadership of General Sondhi Bunyaratklin [[that call themselves “Council of democratic reform with king as head of state”]] decided to stage the coup// to topple the Thaksin government///</p> <p>That group pointed to the reason [[that (they) had to stage the revolution]] in the first official communiqué</p> <p>That the Thaksin government created disharmony in the nation</p> <p>As has never occurred before in the history of the Thai nation///</p> <p>The administration of the public service showed corrupt behaviour// and (they) favoured similar groups (cronyism) greatly.</p>	<p>Conclusion -Txt Th Conj Adj Lexis: specific group - coup group Material Relational</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>lǎe? Ø ʔhâ prayòot tɔɔ phûak phɔ́ɔŋ yàaŋ kwâaŋkhwǎaŋ.///</p> <p>ʔiik tháŋ kaandamnəəŋ kɪtcakam thaaŋ kaanmɔəŋ baŋ ʔookàat mìn-mèe tɔɔ kaanmìn phrá? baromdeechaanúphâap hæəŋ ʔoŋ phrá?mahãakasàt dūay///</p>	<p>Also The political process on occasion was close to lèse majesté also///</p>	
12. Evaluation	<p>nay thátsaná? khɔ́ɔŋ khâaphacâw, hêtphôn [[thiî KPK ʔâaŋ maa]] nán pen khwaam ciŋ thúk prakaan.///</p> <p>mí? dâŋ mii kaan bitbuan rɔ́ɔ tæəŋ sǎəmtəəm tɔɔ mǎan daŋ kaantham rátthaprahãan lǎay khraŋ [[thiî phàn maa]].///</p> <p>yîŋ kwàa nán khâaphacâw chûa wâa rátthabaan tháksín mii phrɛ̀ttikam [[sɛ̀ŋ pen [[thiî sâap kan dii]]]] wâa Ø dâŋ tham kaankhâa tàt tɔɔn prachaachon phûu bɔ́rísùt maa lǎəw lǎay khraŋ.//</p> <p>mii kaanchɔ́w râatsadɔ́n baŋlǎaŋ yàaŋ kwâaŋkhwǎaŋ //</p> <p>lǎe? Ø cháŋ ʔitthíphon b̄iip baŋkháp hây rábòp yútitham lǎwén kaanpatibàt</p>	<p>In my view, the reason [[that the CDR cited]] is true with in all respects//</p> <p>There is no distortion or embellishment like previous coups//</p> <p>Even more than that, I believe// That the Thaksin government has behaviour [[that is [[something that is well known]] //</p> <p>That They assassinated innocent people many times//</p> <p>There was widespread defrauding of the people// and (they) used influence //</p> <p>to force the judiciary to refrain from their duty</p>	<p>Evaluation – marked Th. Ref to self Evaluative lexis: truth CDR</p> <p>Conj Adj Ref to self mental clause Graduation Material Thaksin govt, fraud, murder,</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>nâathiî.</p> <p>n๑๓k c��ak n��n, kaankl��awh��a phantham��t prachaachon ph��a prachaath��ppatay [[thi�� ruam tua kan chumnum t��t��an r��tthabaan // w��a �� pen ph��ak ch��y “k��t m��b” // l��? r��tthabaan k�� d��y ch��y konkay kh���� r��t ... y��u// r��dom ph��u khon // maa kh��mkh��u kh��k khaam f��ay t��t ��an ... th���ep th��k khra��ng [[thi�� mii kaan chumnum n��n]]// ...pen kaan kratham [[thi�� l��m���t k��tm��ay l��? r��tthathammanuun]]. ///</p> <p>m���w��a r��tthabaan Th��ks��n m��k ca ��an khwaamch���ptham c��ak kh��n���en s��a�� l���kt��n m��ak m��ay mah��as��an [[thi�� ton d��yr��p]] // maa l��pl��a��ng kaankratham [[thi�� l��m���t k��tm��ay l��? r��tth��thammanuun]] n��n // k�� fa��ng m��y kh��n,///</p> <p>Adolf Hitler (Adolph Hitler), [[ph��u nam Germany nay sam��y s��ngkhraam l��ok thi�� 2]], n��n k�� d��yr��p kh��n���en s��a��ng san��psan��n c��ak</p>	<p>apart from the accusation that PAD [[that gathered to protest the government// that (it) was using “mob law” // and government used the mechanism of the state// to mobilise the people// to threaten and intimidate the opposition almost every time [[that there was a gathering]] were acts [[that violated the law and constitution]]//</p> <p>Even though the Thaksin government cites legitimacy from electoral votes [[that it received]] to expunge its act [[that violated the law and constitution]]</p> <p>it is unjustifiable ///</p> <p>Adolf Hitler[[who led Germany in the time of the second world war]] received votes from an election overwhelmingly no different from Thaksin government///</p>	<p>Conj adjunct as Txt Th</p> <p>Govt, groups , Thaksin govt</p> <p>fa��ng m��y kh��n</p> <p>Hitler</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>kaan læåktån maa yàaŋ thûamthón mây phææ khõŋ råtthabaan Tháksĩn.///</p> <p>tææ prawàttisàat kô dây chíi hây hěn lææw// wâa phadètkaan thõrarâat dooy siãŋ khâaŋ mâak nán pen ?antaraay yîŋ kwàa látthí? phadètkaan dooy thahãan mâak maay nák///</p>	<p>But history has pointed out that tyranny of the majority is much more dangerous than a military dictatorship.///</p>	<p>New: History + mental Projection evaluative lexis Adversative conj</p>
<p>13. reiteration of Thesis</p>	<p>mûa ñhånkhãy tàaŋ tàaŋ daŋ klàaw sâaŋ khên dooy phûunam rábòp “thõrarâat dooy siãŋ khâaŋ mâak”,//</p> <p>Ø cæŋ khâu ñhånkhãy daŋ thiî nák pràat chaaw ?aŋkrít dây ?athibaay wáy</p> <p>wâa mûa sãnyaa prachaakhom thùuk tham laay, prachaaarát kô lôm salãay. /// thúk khon cæŋ mii sít taam thammachâat //</p> <p>thiî ca klàp pay cháy “kòtmăay pàa”.</p> <p>læ? phûu [[thiî thũ ?aawút khâu lóm láaŋ phûu nam [[sêŋ mòt khwaamchõp tham]]]] nán ca tõi siãŋ phay ?aw ?eŋ.///</p> <p>Ø chûa //</p>	<p>When conditions are built by a leader of a system of “tyranny of the majority”//</p> <p>we enter a situation as English philosophers have explained //</p> <p>that when the social contract is destroyed// the people’s state will collapse///</p> <p>Everyone has natural rights // to revert to “law of the jungle”//</p> <p>and people [[that carry weapons // to depose the leader [[who lacks legitimacy]]] must do so at their own risk///</p> <p>I believe That the people [[who staged</p>	<p>Hypotactic clause of enhancement – temporal</p> <p>Verbal clause and mental (below) Material clauses in projection</p> <p>mental</p> <p>Modal, evaluative lexis</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>wâa klùm phûu [[k๓๓ kaan rátthaprahãan mûa wan thiî 19 kanyaayon 2006]] y๓๓m trănàk nay sàtcatham kh๓๓ ní dii // lǎe? Ø dây kratham kaan danklàaw pay dūay khwaamrúusək phitch๓๓p chūadii // wâa ton tham phûa khray.///</p>	<p>the coup on 19 September 2006]] were likely well aware of this truth // That they acted morally for who///</p>	
<p>14. Exhortation/ Appeal</p>	<p>khon thay suàn yàe khonj ca mây ráy diansǎa kəən pay // con thǎj kàp mây rúu // wâa rátthabaan Tháksǎn dây láməət sǎnyaa prachaakhom sám lǎeəw sám lǎw.// lǎe? Ø khonj mây lǒj koj farəŋ ruə phûak níyom farəŋ [[thiî phayaayaam khòtsanaa chuan chûa // wâa kaankhôn lóm rátthabaan [[thiî maa càak kaanlúaktəŋ]] nán ca tǒj tham dooy kaanlúaktəŋ thawnán./// lǎe? yàa phəə fǎn // wâa rátthabaan thəwrarâat [[thiî thǎe cǐŋ]] nán ca yəwmlon càak weethii pay // phiaŋ phrɔ? mii mób camnuanmâak // maa ruam tua kan// təkoon dam-thəw rátthabaan</p>	<p>Most Thai are not so innocent // that they don't know // that Thaksin government violated the social contract again and again// and (they) are probably not tricked by people favouring westerners [[who try to propagandise// that eliminating a government [[that comes from an election]] can only be done by an election/// And don't imagine // that a truly tyrannical government will surrender the stage// just because there is a large mob// collecting together// to shout and rebuke a tyrannical</p>	<p>Attrib /Modality/ Mental/ Neg pol Thaksin govt Shift in participants Shift in mood to imp. Mood/ Mental Material in projection Tyrannical govt</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>thɔɔrarâat nán // phrɔɔm thiī ca cháy muanchon láe? kamlan tamrùat pen khr̄uəŋm̄uə nay kaanráksǎa ʔamnâat khǔɔŋ phûak khǎw yàŋ temthiī.///</p> <p>hèetphǒn láe? khwaamthùuktɔŋ kamcàt phûak níí ʔòk pay mây dâi.///</p> <p>yà luum // wâa yan mây mii nákpràat thaŋ thr̄útsadii rátthasàat khon day [[thiī ʔòk maa nǎe? // wâa rátthǎathíppat [[thiī pen thɔɔrarâat dooy sǎŋ khâŋ mâak nay rátthasaphaa r̄uə kaan-yàŋ-sǎŋ]] mii sìt // thiī ca lámâet rátthathammanuun r̄uə sǎnyaa prachaakhom dâi lǎy///</p>	<p>government// at the same time that (they) will use the masses and police as a tool in the protection of [their] power</p> <p>Reason and might cannot force this group out</p> <p>Don't forget// that there is no political philosopher [[that suggests// that a sovereign leader[[that is a tyrant of a tyranny of the majority in the parliament or the opinion polls]] has the right // to violate the constitution or the social contract///</p>	<p>Mood / mental</p>
	<p>rátthaprahǎan kàp rátthathammanuun</p>	<p>The coup and the constitution</p>	
<p>15. Claim</p>	<p>thâa raw khâwca kǎæn thǎe khǔɔŋ kaancháy kamlan // khôn lóm rátthabaan taam kham ʔathíbaay khǔɔŋ paramaacaan thaŋ thr̄útsadii rátthasàat taam [[thiī klàaw maa léæw]], //</p>	<p>If we understand the core of use of force // To overthrow the government according to the explanation of the political theorists[[that have been spoken about]]// (we) can see //</p>	<p>“we” + mental; Condition</p> <p>we + mental</p> <p>Relational and material</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>Ø ca hěn // wâa tàkka thaaj wíchaakaan mây mii kaan banyàt khōō hâam kaankratham patiwát- rátthaprahään wáy nay rátthathammanuun รູ້ kòtmăay.///</p> <p>khwaamkhít [[thiī ca pōŋkan kaantham patiwát- rátthaprahään// dooy kaanbanyàt [[pen khōō hâam wáy nay rátthathammanuun]]] nán pen rưâng pháəfăn.///</p> <p>sùan thiī banyàt wáy nay kòtmăay ʔaayaa // dooy mii kaan kamnòt ʔoŋ prakòōp khōōŋ khwaamphít lăəʔ bon loŋ thōt wáy nán // Ø ca cháy dây phǒn tææ chaphóʔ kàp phûu pháæ thâwnán. ///</p> <p>sùan phûu chanáʔ, Ø yōōm ca cháy sít thammachâat // prakàat yóklōək rátthathammanuun // lăəʔ prakàat níraphòtsakam tua ʔeeŋ kàp khanáʔ // dooy hây mii phǒn yóōn lăŋ // (taam thiī praakòt nay maatraa 17 khōōŋ rátthathammanuun hææŋ ràatchaʔaanaacàk thay chabàp chûa</p>	<p>that the academic logic has no regulation prohibiting a revolution – coup in the constitution or law///</p> <p>The idea [[that (we) prohibit a coup By the regulation [[as a prohibition in the constitution]]]] Is an illusion///</p> <p>As for the fact that (it is) regulated in Criminal law// By having a stipulation of wrong and punishment// Can be used just for (dealing with?) losers only///</p> <p>As for winners (they) use natural rights// to renounce constitution // and announce retrospective amnesty for themselves and council as there are results later// according to what appears in Article 17 of the temporary constitution [[that is used currently]]</p>	<p>Absolute theme to change focus – criminal code</p> <p>Absolute theme to change focus – winner</p> <p>Modality Set up following recommendation with khຸຸ</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>khraaw [[thiî cháy yùu pàtcuban nân læʔ]]. ///</p> <p>chanán Ø cɯŋ hě̃n</p> <p>wâa nay râtthathammanuun laay lák, ʔàksǔɔn [[thiî dii // læʔ săamâat cháy dâu thon naan]] khuan ca mii sǎarâʔ kiawkàp praden tàŋ tàŋ daŋ tòɔ pay níi ʔaw wáy khɯɯ</p>	<p>Therefore (I/we?) think That in a constitution [[that is good// and can be used for a long time]] there should be the following</p>	
<p>16. Recommendations 1 (for new constitution)</p>	<p>(1) mây khuan mii khôɔ hâam kaankratham [[thiî lámâet râtthathammanuun]] ʔaw wáy // hây rókruŋraŋ // phrɔʔ [[yàŋraŋ sǎa]] kô cháy mây dâu // (daŋ thiî banyàt wáy nay râtthathammanuun hææŋ râtcha ʔaanaacàk thay phɔɔ sǔɔ 2540 maatraa 63 læʔ 65). ///</p> <p>thâa hàak râtthathammanuun mây phûut thǔŋ praden níi, // mûa khanáʔ bukkhon day khôn lóm râtthabaan dây sǎmrèt,// Ø kô mây tŋ prakàat yók lĕək râtthathammanuun. ///</p> <p>panhǎa khwaamtòɔ nĕaŋ nay kaan phátthanaa</p>	<p>(1) there should not be an item prohibiting an action [[that violates constitution]]// so that it is cluttered// because [[anything that's wrong]] cannot be used// as stated in Article 63 and 65 of 1997 constitution of the kingdom of Thailand//</p> <p>if constitution does not mention this point// when any committee of people have ousted government// (they) don't need to announce the abolition of the constitution//</p> <p>therefore there won't be a problem of continuity of development of democracy//</p> <p>the futile hope [[that (they) will use</p>	<p>Neg pol. Modality, numbering (cooperative procedure?? – see Martin & Rose 2008 p. 190)</p> <p>Condition: positive Hypotactic clause enhancement</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>rábòɔp prachaathíppatay kô ca mây mii. ///</p> <p>khwaam wǎŋ lomlom læəŋ [[thií ca cháy rátthathammanuun pŋpraam kaanpatiwát-rátthaprahǎan]] kô mây kəət. ///</p> <p>Ø cəŋ thâw kàp [[plòtplòɔy tua ʔeəŋ càak kaanpen chaləy khǒɔŋ rátthathammanuun [[thií khon camphûak nəŋ kamnòt khûn]]]]. ///</p> <p>phrɔ́ɔm kan nán, Ø kô hây hǎa mâatrakaan// kamcàt khwaamkhít ʔòɔk pay càak man samǒɔŋ khǒɔŋ khon camnuan mâak dooy chaphóʔ yàəŋ yîŋ nák kaanmɕəŋ læʔ nák khlǎn wǎy [[thií chòɔp thòot// wâa rátthathammanuun mây dii// thæəŋ thií ca yɔɔmráp // wâa nák kaanmɕəŋ lewlew tàəŋ hàak [[thií tham hây bâanmɕəŋ pànpùan yùu bòɔy bòɔy]]]]//</p>	<p>the constitution to deter revolution]] won't arise///</p> <p>(It's) like [[being released from being a prisoner of the constitution [[that one group stipulated]]]]///</p> <p>At the same time (they) find measures// to eliminate ideas from minds of many people most especially politicians and undercurrents/activists [[who blame constitution //that it is bad // instead of admitting // that (it is) bad politicians [[that often cause the country disruption]]]]///</p>	<p>Conj adj – simultaneous, imperative</p>
17.	<p>(2) thâa hàak wâa raw ca lɔɔŋ tham nay thaəŋ tronkankhâam sàk khráŋ// Ø ca pen yàəŋ ray? ///</p> <p>klàaw khɕɕ Ø tham hây kaan patiwát-rátthaprahǎan pen sîŋ [[thií chòɔp dûay kòtmǎy// dooy kamnòt ŋhǎnkǎy //hây</p>	<p>(2) If we did the opposite just once what would (it) be like? ///</p> <p>That is (It) makes the coup be a thing [[that is legitimate by law //by stipulating conditions// so that the following matters can be done///</p>	<p>Numbering, condition “we” Mood – interrog</p> <p>Conj adj Causative vgc</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
[[Procedure]]	<p>săamâat tham ร๑น ๑๑น๑น๑น ๑๑ pay nı̄ dāy///</p> <p>(2.1) hây Ø càt tân ๑๑น๑น ๑๑sarà? chaphó? kít [[thı̄i plòt càak kaanm๑an]] khên 1-3 khaná? // ph๑a tham nāathī //</p> <p>sămrùat mati? mahăachon khǒ๑ khon thay nay yaam wı̄krət// khûapkhûu kan pay kàp rátthásaphaa nay praden [[thı̄i kiawkàp kaan lámə̄t sǎnyaa prachaakhom]] // (khwaam mǎay kwān kwàa rátthathammanuun) ///</p> <p>(2.2) hây ๑๑น๑น ๑๑sarà? <<...>> tân praden khamthăam//</p> <p><<taam khǒ 2.1>></p> <p>lăe? náp khánææn càak phûu tǒp chaphó? phûu [[mii khwaam rúu nay praden [[thı̄i thăam]]]] thāwnán ///</p> <p>(mây náp khánææn khǒ๑ phûu [[thı̄i mii tææ khwaam hěn// tææ mây mii khwaamrúu ləy)].///</p> <p>(2.3) thāa phǒn càak kaan sǎmrùat mati? (khǒ 2.2) mii khánææn tǎntææ 50% khên</p>	<p>(2.1) establish 1-3 independent bodies [[that are free from politics]] //</p> <p>to do the job to conduct opinion polls of Thais in a crisis together with the parliament [[that is about violating social contract]]// (the meaning is broader than constitution) ///</p> <p>(2.2) have independent organisations (following 2.1) collate responses// and count results from respondents especially people [[who have knowledge about the questions]]only//</p> <p>(don't count results of people [[who have just opinions // but do not have knowledge]]//</p> <p>(2.3) If results from the survey (item 2.2) have a score of 50% or more//</p>	<p>Imperative</p> <p>Numbering , imperative</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>pay, // Ø hěn wâa râtthabaan lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom lǎæw // hây Ø thǔ // wâa râtthabaan dây tham phít tǝ prachaakhom yàaŋ “ráayrææŋ” // lǎe? hây ?ookàat tham kaan kǎækhǎy phaay nay weelaa 1 dɛan. ///</p> <p>míchanán prachaachon thúk mùu làw mii sít // doon lóm râtthabaan dây dooy sǎntìwíthii <<....>> ruǔ dooy kaancháy kamlaŋ (chên kaantham râttháprahǎan) kǝ dǎy // <<(chên khâarâatchakaan ruǔ phanákrǎan thanaakhaan sǎamâat yùt rǎan dây)>>///</p> <p>(2.4) hây mii bòtbanyàt // hâam thahǎan – tamrùat tham râtthaprahǎan phǎa phǎnprayòot kǎæ ton ?eeŋ lǎe? phákphûak // talòot con kamnòt weelaa [[thíi ca tǝŋ khǔn ?amnâat thaaŋ kaanmǔaŋ hây kǎæ prachaachon phaaynay weelaa mây kǎen 1 pii]///</p>	<p>(we) see// that the government has violated the social contract// so (we) believe// that the government did “serious” wrong towards the community // and make the opportunity to correct their wrong within one month///</p> <p>For that reason every group of the population has the right // to oust the government by peaceful means <<(e.g. the public service, or bank employees are able to go on strike)>> or by use of force <<(such as staging a coup)>></p> <p>(2.4) have a regulation // prohibiting the military – police from staging a coup to benefit themselves// stipulating a time [[in which they must return political power to the people within not more than one year]]///</p>	<p>imperative</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
18 Claim	<p>kaanmii khôw banyàt wáy nay rátthathammanuun [[thií yòomráp kaan pliànp læ̃n rátthabaan// dooy cháy kamlaŋ thahãan]] nán mìn mée tòw [[kaan thií ca thùuk pranaam// wã raw sòŋsǎəm kaancháy kamlaŋ// phêâ prayòot nay kaan ráksãa phâaplák khǒwŋ prathêet].///</p> <p>Ø cəŋ pen sǐŋ [[thií mây khuan tham]] nǒk càak ca mii khwaammâncay [[wã Ø mii konlamét phɔw //thií ca tham hây khon thay læ̃? sǎŋkhom lôok hě̃n chǒwɔp dúay]].///</p> <p>yàaŋray kô taam, thãa hàak Ø khít// læ̃? kamnòt ŋhãnkhãy hây rǒwkhǒwɔp // Ø kô àat mii phǒn pen kaanpǒwŋpraam mí? hây rátthabaan thɔwraarâat lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom dây// nễaŋ càak Ø wànkreen kaan patiwát – rátthaprahãan rǔ̃ kaan prathúaaŋ taam wíthií “?aarayá?khàtkhǔ̃n” ///</p> <p>dúay khǒw [[thií khuan rámat ráwan]] kô khuu Ø ca tŋŋ waan krǒwɔp hây kèət khwaamsiãhãay tòw sùn ruam nǒwɔy thiísùt.///</p>	<p>Having regulations in the constitution [[that accepts a change of government // by using military force]] is precarious and attracts condemnation // that we promote the use of force// to protect the image of the country]///</p> <p>(It) is thus a thing [[which we shouldn't do] unless we have the confidence [[that it is a good strategy // to make Thai people and world society favour us]]///</p> <p>However, if we considerably limit conditions// it may have a result as a deterrent// to not let a tyrannical government violate the social contract // due to apprehension about coup or a protest of “civil disobedience”///</p> <p>with the item [[that should take care]] being to establish a framework so there is the least public damage///</p>	<p>Modality Relational, mental and material</p> <p>Adversative conj adj; condition</p> <p>Modality. Cause</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>Ø ʔaat kamnòt mâatrakaan hây phûu [[lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom]] chótcháy khâa siǎhǎay [[thiī kèət khûn]] <<...>> hây kǎæ rát duây (chên khâacháycàay nay kaan lǎktâŋ thûapay mǎa wan thiī 2 meesǎayon 2006// <<(dooy khamnuan pen ɲən)>> sŋ tǔmmaa sǎan rátthathammanuun wínitchǎy // wâa Ø pen mookháʔ pentôn)///</p>	<p>(we) may prescribe measures so people [[who violated the social contract]] compensate for [[what happened]] <<by calculating in money>> (e.g. cost of election on 2 April 2006 that later a constitutional court judge found that (it) was invalid///</p>	
Title	khǔw khuan ráwan	A word of caution	
19. Restatement of problem	<p>rátthabaan tháksŋn klâa lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom yàŋ ráayrǎæŋyīŋ kwàa samǎy dayday nay prawàttisàat khǔw chǎat thay tǎŋtǎæ 1932 pen tǔn maa.///</p> <p>phûu nam rátthabaan ní dây sâaŋ ɲânkǎy dûay ʔamnâat ɲən khǔw ton lǎʔ khǔw rát.///</p> <p>ʔiik thǎŋ Ø biàtbar ʔamnâat rát // cháy sǎmuanchon lǎʔ konlayút nay kaan càttâŋ muanchon // sâaŋ khwaam nǎachǎathũ hây kǎæ fàay ton.///</p>	<p>Thaksin government dared to seriously violate the social contract more than any other time in the history of the Thai nation since 1932///</p> <p>leader of this government established the conditions with the power of his own money and the state//</p> <p>Also (He) misused the power of the state// to use the mass media in the manoeuvring of the masses// to build credibility for his own side///</p> <p>at the same time (he) destroyed the</p>	Thaksin govt, leader of this government, in hyperTheme and thematic

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>khanà? diaw kan Ø kô tham laay khwaamnâachưáthưố khố๓ງ fàay tronkankhâam phiaၣ် // phưá hây phưak ton yùu nay ʔamnâat dây tò๓pay // phưá kò๓pkooy khwaam mângkhâၣ် // tææ Ø sâၣ် khwaampànpùan siáhăay kææ bâanmưၣ် // dooy mây còp sîn///</p>	<p>credibility of the opposition// so that his own group could continue in power// to seize wealth //</p> <p>but (he) created agitation for the country// without ending///</p>	<p>Conj. Adj. simultaneous</p>
<p>20.</p>	<p>lũmphraၣ် khâၣ်nâa [[thií ráttabaan màຍ phaaytây kaannam khố๓ງ phon ʔèk surayút culaanon ca tၣ် kâaw dæၣ် pay phaaynay 1 pii]] nán mii yùu pen ʔan mâak.///</p> <p>ၣ်hâၣ်khăy tàၣ်tâၣ် [[thií rábò๓p tháksin dây sâၣ် wáy [[sၣ် pen ʔùppasàk tò๓ [[kaan thií ca phátthanaa prathêet pay yàၣ် râapưၣ်n]]]] nán pen sၣ် [[thií nâa wítòkkaၣ်won yàၣ်yၣ်]].///</p> <p>nay thaၣ် kaanmưၣ် kô dii <<...>> nay dân khwaammâၣ်khၣ် kô dii <<...>> lă? panhăa sèetthakít-săၣ်khom kô dii <<...>> Ø ca hên dây wâa mii panhăa thií ca tၣ် sàsăၣ် kæækhăy pen ʔan mâak.///</p>	<p>Future traps [[that the new government under the leadership of General Surayut Chulanon will encounter within one year]] there will be a lot///</p> <p>Different conditions [[that the Thaksin regime established [[that were obstacles to the development of the country in a fractious way]]] is a thing [[that was extremely worrying]]</p> <p>Whether politically << the inciting of Thai Rak Thai party members in each electoral area to mobilise 3,000 people>> in the area of stability <<the problem of the 3 southern border provinces, the agitation of northerners to fight with southerners// making poor people hate the middle class>> and problems of the economy-</p>	<p>Modality,</p> <p>Predicated Theme</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
<p>Recommendations 2 (for new government)</p>	<p><<(kaan plùkpàn hây samăachík phák thay rák thay nay tææ lá? khèet lưáktân rádomphon triam wáy 3,000 khon)>> <<(panhăa 3 caṅwát chaaydææn phâaktây kaan pànhũa khon nưả hây pàthá? kàp khon phâaktây// hây khoncon kliàt chan chonchán klaaṅ)>> <<(khrooṅkaan prachaaníyom tàaṅtāaṅ mâak maay [[thiī sâaṅ] khwaamkhâatwǎṅ lomlom lǎæṅlǎæṅ hâykææ khon yâakcon camnuan mâak]], nayoobaay sètthakit baṅ yàaṅ ʔaasǎy kaan kratûn raaycàay mâak kwàa raay ráp nay rádàp râakyâa nán dǎənsǔn thaṅ kàp thrútsadii sètthakit phɔɔphiṅ)>> thiī sǎmkhan Ø ca tōṅ pràppruṅ khrooṅkaan prachaaníyom cɔɔmplɔɔm yàṅ mii konlamét/// khanà? diaw kan kô khuan ráksǎa khrooṅkaan prachaaníyom [[thiī dii]] ʔaw wáy. /// nōɔk càak nán, Ø kô ʔàat tōṅ phêəm khrooṅ kaan prachaaníyom màymày [[thiī phátthanaa tháksà?// lǎe? sâaṅ] ʔamnâat tɔɔɔwṅ hây kææ phûu khon nay rádàp râakyâa mâak khûn]].///</p>	<p>society <<different populist plans [[that created futile disappointment for many poor people]], economic policies depending on stimulating expenditure more than income at the grass roots in the opposite direction from the theory of sufficiency economy>> (we) can see // that there are many problems That must be cleared up and solved /// What is important (is they) must adapt poor populist policies strategically /// At the same time (they) should maintain good populist policies/// Apart from that (they) might add new populist plans [[that develop the skills // and build more bargaining power for people at the grassroots]]/// Thaksin government created</p>	<p>Thematic equative: what's important it + modality Material; modality Conj. Adj. simultaneous Conj. adj</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>rátthabaan tháksĭn dây sâaŋ ๑๕๓๑๕๕ // hây khon camnuan mâak pen rôok prasàat // ๑๕๓๑๕๕ Ø kliàt ๑๕๓๑๕๕ naayókrátthamontrii khǒŋ ton pen ʔan mâak.///</p> <p>khanàʔ diaw kan kǒ mii phûak “rák tháksĭn” yàaŋ khlâŋkhláyÿu pen ʔan mâak chên diaw kan.///</p> <p>khay mii konlamét [[thĭi mii prasĭtthíphâap nay kaan ráŋáp ʔarom khǒŋ tháŋ sǒŋ fàay dâ bâaŋ]]// phróʔ thâa hàak sètthakit kèət khwaam chaŋákŋan nêaŋ càak kàpdàk [[thĭi rátthabaan kǒŋ waŋ wáy]]// rábòp tháksĭn ʔàat ca fứn khứn chĭip klàp maa ʔiik kǒ dâ.///</p>	<p>conditions// So that a lot of people were crazy// That is (they) hated him and loved him. ///</p> <p>At the same time there were groups “loving Thaksin” ecstatically at the same time///</p> <p>Whoever has a strategy [[that has efficiency in the suppression of both sides]]// because if the economy stagnates because of the trap [[that the former government put in place]]// the Thaksin government could be resurrected.//</p>	<p>Conj. Adj. simultaneous condition</p>
21. Coda	<p>sùan nay dâan kaantâaŋ prathêet nán rátthabaan chûakhraaw phróŋm dūay khanáʔpatirĭup rǔ khanaʔ montri khwaammânkhoŋ hææŋ cháat khon mây tŋ kaŋwon mâak nák.//</p> <p>[[kaan thĭi khanáʔpatirĭup sâamâat yút ʔamnâat kaan pòkkhǒŋ càak rábòp thǒrarâat [[thĭi khum ʔamnâat bètsèt]] dây //dooy mây tŋ sǎ</p>	<p>As for foreign affairs, the interim government and the reform council or the National Security Council needn't worry too much///</p> <p>Whether [[The fact that the Reform Council was able to seize power of government from an absolute tyrannical regime// by not having to spill any blood]] //</p>	<p>Absolute Theme – change focus Modality Fact clause</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>l̥h̥at n̥uá]] k̥o̥ dii, //</p> <p>∅ s̥ām̥āat càt t̥aŋ r̥átthabaan ch̥uakhraaw [[thi̥ d̥āyráp khwaam wáywaan̥caay yàaŋ kw̥āaŋkhw̥āaŋ th̥aŋ càak b̥h̥aŋbon l̥é? b̥h̥aŋl̥āaŋ]] k̥o̥ dii. //</p> <p>∅ s̥ām̥āat càt t̥aŋ konkay //</p> <p>s̥āaŋ khwaam sam̥āanch̥ān kh̥ōŋ khon nay ch̥h̥at //</p> <p>tr̥uat s̥òŋp ʔaw th̥ōt k̥àp bùkkhon [[thi̥ ch̥ōŋr̥āatsbaŋl̥ūaŋ]] //</p> <p>ruam th̥aŋ waŋ kr̥òŋp kaan tham ŋaan //</p> <p>ph̥h̥ā f̥h̥ūnfuu r̥ábòŋp prachaathíppatay [[thi̥ th̥æ̥ciŋ]] ʔaw wáy d̥āy phaay nay weelaa ʔan khuan l̥éæw k̥o̥ dii. //</p> <p>∅ l̥úan pen ph̥ōŋŋaan [[thi̥ s̥ām̥āat s̥āaŋ khwaamch̥ōp̥tham h̥āy k̥ææ kaan tham r̥átthaprah̥āan khraaw ní m̥āak kw̥āa k̥haná? r̥átthaprah̥āan r̥ūn k̥ōŋ k̥ōŋ thi̥ ph̥āan maa]] phaaynay kr̥òŋp weelaa 1 pii l̥h̥ǎ. //</p> <p>h̥àak k̥haná? montriikhwaamm̥ānkhon̥h̥æ̥ŋch̥h̥at l̥é? r̥átthabaan s̥ām̥āat thamŋaan d̥āy kl̥āykhiaŋ k̥àp p̥āwm̥āy [[thi̥ t̥aŋ wáy]] //</p>	<p>Or (they) could establish a temporary government [[that gained trust widely both from the authorities and the lower levels]]//</p> <p>Or (they) were able to create the mechanism//</p> <p>to build reconciliation of people in the nation//</p> <p>review punishment for corrupt people//</p> <p>including establishing a framework //</p> <p>to revive true democratic system within a reasonable timeframe, //</p> <p>(this) all is the result [[that will be able to build legitimacy for the coup more than past coup groups]] within one year//</p> <p>If the National Security Council and the government can meet the set goals [[that are set down]] //</p> <p>and restore peace //</p> <p>as they have in the last three weeks, //</p> <p>foreigners will accept and respect the intellect of the Thai people. //</p> <p>But this needs to be on the condition [[that says// the leader of</p>	<p>Condition</p> <p>Result modality</p>

Genre stage	Thai	English	Linguistic features
	<p>phrɔ̀m kàp kaan fə́nfuu khwaam saŋòp riâprɔ̀y //</p> <p>daŋ thiî kə̀ətkhɛ̀n chûaŋ 3 sàpdaa [[thiî phàan maa]] //</p> <p>chaaw tàaŋ prathêet khon ca hǎn maa hây khwaam yɔ̀mráp nápthə̀ phuumípanyaa khɔ̀ŋ khon thay ///</p> <p>tææ tháŋníi khon ca tɔ̀ŋ yùu phaaytây ɲə̀nkhǎy [[thiî wâa// phûunam khaaná? patirûup khraaw níi ca tɔ̀ŋ mây cháy ?itthíphon// sawææŋ hǎa ?amnâat læ? phǎn prayòot phə̀ ton ?een læ? phákphûak]]///</p>	<p>the reform council does not use influence// to exploit the power and benefit for themselves and their party]]///</p>	

Chaiwat Sathaa-Anand

Chaiwat Satha-Anand. (2550/2007). อริสโตเติลกับรัฐประหาร "19 กันยายน" [Aristotle and the "19th September" coup]. *ฟ้าเดียวกัน [Faa Diaw Kan - Same Sky], Special Edition*, 152-167.

Genre stage	Thai	English translation	Linguistic features
1. Background (coups as topic)	<p>rátthaprahään "19 kanyaa" tææk tàŋ càak rátthaprahään lăy khráŋ <<...>> [[thií Ø khœy kòət khûn nay prathêet thay // lăŋ plianplæəŋ kaanpòkkhrɔŋ 2475]] phiaŋray]]///</p> <p><<(thâa Ø náp chaphó? [[thií mii kaankhlhân kamləŋ // phəâ kòv kaanpliànplæəŋ tháj thií sămrèt láe? lóm lěw kô ruam 17 khráŋ]])>></p> <p>Ø pen praden wícaŋ thaəŋ wíchaakaan [[thií nâa ca nam maa sùksăa dâŋ nay chœəŋ rátthaprahään priəpthiəp nay sǎŋkhom thay]].///</p> <p>chên baəŋ khon ?àat tâŋ khamthăam thŋŋ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ræəŋ cuŋcay láe? phuumí? lăŋ khɔŋ phūu [[tham rátthaprahään]] chên ŋaansùksăa khɔŋ Chalídaaphɔŋ Sòŋsămphān rŋəŋ "Supernatural prophecy in Thai politics: The role of a spiritual cultural element in coup decisions" (PhD Dissertation, Claremont 	<p>Coup of 19 September differs from many other coups <<...>> [[that have occurred in Thailand// after (they) changed government 1932]] to what extent?///</p> <p><<(if (we) count just [[where there was a deployment// in order to create change both successful and failed altogether 17 times]])>></p> <p>(Coups) have been the subject of academic study [[that should be studied in terms of comparative coups in Thai society]]///</p> <p>for example some people may pose questions about</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> motivation and background of people [[staging the coup]] such as study of Chalidaporn Songsamphan about "Supernatural prophecy in Thai politics: The role of a spiritual cultural element in coup decisions" (PhD Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1991) the socio-political context in staging the coup each time the process [[that the people [[staging the coup]] <<who often are soldiers>> withdraw 	<p>Rpt of lexis e.g. rátthaprahään</p> <p>Rpt of clause type – first clauses of para 1 and 2</p> <p>Verbal clauses: ?àat tâŋ khamthăam (also below in para 2) Use of dot points and rpt of coup as lexis and names of political scientists and their research</p>

	<p>Graduate School, 1991)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bɔ́rìbòt thaɲ səŋkhom kaanmɯaŋ nay kaankòɔ rátthaprahãan tææ láʔ khráŋ • krabuan wíthii [[thií phûu [[tham rátthaprahãan]] <<sɯŋ mák ca pen thahãan>> thǎɔn tua ʔòɔk càak ʔamnâat]] chên ɲaan khǎɔŋ Talukder Maniruzzaman, Military withdrawal from politics: A comparative study (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1987) chíi hây hěn thǎɔŋ wíthii kaan [[thií thahãan thǎɔn tua ʔòɔk càak ʔamnâat]] nay láay wíthii dây kææ – Ø thǎɔn bææp waɲ phǎæŋ// láéʔ mii khrooŋkaan //lǎŋ càt kaan lɛak tâŋ (kɔranii khǎɔŋ thay pii 2522) – Ø thǎɔn bææp chàpphlan //lǎŋ mǎɔp ʔamnâat hây rátthabaan chaphóʔkaan (kɔranii law pii 2505) – Ø thǎɔn phrɔʔ kaanpàtìwát səŋkhom (kɔranii kaanpàtìwát yà y nay ciin 2492 láéʔ chay chanáʔ khǎɔŋ wíatnaam nay sǎŋkhraam chɛɛ diaw kan pii 2518) – Ø thǎɔn phrɔʔ kaanlúkkhɛn sɯu khǎɔŋ muanchon (kaanlóm ʔamnâat rátthabaan 	<p>from power]] such as work of Talukder Maniruzzaman, Military withdrawal from politics: A comparative study (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1987) indicates the many means [[by which the military withdraws from power]]</p> <p>that is</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – (they) withdraw by plotting // and having a plan// after arranging an election (case of Thailand in 1979) – (they) withdraw instantly// after surrendering power to a provisional government (case in Laos in 1962) – (they) withdraw because of a social revolution (case of the major revolution in China in 1949 and victory of Vietnam in the war of the same name in 1975) – (they) withdraw because of a popular uprising (the fall of power of the Thai military government in the change from the events of 14 October 2516 and Bangladesh 1990) – (they) withdraw because of of a foreign invasion// (as the case of Uganda being invaded by Tanzania in 1979, Argentina was invaded by England in the war of the Malvinas in 1983) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the result of the staging of those coups to the development of democracy in Thai society • at the international level (we) might study coups (from a) comparative (perspective)// that is taking the staging of an important 	
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	<p>thahãan thay nay kaanpliànplææŋ càak hêtkaan 14 tulaakhom 2516 lée? baŋkalaathêet 2533)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Ø thɔ̄ɔn phrɔʔ kaanrúkraan sâæksææŋ càak tàŋ chât //(daŋ kɔranii ʔuukandaa thùuk tæensaania bùk nay pii 2522, ʔaacentinaa thùuk ʔaŋkrít bùk nay sŏŋkhraam maalwiinaa pii 2526)¹ • phŏn khɔ̄ɔŋ kaankòɔ rátthaprahãan nán nán tòɔ phátthanaakaan prachaathipatay nay sãŋkhom thay • nay radàp nanachâat Ø kô ʔàat tham kaansùksãa rátthaprahãan priapthîap // khuu nam kaankòɔ rátthaprahãan khráŋ sãmkan [[thîi dòotden pen phisèet]] // maa thîap kàp kaanrátthaprahãan [[thîi kəət khên nay prathêet ʔuùn ʔuùn]],/// Ø pen kaansùksãa khâam wátthanátham [[thîi duu ca yaŋ mii yùu mây mâak nák]];/// Ø phít kàp kaansùksãa kaanpatiawát priapthîap chên ŋaan khɔ̄ɔŋ Theda Skocpol, States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)/// 	<p>coup [[that is remarkable]]// (and) comparing (it) with coups [[that occurred in other countries]]/// being as a cross-cultural study [[that there does not seem to be much (about)]] it is different from a study of comparative revolution such as the work of Theda Skocpol, States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)/// </p>	
2. (...Background) (people/academic	rátthaprahãan “19 kanyaa” pen rátthaprahãan [[thîi tææk tàŋ pen phísèet càak rátthaprahãan	“19 September” coup is a coup [[that differs especially from other coups in many respects]]/// 	(rpt clause type as para 1)

¹ **duu** bòt wíphâak ŋaan chin níi dâŋ nay Kasian Techáphiirá?...

<p>experiencing coups as topic)</p>	<p>khráŋ ʔuən ʔuən lăay prakaan]./// tææ [[thií nâasõncay nay thiínií]] <<Ø hě̃n>> ca yùu thií [[Ø pen kaanrátthaprahăan [[sêŋ mii phûu // ʔòk maa wíphâak wícaan dûay khwaamhě̃n [[thií tææktàŋ // khàtyææŋ kan mâak thií sùt pen prawàttikaan]]]]]./// Ø ʔàat tâŋ kham thăam rææk dâŋ // wâa [[thií kə̃t khwaam khàtyææŋ tææktàŋ kan chên níi]] pen phôn khǒŋ ʔaray?///</p>	<p>but [[what is interesting here]] <<(we) see>> rests in [[that (it) was a coup [[in which there were people// coming out to comment with opinions [[that differed // (and) conflicted the most historically]]]] (We) could pose the first question// that [[that there was this conflict]] was a result of what?///</p>	<p>Interrogative as hyperNew</p>
<p>3.(...background)</p>	<p>Ø khon klàaw dâŋ // wâa kaanthòkthiãŋ làw níi pen phôn khǒŋ tua kaanrátthaprahăan khráŋ níi ʔeŋ // phasăan kàp phúŋ phuumí? khǒŋ panyaachon [[thií ʔòk maa wíphâak wícaan rátthaprahăan]] // phró? khon làw níi mâŋ nǒŋ phàan sênthaaŋ hèetkaan pliànplææŋ thaŋ kaanmæŋ sămkhan sâmkhan yàŋ 14 tulaakhom 2516– 6 tulaakhom 2519 – lăé? phrútsaphaakhom 2535. /// khon tàŋ rûn [[thií dæ̃nthaaŋ phàan prasòpakaan làw níi]] yǒm mii thâa thii tǒ rátthaprahăan 19 kanyaa yàŋday yàŋnèŋ/// *chên thâa Ø phíkhró? rûŋ níi nay chæŋ</p>	<p>(We) can say that these debates are a result of the staging of this coup// combined with background of intellectuals [[that came out to comment on the coup]]// because not a few of these people witnessed important political changes such as 14 October 1973 - 6 October 1976 - and May 1992/// Different generations [[that experienced these events]] probably have different attitude towards 19 Sept coup/// For example if (we) analyse this matter in terms of age or generation of people commenting (gerontology - way ruŋ “rûn” wítthayaa)// (it is) interesting to observe//</p>	<p>Answer to question Rpt of lexis: panyaachon [[thií... khon làw níi khon tàŋ rûn [[thií... khon [[thií... rátthaprahăan</p>

	<p>chûaη ʔaayúʔ rḥḥ rûnraaw khḥḥ phû wíphâak wícaan (gerontology – way rḥḥ “rûn” wíthayaaʔ), // nâasöncay// thiî ca phítcaaranaa// wâa khon [[thiî phàn hêtkaan phrútsaphaakhom 2535 tàæ yàη diaw]] ca mii thátsanáʔ mḥñ rḥḥ tàη yàηray càak khon [[thiî phàn hêtkaan pliànplææη khráη yàη nay bâanmḥaη maa tháη 3 khráη]]///</p> <p>*rḥḥ ráttaphrahãan “19 kanyaa” ca mii khwaammăay yàηray kàp phûukhon [[thiî chûâmýoon ton ʔeeη khâw kàp hêtkaan 6 tulaa pen phísèet]].///</p> <p>khwaammăay làw ní mḥñ rḥḥ tàη yàηray càak khon [[thiî lõηmḥm rḥḥ mây yàak ca còt cam “6 tulaa” pay lææw]]///</p> <p>nḥḥ càak nán Ø yàη ʔàat pen [[phróʔ prapheeni thaη wíchaakaan nææw wíphâak [[thiî pliàn pay]]]] dooy chaphóʔ nææw khít kîaw kàp ʔamnâat [[thiî sápsḥḥ nay nææwthaη læη samăy mây]]. ///</p>	<p>whether people [[who only experienced May 1992]] have same or different view from people [[who experienced all three major events in the country]]///</p> <p>or what meaning does 19 Sept. coup have for those people [[who have a special connection to 6 October]] ///</p> <p>how is this meaning different from those people [[who have forgotten or don't want to remember “6 October”]]///</p> <p>Apart from that (it) may be [[because of the academic culture of critique [[that has changed]]]] especially idea of the power [[that is complex in postmodernity]]///</p> <p>(This) probably shapes the direction and point of the academic debate.///</p> <p>Importantly the technological environment is changing///</p> <p>(This) causes strong academic debate to appear in cyberspace// which people [[who go on the internet]] can both read and give opinions together///</p> <p>and the final point is this historical moment [[in</p>	
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<p>4.</p> <p>nay prawàt pràtyaa kaanmɛaŋ, chɛ̃ khɔ̃ŋ Aristotle pen chɛ̃ nákpràtyaa [[thĩ sòn ʔitthiphol nay sǎakhǎa wíchaa tàaŋ tàaŋ]]///.</p> <p>tháŋ ní phrɔ̃? khǎw dây khiǎn ɲaan sǎmkhan sǎmkhan nay khanǎæŋ wíchaa làak lày tháŋ chiiwáwítthayaa láe? wáatthasǎn tháŋ ɲaan aphi-pràtyaa sǎmkhan pay con thɛ̃ŋ nǎŋsɛ̃ [[thĩ thɛ̃ kan// wáa Ø pen tamraa ráttasàat lêm rǎæk khɔ̃ŋ lôok]] khɛ̃ Politics.///</p> <p>con krathâŋ nay samǎy klaaŋ nán thâa mii khray [[klàaw thɛ̃ “The Philosopher”]]// Ø kô sâp kan thûa // wáa Ø mǎay thɛ̃ Aristotle thâwnán²///</p>	<p>In history of political philosophy the name of Aristotle is the name of a philosopher [[that is influential in different branches of knowledge]]///</p> <p>All this because he wrote important works in many disciplines including biology and rhetoric, including important metaphysics including a book [[that all believe// that (it) is the first political science textbook in the world]] that is Politics//</p> <p>Until in the middle ages if there was anyone [[talking about “The philosopher”]]// (Everybody) knew // that (he/she) just meant Aristotle///</p>	<p>Aristotle is topic Rpt of name and his actions and characteristics</p>
<p>5.</p> <p>kaansùksǎa khwaamkhít khɔ̃ŋ Aristotle nay thǎnǎ? khwaamkhít thaŋ pràtyaa [[thĩ mii khwaammǎay nay sàttawát thĩ yíisip rɛ̃ yíisip?èt]] mây chây rɛ̃ŋ pralàat.///</p> <p>Ø ca hɛ̃n dây càak ɲaan khɔ̃ŋ nákpràtyaa khon sǎmkhan hǎæŋ yúk chên Alasdair McIntyre³ láe? Martha Nussbaum.⁴ ///</p>	<p>The study of the ideas of Aristotle at the level of philosophical study [[that has meaning in the 20th or 21st centuries]] is not a strange matter//</p> <p>(We) can find (this) from the works of important philosophers e.g. Alasdair McIntyre and Martha Nussbaum//</p> <p>(they) depend on Aristotle’s ideas as basis in their own presentations.///</p>	<p>Aristotle’s ideas Names of different philosophers</p>

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	<p>Ø kô ʔaasăy khwaamkhít khǒŋ Aristotle pen râakthăan nay kaannam sanǎə khwaamkhít khǒŋ ton.///</p> <p>tháŋmòt ní nâa ca mǎaykhwaam // wâa khwaamkhít khǒŋ Aristotle mii khun tǒo kaanʔaphípraay panháa pràtyaa maa con thúk wanní///</p>	<p>All this should have the meaning// that Aristotle's ideas have value in the analysis of philosophical problems up until today///</p>	
6	<p>tææ kaantâŋ praden ʔaphípraay panháa "aristotle kâp ráttaphrahăan 19 kanyaa" ca mây klay kǎən cintanaakaan pay ruǎ?///</p> <p>Ø ʔàat klàaw dâŋ // wâa Ø khonj mây chây chên nán, // dooy chaphǒʔ thâa Ø phícaaranaa kaanʔaasăy khwaamkhít khǒŋ Aristotle //</p> <p>maa pèət phuén thií phikhrǒʔ panháa tàŋ tàŋ [[thií mí dâŋ kǎət khûn nay yúk Greek]], chên panháa kaanphaanít nay sèetthasàat kaanmœaŋ khǒŋ rátburùt ʔameerikan yúk [[kǒo rân sâaŋ prathêet]] khœu Alexander Hamilton dūay kaan ʔaphipraay nææwkhít khǒŋ khǎw // dooy hây</p>	<p>But is establishing the point to debate the problem of "Aristotle and the 19 September coup" not beyond the imagination?//</p> <p>(We) might say that (it) is probably not like that// especially if (we) consider the dependence on aristotle's thought//</p> <p>to open the area to investigate problems [[that did not originate in (ancient) Greece]] for example the problem of commerce in the political economy of the American statesman at the time [[that the country was founded]] that is Alexander Hamilton with the concepts of his// by giving great importance to the ideas about economics of Aristotle [[that appear in the book Politics]] // or the problem of civil society and the conflict to find the good life// or the problem of injustice on the basis of race in the new world especially [[that which</p>	<p>Adversative conj. Interrogative</p> <p>And answer with examples of studies</p>

	<p>khwaamsămkhan yîŋ kàp ?itthiphon khwaamkhít kiawkàp sèetthasàat khǒŋ Aristotle [[thiî praakòt yùu nay năŋsṻṻ Politics,⁵] // rṻṻ panhăa khǒŋ phâak prachaa săŋkhom lăe? kaanpàthá? tòc rɔŋ phĕa sawǎæŋ hăa chiiwít thiî dii⁶// rṻṻ panhăa khwaam?ayúttitham bon thăan khǒŋ ?akhati? thaang chĕa chăat nay lôok màŷ dooy chaphɔ? [[thiî kəət khĕn kàp chaaw ?ameerikan ?indian,⁷]// rṻṻ kaankhónhăa nákkhít săay Aristotle nay prapheeni nákkhít chaaw ?aràp nay ?aarayatham ?islaam⁸ pen tôn///</p>	<p>occurred with the Ametican Indian]// or the search for Aristotelian thinkers in the custom of Arab thinkers in the Islamic civilization///</p>	
7.	<p>ŋaan làw ní sadǎæŋ // wâa, máæ Aristotle ca mii chiiwít yùu mĕa sǒŋ phan pii kɔŋ, // lăe? lôok khǒŋ Aristotle ca mii nakhɔŋ rát Greek pen bɔribòt thaang prawàtsàat</p>	<p>This work shows// that even though Aristotle lived 2000 years ago// and the world of Aristotle had the Greek state as the historical context //</p>	<p>Aristotle rpt Refer back to previous work Characteristics – relational clauses</p>

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	<p>kô taam, // tææ khwaam khít khǒᵛᵛ Aristotle kô yan mii khunkhâa khâam phón khòᵛᵛ khèet tháj kaan weelaa læʔ praden [[thiî kiàw khǒᵛᵛ]] nay sǎaytaa khǒᵛᵛ nák wíchaakaan mâak läay///</p>	<p>but the ideas of Aristotle still have value crossing the boundaries of time and relevance in the view of many academics///</p>	
8.Transition	<p>thájᵛᵛ mót níi pen hêtphǒn [[wâa Ø sǎamâat nam rûaᵛᵛ “aristotle káp ráttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa” maa pen praden sèksǎa dây]].// tææ Ø mây chây hêtphǒn làk [[thiî tham hây khâaphacâw khít //wâa Ø khuan phûut thǎᵛᵛ praden níi tòᵛᵛ nâa nák ráttasàat khǒᵛᵛ thay nay wan níi]]</p>	<p>All this is the reason [[why (I) <i>can</i> take “Aristotle and the 19 September coup” as a point of study]]// but (this) is not the main reason [[that made me think// that I <i>should</i> speak about this point before Thai political scientists today.]]</p>	<p>Looking back Adversative conj. Looking forward</p>
9.	<p>hêtphǒn làk [[thiî khâaphacâw khít // wâa Ø khuan nam Aristotle káp ráttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa// maa phûut thǎᵛᵛ nay thiî prachum níi]] pen [[phróʔ rûaᵛᵛ daᵛᵛ klàaw thùuk nam pay cháy pen khǒᵛᵛ sòᵛᵛ wíchaa pràtyaa kaanmᵛᵛ rádàp prinyaa-ʔèek dooy khon sǎmkhan khǒᵛᵛ prathêet khᵛᵛ sàatraacaan Sǒmbàt Cantharawoᵛᵛ.]]// khǒᵛᵛ sòᵛᵛ níi mii wâa “coᵛᵛ ʔàan bòtkhwaam “The moral enigma of a popular coup” khǒᵛᵛ A. Chaiwát⁹ //</p>	<p>Main reason [[why I think// that (I) should take Aristotle and the 19th September coup// to speak to this meeting]] is [[because this issue was used in a doctoral political philosophy exam by an important political philosopher, Prof. Sombat Chantarawong]]// The exam question said: “Read the article “the moral enigma of a popular coup’ of A. Chaiwat// and read the critique of this article by A.</p>	<p>Self-ref – khâaphacâw Predicated Theme</p>

	<p>lǎe? ʔaan bòtwícaan bòtkhwaam níi khǒŋ A. Sǒmbàt¹⁰ // lǎæw con wícaan bòtkhwaam tháj sǒŋ càak mummɔŋ khǒŋ Carl Schmitt's "The concept of the political". ///</p> <p>karunaa tǒŋ // dooy cháŋ kaan ʔaaŋ ʔiŋ yàaŋ mii rabòp // phâa sadææŋ // wâa Ø dâŋ mii kaan wíkhǒŋ? càak mummɔŋ khǒŋ The concept of the political yàaŋ théæ ciŋ"///</p>	<p>Sombat.// and then critique both articles from the point of view of Carl Schmitt's "<i>The concept of the political</i>"///</p> <p>Please answer By using references systematically// To show// That there is really research from the point of view of The concept of the political"///</p>	
10. Statement of position	<p>khwaamhǎn khǒŋ khâaphacâw tǒŋ rátthaprahǎan 19 kanyaa pen [[thiî sâap kan thûa pay]].///</p> <p>kranán kô yaŋ mii baŋ khon [[hǎn //wâa khâaphacâw sanàp sanǔn rátthaprahǎan 19 kanyaa dúay hèet [[thiî klàaw //wâa rátthaprahǎan níi pen sǎntìwíthii // phǒŋ? mâŋ mii phûu day [[bàat cèp lóm taay]].///</p> <p>thiî ciŋ nay thaŋ thrútsadii Ø khon tâŋ kham thǎam kan dâŋ wâa rátthaprahǎan bææp sǎntìwíthii kèət khûn dâŋ rǔŋ mâŋ? ///</p>	<p>My opinion of the coup is [[(something) that is well known]]///</p> <p>Nevertheless there are still some people [[think// that I support the 19 September coup with the reason [[that [I] said// that this coup was a peaceful means// because there was not anyone [[hurt or killed]]]]///</p> <p>Actually, In theory (we) can probably pose the question// whether a peaceful coup can occur or not///</p> <p>(the same way as posing the question whether a peaceful revolution is possible or not)///</p>	hyperTheme – my opinion is...

	<p>(thamນວງ diaw kàp kaan tâj khamthăam wâa kaan patiwát dooy sântiwíthii pen pay dâj រួម ម៉ាយ?)///</p> <p>រួម នាយ ថាវ ក្លាប កា, kaancháy wíthiikaan [[thií thư kan// wâa pen sântiwíthii dooy tron yàŋ kaankhwâm bàat thaŋ sètthakìt]] ca thư // wâa Ø pen kaancháy khwaamrunræŋ dây រួម ម៉ាយ.¹¹///</p> <p>រួម ថាវ ម៉ុត នី kiawyoŋ kàp khwaamkhâwcay// wâa ʔaray khuu sântiwíthii yàŋ sǎmkhan.///</p> <p>thâa Ø cháy kròp khwaamkhít kiàw kàp khwaamrunræŋ yàŋ kwâŋ // lǎeʔ khamnŋ thŋ phôn [[thií tháj praakòt lǎeʔ sôn yùu]], // Ø kô ʔàat lææhñ khwaamrunræŋ súk yùu nay sôn ʔəp khŋ wíthiikaan [[thií nam maa cháj]] dâj mâak.///</p> <p>tææ thâa Ø cháy kròp khwaamkhít kiàw kàp khwaamrunræŋ yàŋ khæp // lǎeʔ khamnŋ thŋ chaphóʔ phôn [[thií kəət</p>	<p>or in the opposite way the use of a method [[that (is) believed// that (it) is a directly peaceful means like economic sanctions]] can it be believed// that (it) is the use of violence or not///</p> <p>All these issues are connected with the understanding// that/of what constitutes peaceful means importantly///</p> <p>if (we) use a broad conception of violence //</p> <p>and consider the results [[that are both apparent and hidden]] // we might find violence hidden within the cracks of the method [[that is used]] ///</p> <p>but if (we) use narrow conception of violence// and consider especially the results [[that are apparent// (like if there was anyone [[who was killed or not]])]//</p>	
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	<p>saphâap chên ní tham hây khâaphacâw (ruê khon [[thiî khít khláay khláay kâp khâaphacâw]]) tòk yùu nay pom prisanãa thaaj siinlatham// sêj tàaj càak phûukhon fàay ?uèn ?uèn [[thiî sãmkan]] ?iik sǔwaj phûak ///</p> <p>khuê phûak rææk chátceen // wâa ton mây hẽn dũay kâp kaanrátthaprahãan // // læ? Ø hẽn // wâa hêtphõn tàaj tàaj [[thiî fàay sanàpsanũn yók maa pen khǔw?ãaj lúan]] farj mây khên tháj nán // kâp phûak lãj [[sêj kǔ chátceen // wâa ton hẽndũay kâp kaanrátthaprahãan // læ? Ø ráp hêtphõn khǔwaj fàay kòw ráttthaprahãan dây yàaj mây kankhãa.]] ///</p> <p>[[thiî wâa tàaj]] kǔ Ø [[phró? sãmrap phûukhon tháj sǔwaj klùm ní, phûak khãw lúan mây mii khwaamkankhãa thaaj siinlatham]]. ///</p> <p>tææ khâaphacâw mii Ø///</p>	<p>This condition makes me (or people [[who think similarly to me]]) fall into a complex moral enigma// that is different from two other important groups</p> <p>That is the first group is clear// that they do not agree with the coup// and (they) think// that the different reasons [[that they supporting side raise as complete justification is unreasonable//</p> <p>and the other group [[who are also clear// they agree with the coup// and accept the reason of the group that staged the coup without doubt]]///</p> <p>[[What is different]] (is) [[because the people in both these two groups have no moral doubts.///</p> <p>But I do.///</p>	
14. Thesis	<p>khâaphacâw hẽn// wâa ráttthaprahãan 9/19 mii khunûupakaan tòw wíchaa ráttthasàat//</p>	<p>I think// that 9/19 coup has contributed towards the discipline of political science// because (it) made Thai society and political</p>	<p><i>I think...</i> in hyperTheme; Scaffolded by marked Themes,</p>

	<p>phró? Ø dây tham hây sǎŋkhom thay láe? nák rátthasàat t̄ŋ phachəən kàp pritsanǎa thaŋ siŋlatham yàŋ s̄ŋ nǎa.///</p> <p>mə̄a kəət rátthaprahǎan kh̄n nay ʔadiit, // thaŋ l̄ak chəəŋ siŋlatham mây chây r̄əŋ yâak nák //</p> <p>phró? Ø mák pen kaanl̄ak ráwàŋ fàay thahǎan [[thī yăəŋ ʔamnâat kan ʔeŋ]] r̄ə̄ ráwàŋ rátthabaan [[thī ráy khwaamchôp̄tham]] kàp kaanrátthaprahǎan dooy klùm khon [[thī duumə̄ăn // wâa ca “dii kwàa” khon [[thī lóm ʔamnâat pay]]].///</p> <p>nay khráŋ nán nán panhǎa c̄ŋ pen r̄əŋ kh̄çŋ s̄ŋ [[thī Aristotle riák wâa “techne”,// kh̄ə̄ panhǎa wâa ca hǎa h̄on thaŋ// t̄çs̄u kàp fàay [[thī yút ʔamnâat yàŋray (mây wâa ca nay k̄ranii 14 tulaakhom 2516 r̄ə̄ phr̄útsaphaakhom 2535)]]].///</p> <p>Ø ph̄it càak nay khráŋ nií // phró? rátthabaan [[thī thùuk lóm pay]] pen rátthabaan [[s̄ŋ mii thī maa yàŋ ch̄çp̄tham phaay tây rátthathammanuun [[thī th̄ə̄ kan wâa // dii thīs̄ùt]] chabàp n̄əŋ.///</p> <p>tàè daŋ thī dây sadəəŋ khwaamh̄en wáy,//</p>	<p>scientists openly confront the moral enigma///</p> <p>When coups occurred in the past// The moral choice was not a difficult matter//</p> <p>because (it) was likely a choice between military factions [[that competed for power]] or between a government [[that lacked legitimacy]] and a coup by a group of people [[that seemed// that (they) were “better than” the people [[who lost power]]]///</p> <p>At those times the problem was an issue of [[what Aristotle called “techne”// that is a problem to find a way// to fight with the side [[that seized power whether in the case of 14 October 1973 or May 1992)]]] //</p> <p>[this] differs from this instance// because the government [[that was overthrown]] was a government [[that had its origin legitimately under a constitution [[that is believed //that (it was) the best]]] //</p> <p>but as (I) expressed the opinion//</p>	<p>conjunctive Adjuncts; hyperNew with result as Theme: <i>the result thus is...</i></p>
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	<p>hèetphõn khǎwng fàay [[thií kǎw ráttaphrahǎan]] kǎw pen sǐng [[thií khâwcaý dâý]] /// mǎæ Ø ca ráp kaanrátthaphrahǎan mây dâý kǎw taam. ///</p> <p>phõn kǎw khuu pritsanǎa thaang sǐnlatham [[thií tham hây sǎngkhom thay tǎng khónhǎa ton?eer// lǎe? khruin khít thǎng ?anaakhót thaang sǎngkhom kaanmǎang phrǎwom phrǎwom kan pay kǎp kaantǎng khamthǎam rǎng khwaamthùuk khwaamphìt nay parimonthon thaang kaanmǎang]]///</p>	<p>the reason of the side [[that staged the coup]] is something [[that (I) can understand]] // even if I cannot accept the coup///</p> <p>Thus the result is moral enigma [[that makes Thai society have to search themselves// And think deeply about the future of a political society together with posing the question of what is right and wrong within the boundaries of the political]]///</p>	
<p>15. Position challenged 1</p> <p>Rebuttal 1</p>	<p>praden sǎmkhan nay bòtwícaan khǎwng ?aacaan Sǎmbàt Cantharawong khuu praden rǎæk,///</p> <p>?aacaan Sǎmbàt chí wǎa ráttaphrahǎan khráng ní mây chây khwaamkhàtyǎeang rǎng kaanpàthá? kan rawàang phadètkaan kǎp prachaathíppatay.///</p> <p>thií ciq khâaphacâw hǎn wǎa ráttaphrahǎan thǎæp thúk khráng kǎw mây chây khwaamkhàtyǎeang rawàang fàay phadètkaan kǎp prachaathíppatay samǎe pay. ///</p> <p>sùan mâak Ø pen khwaamkhàtyǎeang rawàang phadètkaan kǎp phadètkaan, rawàang phûu [[kum ?amnâat]] rǎng chonchán nam [[tǎwsûu kan ?eer]].///</p>	<p>An important point in Ajarn Sombat Jantharawong's critique is the first point</p> <p>A. Sombat points out// that this coup was not a conflict or fight between dictatorship and democracy///</p> <p>Actually I think// that coups almost every time are never conflicts between a dictator faction and democracy//</p> <p>Usually (they) are conflicts between dicatorship and dictatorship, between people [[seizing power]] or the leading class [[fighting themselves]] ///</p>	<p>position challenged and rebuttal moves</p> <p>Sombat thinks-I think</p> <p>First point</p>

	<p>tææ ráttaphahãan 19 kanyaa pen panhãa khwaamkhàtyáæŋ rawàan fàay nùŋ [[sùŋ mii thiï maa hææŋ ʔamnâat phàan kaandâyrap lûâktân maa dooy chõɔp]] kâp ʔiik fàay nùŋ [[sùŋ khâw pay yút ʔamnâat]]///</p>	<p>But the coup of 19 September was a conflict between one side [[which had power through legitimate elections]] and another side [[which seized control]]///</p>	
<p>16. – position challenged 1 (moves)</p> <p>– Rebuttal (1)</p>	<p>ʔaacaaan sõmbàt hěŋ // wâa kɔɔŋ thahãan [[sùŋ cháy nay wan thiï 19 kanyaa]] pen patìkiriyaa khõɔŋ sãŋkhom prachaathíppatay tɔɔ ráttabaan [[sùŋ mii panhãa]]. // lá? niï pen sít khõɔŋ sãŋkhom prachaathíppatay [[thiï ca pòkpõŋ (defend) tua ʔeeŋ]].///</p> <p>ciŋ yùu ø pen sít khõɔŋ prachaathíppatay // thiï ca pòkpõŋ tua ʔeeŋ.//</p> <p>tææ pròkkatì? [[sít khõɔŋ prachaathíppatay // thiï ca pòkpõŋ tua ʔeeŋ]] nán ø tõŋ tâŋ khamthãam prakõɔp lãay khõɔ//</p> <p>khuu khõɔ rææk, kaancháy kamlan bææp nán <<...> pen sít khõɔŋ prachaathíppatay ruü mây?/// <<khuu cháy kamlan thahãan// khâw yút ʔamnâat>></p>	<p>Ajarn Sombat thinks that the military [[that was used on 19th September]] was a reaction of a democratic society towards a government [[which had problems]]// and this is the right of a democratic society // to defend itself.///</p> <p>Actually (it) is the right of democracy// to defend itself ///</p> <p>but usually [[the right of democracy// to defend itself]] (one) has to ask many questions///</p> <p>That is, first, is the use of <u>that kind of force</u> <<that is using military force// to seize power>> a democratic right?///</p>	<p>Continued position challenged–rebuttal moves</p> <p>Lexis: democracy, rights, military force</p> <p>Relational processes and material processes</p>

<p>-Position challenged (1)</p> <p>-Rebuttal (1)</p>	<p>ʔaacaan sǒmbàt hě̃n // wâa “democratic means has nothing to do // when a democratic society is fighting for its survival /// - mây mii thaŋ sǎmràp wíthiikaan prachaathíppatay nay weelaa [[thíi sǎŋkhom prachaathíppatay tōŋ tǒwsūu// phêâ ʔaw tua rǒt”].///</p> <p>kranán, khâaphacâw kô hě̃n wâa mii wíthiikaan ʔuèn ʔuèn nay kaan tǒwsūu [[thíi yaŋ cháý dâý]], // máæ baŋ khon ca hě̃n // wâa mây mii wíthii ʔuèn ʔiik, // Ø cŋ tōŋ cháý kaan ráttaphrahǎan bææp ní¹³///</p>	<p>Ajarn Sombat thinks // that “democratic means has nothing to do // when a democratic society is fighting for its survival”/// there is no way for democratic means at a time [[that a democratic society has to fight //in order to survive]]///</p> <p>Nevertheless, I think // that there are still other means in the struggle [[that can be used]]//</p> <p>even if some people think// that there is no other way// (they) thus have to use a coup like this///</p>	
<p>18. Position challenged 2 [[Discussion]] [[-Issue]]</p>	<p>tææ thíi sǎmkhan kwâa khuu praden thíi sǒŋ.///</p> <p>ʔaacaan sǒmbàt hě̃n // wâa khâaphacâw khâwcaý kaanmŋŋ phít // daŋthíi khâaphacâw klàaw // wâa “coup is morally wrong // -ráttaphrahǎan pen sŋ [[sŋ phít samǎ pay”].///</p>	<p>But what is more important is the second point///</p> <p>Ajarn Sombat thinks // that I misunderstand politics // as I said // that “coup is morally wrong”.// - coup is a thing [[that is always wrong]]///</p>	<p>Adversative conj. Second point Thematic equative as hyperTheme A Sombat- Position challenged Lexis: Understanding of</p>

	<p>ʔaacaan sǒmbàt tǎŋ khamthǎam// wâa “since when has ethics (or politics for that matter) become a real ethical science? // – kaanmɯaŋ klaay maa pen sàat nay chǎeŋ thrútsadii tǎŋtǎæ mɯâray?”///</p> <p>Ø (khuu) kham thǎam níʔ eeŋ thī chuâmyoon ráttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa khǎw kǎp Aristotle dooy troŋ // phrɔʔ nay thátsanáʔ khǒŋ Aristotle, kaanmɯaŋ yuu nay parímonthon khǒŋ sàat chǎeŋ pàtibàt, /// Ø mi chây sàat chǎeŋ thrútsadii.///</p> <p>sàat chǎeŋ pàtibàt nán tǎŋ khít thǎŋ kaanpliànplæŋ khǒŋ bǔribòt [[thī pliàn pay]]. ///</p> <p>daŋ nán Ø mây sǎamâat klàaw dây wâa sìŋ day sìŋ nùŋ ruǎ kaankratham yàaŋ day yàaŋ nùŋ ca thùuk ruǎ phit talɔɔt weelaa.///</p> <p>níʔ (khuu) khǒw tàaŋ khǒŋ sàat sǒŋ chanít nay khwaamhǎn khǒŋ Aristotle.///</p> <p>càak thǎanáʔ khít níʔ Ø thǎw kǎp// wâa [[kaan thī khâaphacâw klàaw // wâa</p>	<p>Ajarn Sombat posed the question// “since when has ethics (or politics for that matter) become a real ethical science?” -politics has become theoretical science since when?///</p> <p>It is this question that connects the coup with Aristotle directly // because in the view of Aristotle, politics lies within the boundary of a practical science///</p> <p>(It) is not a theoretical science///</p> <p>A practical science must think about change in the changing context///</p> <p>Thus, (we) can’t say // that any one thing or any one action is right or wrong all the time///</p> <p>This is the difference between the two types of sciences in the opinion of Aristotle.///</p> <p>From this basic idea (it) means// That [[the fact that I said// that the coup was</p>	<p>politics; question; Aristotle; practical/theoretical science</p> <p>Relational processes Predicated theme</p>
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	<p>rátthaprahään pen sìn phìt]] kô cháy mây dâ nay thaaj kaanm̄aaj // phró Ø tâj yùu bon thään khwaamkhâwcay kaanm̄aaj [[thiî phìt]]///</p>	<p>wrong]] can't be used politically because (it) is built on an understanding of politics [[that is wrong]]///</p>	
<p>19. Rebuttal 2 [[-Preview]]</p>	<p>khâaphacâw hěn// wâa kaankhâwcay “kaanm̄aaj” khonj tôn sápsón kwàa nán tháj càak ñææ mum khwaamkhít khǒw Aristotle ðeej læ? nay ñææ khǒw camkàt ðan kèet càak wíthii khít khǒw Aristotle.///</p> <p>khǒw tôo yææj khǒw khâaphacâw ca prakðop dûay sǒw thátsaná? nák pràtyaa kaanm̄aaj tòw khwaamkhít khǒw Aristotle læ? sǒw khamthääm tòw wíchaa rátthasàat ðaj níi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • thátsaná? khǒw Eric Voegelin: sàat khǒw kaanm̄aaj nay thátsaná? khǒw Aristotle • thátsaná? khǒw Leo Strauss: Aristotle nay thääná? phûu [[kðw tâj wíchaa rátthasàat]] • khamthääm tòw wíchaa rátthasàat 1: rátthasàat pen sàat hææj kaanpàtibàt sǎmràp khray? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ sǎmràp nákkaanm̄aaj (Aristotle's legislators) ○ sǎmràp sǎjkhom kaanm̄aaj (Aristotle's polis) ○ sǎmràp nák rátthasàat ðeej • khamthääm tòw wíchaa rátthasàat 2: thiî tâj 	<p>I think// That the understanding of “politics” is probably more complex than that from Aristotle's own position and from the limitations that arise from Aristotle's method///</p> <p>My argument draws on the views of two political philosophers on the thoughts of Aristotle and two questions for the discipline of political science//</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eric Voegelin: study of politics in view of Aristotle • Leo Strauss: Aristotle as founder of political science • Question for pol sci 1. Pol sci is a practical science for whom? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For Aristotle's legislators ○ For Aristotle's polis ○ For political scientists • Question for pol sci 2: what connection do the sites of pol sci (in parliament, palace or Agora) have with the destiny of pol sci?/// 	<p>I think... <i>khâaphacâw</i> as Theme Rebuttal</p> <p>Outline of argument: my argument: followed by dot points</p>

	(sites) khḥḥḥ wíchaa ráttasàat (nay saphaa, rāatchawāḥ rḥḥḥ nay talàat Agora) mii sùan sāmphan yàaḥḥḥ kàp chátaakam khḥḥḥ wíchaa ráttasàat?///		
20.	<p>nay thiī níi khāaphacāw cháy ḥaan phiaḥḥ sḥḥḥ chín pen làk nay kaantiikhwaam Aristotle.///</p> <p>tháḥḥ sḥḥḥ chín pen ḥaan khiǎn khḥḥḥ phūu [[pen “baacarii” (ʔaacaan khḥḥḥ ʔaacaan) khḥḥḥ khāaphacāw tháḥḥ khūu]] //</p> <p>phróʔ Leo Strauss pen ʔaacaan khḥḥḥ ʔaacaan Sōmbàt //</p> <p>khanàʔ thiī Eric Voegelin pen ʔaacaan khḥḥḥ ʔaacaan Manfred Henningsen, khruu pràtyaa kaanmḥaḥḥ khḥḥḥ khāaphacāw.///</p> <p>tææ [[thiī sāmkan yīḥ kwàa khwaamsāmphan sùan bùkkhon]] khḥḥḥ [[nákwíchaakaan camnuan mâak thḥḥḥ // wā tháḥḥ Eric Voegelin láeʔ Leo Strauss pen nák pràtyaa kaanmḥaḥḥ khon sāmkan thiī sùt sḥḥḥ khon nay sàttawát thiī 20¹⁴]]///</p>	<p>Here I use just two pieces of work as the basis for the interpretation of Aristotle//</p> <p>Both pieces are the written works of people [[(who) were both “baacarii” (teacher of teacher) of mine]]//</p> <p>Because Leo Strauss was the teacher of Ajarn Sombat// while Eric Voegelin was the teacher of Ajarn Manning Henningsen, my political philosophy teacher///</p> <p>but [[what is more important that the personal relationship]] is [[many researchers believe that both Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss are the most important political philosophers of the 20th century.]]///</p>	<p>Lexis: political philosophers Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss;</p>
21. [[-Argument for]]	Eric Voegelin (khḥḥḥ.sḥḥḥ 1904–1985) mii ḥaan khiǎn [[thiī rūapruam wáy (collected works)]] thḥḥḥ 35 volumes nay chūaḥḥ pii khḥḥḥ.sḥḥḥ 2000. //	Eric Voegelin (1904-1985 CE) has writings [[that are collected (Collected works)]] in 35 volumes in the year 2000 CE///	Lexis: philosophical concepts Voegelin as

	<p>ḡaan chíṅ [[thíi ca klàaw thǎṅ]] khuu “Plato and Aristotle” càak náṅsuṅ The collected works of Eric Voegelin.///</p> <p>ḡaan chíṅ níi càt wâa yuu nay chúṅ Order and History [[?an luu chuu khǒṅ khǎw]].///</p> <p>tháṅ chúṅ mii 5 lêm.///</p> <p>sùan níi maa càak volume 3 nay bòṅ thíi wâa dūay Science and contemplation (sàat láe? kaan khòpkhítkhryakhruan)¹⁵///</p>	<p>The piece of work [[that (I) will speak about]] is “Plato and Aristotle” from the book The collected works of Eric Voegelin///</p> <p>This piece is in the volume Order and History [[a famous one of his]]///</p> <p>Each volume has 5 books///</p> <p>This part comes from volume 3 in the chapter about science and contemplation ///</p>	Theme
22.	<p>Voegelin hǎn // wâa nay náṅsuṅ Politics khǒṅ Aristotle, thǎe ciṅ lǎæw, Ø mây dây phúut thǎṅ sàat khǒṅ kaanmṅaṅ (political science) mâak nák.///</p> <p>rṅaṅ daṅklàaw praakòṅ mâak nay náṅsuṅ ?iik lêm nèṅ khuu Ethics.///</p> <p>daṅ nán thǎan kaankhít rṅaṅ kaanmṅaṅ sǎmràp Aristotle pen thǎan kaankhít càak wíchaa cariyasàat mâak kwàa///</p>	<p>Voegelin believes // that in Politics of Aristotle actually (he) does not speak about political science much///</p> <p>That subject matter appears more in another book that is <i>Ethics</i>///</p> <p>Thus, the basis of political thought for aristotle was the basis of ethical thought///</p>	Voegelin as Theme Lexis: philosophical concepts
23.	<p>nay Ethics, Aristotle níyaam kaanmṅaṅ nay thǎaná? sàat khǒṅ kaankratham khǒṅ manút,//</p>	<p>In Ethics Aristotle defines politics as a practical science of human action// And important act of humans is</p>	In ethics, Aristotle

	<p>lǎe? kaankratham khǎwŋ manút [[thií sǎmkhan]] khuu mún̄ pay sùu sìn̄ thií diijaam sũuŋsùt.///</p> <p>daŋ nán, sàat thaŋ kaanmuaŋ rǎx̄ rátthasàat cǎŋ klaay pen sàat khân sùt yǎw̄t (master craft).//</p> <p>thií pen chèn níi n̄uaŋ phró? p̄awmǎay sùttháay khǎwŋ rátthasàat khuu khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ manút (the good of man).///</p> <p>daŋ nán nay khwaamhěn khǎwŋ Aristotle, raw cǎŋ sǎamǎat riāk sàat w̄a d̄uay khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ manút w̄a rátthasàat //</p> <p>phró? thǎŋ mǎæ w̄a khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ manút ca pen sìn̄ [[diaw kàp khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmuaŋ]] k̄ taam//</p> <p>tǎæ khwaamdiijaam khǎwŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmuaŋ pen sìn̄ [[thií ȳŋ yàw kwàa sǎmbuun kwàa]]// lǎe? daŋ nán thǎŋ mǎæ kaantham h̄ay chiiwít thií dii khǎwŋ manút khon n̄uaŋ ca sǎmkhan//</p> <p>tǎæ kaan khít thǎŋ chiiwít thií dii khǎwŋ chonchàat rǎx̄ khǎwŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmuaŋ yǎw̄m sǎmkhan ȳŋ kwàa///</p>	<p>to attain highest good///</p> <p>thus the science of politics or political science becomes a master craft///</p> <p>It is like this Because the final goal of political science is the good of man///</p> <p>Thereforein Aristotle’s opinion we can call the science of good man political science// because even though good of human is a thing [[that is) the same as good of political society]]//</p> <p>but good of political society is a thing [[that is greater and more perfect]]// and thus even though acting for the good of human is important//</p> <p>but thinking about the good life of the nation or political society is much more important///</p>	<p>Lexis: practical science, political science, politics, philosophical ideals – good of man, greatest good</p> <p>Mkd Th – in Aristotle’s opinion</p> <p>Happiness of human = politics</p>
24.	<p>chiiwít thií dii khuu ?aray? ///</p> <p>Aristotle cháy kham w̄a eudaimonia khuu “khwaam sùk” //</p>	<p>What is a good life? ///</p> <p>Aristotle uses the term Eudaimonia or happiness to answer this question///</p>	<p>Mood choice interrog.</p> <p>Philosophical</p>

	<p>maa tòṅp kham thăam ní. ///</p> <p>tææ khwaamsùk khuu ʔaray? ///</p> <p>sămràp baaj khon, khwaamsùk khuu kaancháy chiiwít [[thiī phəŋ phɔɔcay]]//</p> <p>khâw phàp (pub)//</p> <p>fəŋ phleəŋ//</p> <p>kin lâw pentôn.///</p> <p>sămràp baaj khon khwaamsùk khuu chiiwít thaaj kaanmɛəŋ //</p> <p>səŋ nay thiī sùt lææw manút săamâat ca phóp khwaamsùk càak kaanmɛəŋ dây. ///</p> <p>∅ phóp kiàtiyót sàksiī [[thiī dâŋ maa càak kaantham hây bùkkhalík (character) khɔɔŋ ton pen bùkkhalík [[thiī diiŋaam sũuŋ sùt]]].///</p> <p>sênthaaj ní kô pen khwaamsùk thaaj kaanmɛəŋ yàəŋ nɛəŋ. ///</p> <p>læ? sùttháay khwaamsùk khuu chiiwít hæəŋ kaansămrúam cìt khrâykhruan (contemplation) //</p> <p>səŋ, nay thátsaná? khɔɔŋ Aristotle ní, khuu chiiwít dii læ? mii sùk yàəŋ thææ ciŋ///</p>	<p>but what is happiness?///</p> <p>for some people happiness is the use of life for pleasure// to go to the pub// to listen to music// to drink alcohol///</p> <p>for some people happiness is a life of politics// that in the end humans can find happiness from politics///</p> <p>[they] find honour [[that comes from action so their character is a character [[that is most excellent]]]]///</p> <p>This path is one form of happiness through politics///</p> <p>and finally happiness is a life of contemplation// which according to Aristotle is the good life and (a life) of true happiness///</p>	<p>ideals/terms: happiness (flourishing –AL) Eudaimonia, excellence of character, ton, manút</p> <p>Interrogative Mkd Th</p> <p>Mkd Th – rpt</p> <p>Causative nomin.</p> <p>And finally – læ? sùttháay listing characteristics of good life</p>
25.	Aristotle yææk wíchaa ráttasàat ʔòk pen ráttasàat sămràp nákràtyaa yàəŋ nɛəŋ kàp	Aristotle separates political science into political science for philosophers and political science for	HyperTheme to introduce

	<p>rátthasàat sǎmràp phûu [[?ᵛᵛk kòtmǎay (law giver)]] ?iik yàaη nḗη. ///</p> <p>nay ηǎæ níí, nâathiî khᵛᵛη rátthasàat nay khwaammǎay rǎæk khuu kaansâaη bùkkhalík (character) [[thiî dii]] khᵛᵛη phonlamḗaη. ///</p> <p>∅ tham hây khon làw nán pen khon dii // lǎe? sǎmâat tham sîη [[thiî dii]] dây. ///</p> <p>suàn khwaammǎay thiî sᵛᵛη, rátthasàat pen sînlapà? khᵛᵛη kaan?ᵛᵛk kòtmǎay (the art of the law giver).///</p> <p>yàaηray kᵛᵛ taam, Aristotle mᵛᵛη wâa rátthasàat damron yûu nay parimonthon khᵛᵛη sîη [[sḗη rîak// wâa pen khunnatham ?iik láksaná? nḗη (Dianoetic virtues)]. ///</p> <p>khunnatham bææp níí khuu sùanruam khᵛᵛη khwaamruú tháksà? khwaamrᵛᵛkphᵛᵛ panyaa lǎe? hḗetphᵛᵛn [[sḗη pen rátthasàat bææp [[thiî Aristotle khít // wâa khuan ca pen]]]]///</p>	<p>people [[who dispense law (law giver)]]///</p> <p>In this view, the duty of political science in the first meaning is the building of good character of citizens///</p> <p>(This) makes these people good// and (they?) can do things [[that are good]]///</p> <p>As for the second meaning political science is the art of the law giver///</p> <p>however, Aristotle believed // that political science resided in the boundary of a thing [[that is called// that (it) is another kind of virtue (Dianoetic virtues)]]///</p> <p>these virtues comprise scientific knowledge, skill, prudence, wisdom, intellection [[which is a political science of the type [[that Aristotle thought// that it should be.]]]]///</p>	<p>lexis: political science, philosophical terms, Aristotle, citizens, virtue</p> <p>Textual themes: nay ηǎæ níí yàaηray kᵛᵛ taam first meaning second meaning</p>
26.	<p>∅ ca hḗn dâ</p> <p>wâa khwaammǎay khᵛᵛη rátthasàat nay thátsaná? khᵛᵛη Aristotle nán mii làak chán lǎay khwaammǎay, tâηtǎæ khwaammǎay [[thiî wâa// rátthasàat pen sînlapà? khᵛᵛη kaan?ᵛᵛk</p>	<p>[We] can see // that political science according to Aristotle has various layers of meaning from the meaning [[that says// political science is an art of dispensing laws [[which is a practical meaning]] //</p>	<p>∅ (we) can see that.. Meaning of political science in the view of</p>

	<p>kòtmăay [[thiî pen khwaammăay chəəŋ pàtibàt]] // pay con thŷŋ mɔɔŋ // wâa râtthasàat pen dianoetic virtues // sŷŋ mii khwaammăay ʔhèn ʔhèn [[thiî mâak kwàa sàat chəəŋ pàtibàt)]. ///</p> <p>nîi khuu khɔɔ thòkthiăŋ [[thiî khâaphacâw tân kham thăam // wâa lăæw ca khâwcaj Aristotle bəæp day,]] // daŋ thiî Ø hěn tàaŋ kan yùu khanàʔ nîi. ///</p> <p>nîi pen khunnasömbàt ʔan ləət [[sŷŋ ca tham hây phûu sŷksăa khâw thŷŋ khwaam ciŋ nay lăksanàʔ tàaŋ tàaŋ dây]] // dooy cháy panyaa. ///</p> <p>sămràp aristotle, khwaam ciŋ [[ʔan pen “săakon” lăəʔ sadæəŋ hây hěn dâj]] khuu khwaam ruú thaŋŋ wíthayaasàat (scientific knowledge).///</p> <p>kaan pen câw khɔɔŋ lăk wíchaa tàaŋ tàaŋ <<...>> lúan pen panyaa khɔɔŋ manút. /// <<sŷŋ pen phôn ruam khɔɔŋ khwaamruú làw nán lăəʔ khwaamruú thaŋŋ wíthayaasàat tháj lăay>></p> <p>lăəʔ thiî sămkhan prakaan sùttháay khuu [[mii</p>	<p>up to believing // that political science is the Dianoetic virtues// which has another meaning [[that is more than a practical science]]///</p> <p>this is the debate [[that I posed the question //of how to understand Aristotle]] as [we] disagree now///</p> <p>these are the excellences [[that will allow the researcher to reach the truth in the different characteristics]]// by using (their) intellect///</p> <p>As for Aristotle the truth [[that is universal and is demonstrated]] is scientific knowledge///</p> <p>mastery of a subject <<which is a combination of knowledge of first principles and scientific knowledge>> is all human wisdom///</p> <p>And the final important point is [[that there is the</p>	<p>Aristotle – hyperTheme</p> <p>Bring back to argument with Sombat</p> <p>Causative</p> <p>Mkd Absolute Th Theme – as for Aristotle</p> <p>Thematic equative and what’s</p>
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	<p>wíthiikaan [[thiî thuuk tîŋ (the right means)]] nay kaansâaŋ khwaamdii hây manút dâŋ]. ///</p> <p>nay nêæ ní Ø ?àat klàaw dâŋ // wâa “wíthii kaan [[thiî thùuk tîŋ]]” pen sùan nêŋ khǒŋ khwaamruú thaŋ rátthasàat // sêŋ, máæ mây chây sùan tháŋmòt khǒŋ khwaamruú thaŋ rátthasàat, // tàæ kô pen suan sǎmkhan///</p>	<p>right means in the building of goodness in humans///</p> <p>In this view [we] might say // that “the right means” is one important aspect of a knowledge of political science// which even if it is not the entire part of political knowledge// but it is an important part///</p>	<p>important</p> <p>In this view...</p>
<p>27. [[-Argument against]]</p>	<p>Leo Strauss (khɔɔ.sɔɔ 1899–1973) khiǎn The city and man nay pii 1964.///</p> <p>bòt thiî 1 khǒŋ nãan chín ní wâa duây kaanmɛaŋ khǒŋ Aristotle.///</p> <p>Strauss khǎn prayòok rǎæk// wâa “taam thátsanà? thaŋ prapheenii lǎæw mây chây aristotle // tàæ pen Socrates [[thiî hây kamnèət pràtyaa kaanmɛaŋ rǎŋ rátthasàat”]. ///</p> <p>Strauss klàaw tòɔ pay dūay // wâa “Not Socrates or Plato <u>but Aristotle is truly the founder of political science</u>”,// Ø mây chây tháŋ Socrates rǎŋ Plato // tàæ pen Aristotle tàŋ hǎak // sêŋ pen phuû kòɔ tân rátthasàat [[thiî thǎæ cìŋ]] nay thǎaná? wíchaakaan khên maa</p>	<p>Leo Strauss (1899-1973 CE) wrote The City and Man in 1964///</p> <p>chapter 1 of this work is about the politics of Aristotle///</p> <p>Strauss wrote the first sentence// That “according to customary view, (it) was not Aristotle // but (it) was Socrates [[that founded political philosophy or political science]]”.///</p> <p>Strauss goes on to say// That “Not Socrates or Plato but Aristotle is truly the founder of political science”// (is) is neither Aristotle or Plato // but it is Aristotle on the contrary// who truly established political science as a discipline// because the cosmology of Aristotle differed from Plato///</p>	<p>Change of Theme – Strauss and Aristotle</p> <p>Strauss wrote...</p> <p>Aristotle/Socrates</p> <p>Strauss continued stating...</p> <p>Socrates, Plato, Aristotle Political science</p>

	<p>khanǣæŋ nùŋ”// phró? wâa càkrawaanthát khǒŋ aristotle tàan càak plato. ///</p> <p>klàaw khuu càkrawaanthát rux̣ phâap ruam khǒŋ aristotle yǣæk ðòk càak kaansawǣæŋ hǎa rabiàp thaanŋ kaanmuaŋ [[thiî dii thiî sùt]] dooy dèt khàat.///</p> <p>thâa Strauss khít chên ní, // Ø kô mây mii wíthii // khít thǎŋ pràtyaa kaanmuaŋ khǒŋ aristotle bǣæp ?uùn // nòk càak Ø ca tŋ sarùp // wâa Aristotle yòom tŋ sǒncay kaanmuaŋ nay thǎaná? sàat chǣŋ pàtibàt // phró? kaanmuaŋ khún kàp saphâap [[thiî pliànplææŋ pay]] // láe? Ø mây dâŋ mûŋ suù rabiàp thaanŋ kaanmuaŋ [[thiî dii thiî sùt]]///</p>	<p>That is to say, Aristotle’s cosmology is absolutely separable from quest for best political order///</p> <p>If Strauss thinks this// There is no other way // to think of the political philosophy of Aristotle// except to conclude// that Aristotle had to be interested in politics as a practical science// because politics relies on conditions [[that change]]// and (it) does not aim at the greatest political order.///</p>	<p>That is</p> <p>Condition: concession</p>
28.	<p>danŋ nán khòŋ sarùp khǒŋ ?aacaan sǒmbàt [[thiî wâa // khâaphacâw khâwcaŋ kaanmuaŋ phít]] kô yùu bon thǎan khít ní dooy khwaam khâwcaŋ aristotle láksanà? ní.///</p> <p>khuu mii càkrawaan wíththayaa [[thiî yǣæk ðòk càak kaansawǣæŋ hǎa sǎŋkhom kaanmuaŋ [[thiî dii thiî sùt]] dâŋ]].///</p>	<p>Therefore Sombat’s conclusion [[that said// I misunderstand politics]] rests on this idea, with the understanding of Aristotle in this way///</p> <p>That is, there is a cosmology [[that is separable from search for best political order]]///</p>	<p>Therefore A. Sombat’s conclusion that I misunderstand politics</p> <p>That is</p>

	<p>dûay hêet ní cøy mây mii khunnaláksanà? bææp diaw kàp thátsanà? khǒwŋ Socrates daŋ klàaw.///</p> <p>mûa Ø pen chên ní, //</p> <p>kham sǒwŋ thaŋ kaanmœaŋ khǒwŋ aristotle cøy mây mii khunnalák khǒwŋ kaankâw khûn sùu chán thií sǔŋ khûn (ascent) //</p> <p>sûŋ tàaŋ càak pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ khǒwŋ Socrates/plato [[thií mûŋ “dœn thaŋ” sùu saphâap [[thií dii kwàa dœam]]]//</p> <p>nay khwaammăay [[wâa khâwcay rœaŋ [[thií nam maa phíkhró?]] <<...>> phûan rûam thaŋ nay kaankhónhăa///</p> <p><<(mây wâa ca pen panhăa yàaŋ khwaam-yúttthítham rœa khunnatham rœa khwaamklâahăan khuu ?aray) >></p> <p>lăe? thií sâmkhaan khuu [[ton ?eeŋ nûa kwàa dœam]]///</p> <p>dûay hêet ní Strauss cøy hěn wâa kham sǒwŋ khǒwŋ Plato cøy cam pen tǒŋ pen bôt sǒnthanaa //</p> <p>nay khanà? thií kham sǒwŋ khǒwŋ Aristotle cam pen ca tǒŋ pen khwaam riaŋ///</p> <p>lăe? yaŋ klàaw tǒc pay ?iik //</p>	<p>For this reason there are no characteristics similar to Socrates’ view///</p> <p>When (it) is like this//</p> <p>Political teachings of Aristotle no longer have the characteristic of ascent //</p> <p>which differs from the philosophy of Socrates/Plato [[that aims for the “journey” to a state [[that is better than before]] in the sense of understanding the issue under analysis <<(whether it be problems such as defining justice, virtue or bravery)>> of the companion in the search//</p> <p>and what’s important is [[(that) one’s self is greater than before]]///</p> <p>For this reason Strauss thus believes //</p> <p>that teachings of Plato must be dialogue //</p> <p>while teachings of Aristotle must be a treatise///</p>	<p>For this reason</p> <p>When it’s like this...</p> <p>Aristotle – Plato</p> <p>And what’s important...</p> <p>For this reason</p>
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	<p><u>khít</u> thǎj kham sǔn khǔwŋ aristotle <u>dây</u> lǎay thaaj]./// thaâ Ø <u>khít</u> thǎj Politics khǔwŋ aristotle // lǎe? <u>khamnɛj</u> thǎj rǎtthasàat [[thiî <u>phùukphan</u> kàp chiiwít [[thiî <u>mii</u> khwaamsùk]]], // lǎe? daŋnán Ø <u>khuu</u> chiiwít [[thiî <u>dii</u> yàŋ yææk mây ʔɔk]], // lǎe? daŋnán Ø cɛj <u>mûj</u> sùu kaan sâŋ búkhalík khǔwŋ phonlamɛaj nay sǎŋkhom kaanmɛaj, chên [[thiî <u>phikhrɔʔ</u> <u>maa</u> khâŋ tôn]]// Ø kô <u>ca phóp</u> // wâa rǎtthasàat <u>mây chây</u> khææ sàat chǎej pàtìbàt phiaŋ yàŋ diaw // tææ <u>mii</u> khunnalàk khǔwŋ sàat chǎej thrétsadii dûay/// </p>	<p>think about the teachings of Aristotle]]/// if (we) think about Aristotle’s <i>Politics</i> // and think about political science [[that is related to a life of happiness]]// and thus (it) is a life [[that is inseparable from the greatest good]]// and thus (it) aims to build character of citizens in political society such as [[that which was considered at the beginning]]// (we) find // that political science is not just a practical science // but has characteristics of a theoretical science also./// </p>	<p>Adversative conj. Condition Mental processes and relational processes</p>
30.	<p>hàak khâaphacâw <u>tân</u> khamthǎam // wâa nay thiî sùt lǎæw thátsanà? chên ní khǔwŋ Strauss <u>nam maa</u> sùu wíthii kaankhít thǎj rǎtthasàat bææp nǎy? /// thâa Ø <u>châa</u> // wâa Aristotle <u>khít</u> thǎj “kaanmɛaj” nay láksanà? ní,// kham thǎam [[thiî nâasǔncay]] <u>khuu</u> [[weelaa aristotle <u>sǔn</u> kaanmɛaj, // Ø <u>sǔn</u> khray //lǎe? <u>sǔn</u> thiínǎy?]]/// </p>	<p>If I ask the question// That finally, in what way can we bring this view of Strauss to the idea of political science? // If we believe // that Aristotle thinks about “politics” in this way,// the interesting question is [[when Aristotle teaches politics// who does (he) teach // and where does (he) teach?]]/// </p>	<p>Verbal process Interrogative Mental process Condition</p>

	<p>∅ ca phóp // wâa lûuksit [[thiî mii chê siăng khǒng aristotle]] khuu phrá?câw Alexander mahãarâat. ///</p> <p>Aristotle sǒn khon [[thiî ca maa pen câw]].///</p> <p>∅ sǒn khon [[sêŋ ca maa yùu lă? khroŋ ?amnâat nay wan]] rǔ khon [[thiî ca maa tham ñaan ?ǒk kòtmăay nay saphaa.]]///</p> <p>tææ Plato khïan ñaan khǒng khăw hây Socrates sǒn khray? ///</p> <p>lă? hàak khâaphacâw tân khamthăam tòc pay // wâa thiî day khuu thiî sǒn rátthasàat yàŋ Socrates, //</p> <p>∅ kô ca phóp // wâa roonriian khǒng Socrates khuu talàat (agora).///</p> <p>khay yùu thiî talàat rǔ? ///</p> <p>nák nísit banyàt phûu [[mii nâathî //?ǒk kòtmăay]], rǔ phûu khon sãaman thán [[thiî pen nùm nák sawææŋ hã]], nákwâatthasïn, khûn</p>	<p>We will find // that a pupil [[that is well known of Aristotle]] was Alexander the great///</p> <p>Aristotle taught people [[who became lords]]///</p> <p>(he) taught people [[who ruled in palaces]] or people [[who created legislation in the parliament]]///</p> <p>but Plato wrote his work for Socrates to teach who?///</p> <p>And if I pose the following question// that where was the teaching place of politics of Socrates//</p> <p>(we) will find// that the school of Socrates was the agora///</p> <p>who is in the agora///</p> <p>Legislators or general people including seekers, rhetors, officers or fortunetellers?///</p>	<p>Interrogative</p> <p>Mental process</p> <p>Aristotle</p> <p>But Plato</p> <p>Condition Verbal process</p>
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<p>31.</p>	<p>thahãan rux̣ nákp̣hayaakɔɔn Ø?///</p> <p>mææ Ø ca thux̣ wã rátṭhasàat pen sàat chəəŋ pàṭibàt, tææ nay thií sùt lææw Ø yaṇ ṭɔŋ ṭaŋ kham thãam wã wíchaa rátṭhasàat pen sàat chəəŋ pàṭibàt sãmràp khray?//</p> <p>kham ṭɔɔp kḥɔŋ khãaphacãw khux̣ [[ráṭthasàat pen sàat chəəŋ pàṭibàt sãmràp nák níṭibanyàt rux̣ khon [[thií khãw pay lèn kaan ṃɛaŋ]]].///</p> <p>tææ sãmràp nák rátṭhasàat ?eəŋ nán, Ø khuan ca pen sàat chəəŋ pàṭibàt yàaŋ diaw rux̣ ṃây?///</p> <p>sãmràp nák rátṭhasàat (læ? dooy chapḥɔ? nákpràtyaa kaanṃɛaŋ) wíchaa rátṭhasàat khuan ca pen yàaŋray? // rux̣ Ø khuan ca pen yàaŋ [[thií aristotle khít]], yàaŋ [[thií Plato tham]], yàaŋ [[thií Socrates damnəən chiiwít yùu]] nay ?aḍiit. ///</p> <p>khux̣ Ø pen sàat chəəŋ thṛútsadii nay khwaam ṃây kḥɔŋ kaan ṭaŋ kham thãam tḥɛŋ ṣiŋ [[thií sũuŋ sùt ciŋ ciŋ]] // ṣɛŋ ?àat yùu kəən læəy càak parimonthon kḥɔŋ pàtcuban///</p> <p>tææ khamthãam làw nán pen khamthãam [[ṣɛŋ</p>	<p>Even if we believe // that political science is a practical science// in the end (we) still have to ask the question// that political science is a practical science for whom?</p> <p>My answer is [[political science is a practical science for legislators or people [[who enter politics]]]///.</p> <p>But for political scientists themselves should (it) be only a practical science or not? ///</p> <p>For political scientists (and especially political philosophers), what should the discipline of political science be?//</p> <p>Or should (it) be as Aristotle thought, as Plato did, as Socrates led his life in the past///</p> <p>that is, (it) is a theoretical science in the meaning of the raising of the question about the greatest good// which might be beyond the boundary of the present///</p>	<p>Hypotactic beta clause Mental process</p> <p>Interrogative Lexis: politics, practical science My answer...</p> <p>Adversative conj Absolute Theme</p> <p>Absolute Theme</p> <p>Politics, political scientist, legislators, politicians, political philosopher</p> <p>Practical science,</p>
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	<p>pen cing yuu saməə maa].///</p> <p>klàaw khuu manút sāmāat tân khamthām dāy thúk samăy //</p> <p>wāa kaan pòkhrəwəŋ rəŋ kòtmăay nán yúttitham rəŋ mây? // chōptham rəŋ mây? ///</p> <p>nīi khuu nāathiī khōwəŋ nākprətyaa (lăə? nākprəthasàat nay khwaamkhít khōwəŋ prətyaa meethii làw níi mi chāy rəŋ?///</p>	<p>But those questions are questions [[that are eternal truths]]///</p> <p>That is humans have been able to ask questions at any period// about whether the government or the law is just or not, //legitimate or not. ///</p> <p>This is the role of the philosopher (and of political scientists in the idea of these philosophers) isn't it?///</p>	<p>theoretical science</p> <p>nīi khuu</p> <p>interrogative</p>
<p>32.</p>	<p>thīi nāasōncay yīŋ khuu [[strauss sarùp //wāa phrō? chēn níi ŋaan khōwəŋ Plato cəŋ pen bət sōnthanaa (dialogue) //lăə? ŋaan khōwəŋ Aristotle pen khwaamriəŋ (treatise)].///</p> <p>Ø măay khwaam //</p> <p>wāa thāa Ø chūa nay khatì? lăə? nəəw thaəŋ chiiwít yàəŋ Socrates, //</p> <p>prətyaa kaanməŋ damrəŋ yuu bon thāan khōwəŋ kaantāŋ khamthām [[thīi phəŋthāan // lăə? mii khwaammăay tòc sǎŋkhom kaanməŋ]]. //</p> <p>sīŋ [[thīi khāaphacāw tham]] kō pen kaantāŋ khamthām [[thīi phəŋthāan]] [[wāa rătthaprahāan khraŋ níi chōptham rəŋ mây?]]///</p>	<p>What is really interesting is [[Strauss concludes // that because of this, the work of Plato was a dialogue // and the work of Aristotle was a treatise //</p> <p>(This) means that if (we) believe in the principles and way of life of Socrates, // political philosophy exists on a basis of raising questions [[that are fundamental and meaningful for a political society.]]///</p> <p>The thing [[that I did]] was the raising of the basic question of whether this coup was legitimate or not.//</p>	<p>Thematic equative Strauss concludes</p> <p>Predicated Theme (I)</p>

	<p>hàak Ø hěn // wâa Ø mây chōp, // Ø kô tōng klāa bōok wâa Ø mây thùuk tōng. ///</p> <p>nīi tàang hàak khuu nāathiī khōng pràtyaa kaan m̄aang læ? nāathiī khōng rátthasàat nay khwaammāy [[thīi thāng aristotle læ? Socrates sathāpanaa wáy nay ?adiit]].///</p> <p>hàak Ø klàaw chên níi // wíthiikaan rátthasàat khōng Aristotle kô mây dāy tææk tàang càak wíthiikaan rátthasàat khōng Plato nay cùt rēam tôn thāwday nák.///</p> <p>mææ Ø ca chiik ?ōok càak kan, // tææ Ø kô mii baang yàang rûam kan.///</p> <p>khâaphacāw yàak ca nén lákšanà? rûam, // mây chây suàn tææk tàang rawàang pràtyaa meethii thāng sōng níi// læ? tham nāathiī nay thāanā? nák rátthasàat// dūay kaanl̄hāk sanǎə ŋaan nay hūa khō aristotle kàp rátthaprahāan 19 kanyaa // maa nam sanǎə tōk nák rátthasàat thay nay ?ookàat níi///</p>	<p>If (we) think // that (it) was not legitimate, // (we) have to dare to say // that it is not right. ///</p> <p>This on its own is the role of political philosophy and the role of political science in the meaning [[that both Aristotle and Socrates established in the past.]]///</p> <p>If we say this// the political science method of Aristotle didn't differ much in its starting point from the political science method of Plato.///</p> <p>Even though (they) diverged from each other, // But (they) still share some (points)///</p> <p>I want to stress the shared features// not the differences between both these philosophers // and fulfil the basic duty of a political scientist // by the choice to propose the topic of Aristotle and the 19 September coup // to present to Thai political scientists on this occasion.///</p>	<p>Condition Mental clause</p> <p>nīi tàang hàak</p> <p>Condition Verbal process</p> <p>I want to stress Verbal</p> <p>Verbal process</p>
33. Position challenged 3	?aacaan sōmbat còp còtmāy khōng thân dūay nāngsǔkh khōng William Styron r̄hāng Sophie's	A. Sombat concluded his letter with the book of William Styron, the story <i>Sophie's Choice</i> //	Ajarn Sombat concluded

<p>[[Exemplum]] [[orientation]]</p> <p>Choice// sêṅ pen rưâṅ raaw khốṅ sophie, nákthôot chaaw Jew nay khây kàk kan chaləy khốṅ Nazi.///</p> <p>[[incident]]</p> <p>phuû khum nazi hây sophie <<sêṅ mii lưuk sốṅ khon>> lưak // wâ Ø ca yuwm hây phétchakhâat nazi sảṅhảan lưuk khon năy khốṅ thəə.///</p> <p>thâa thəə pàtisèet // thií ca lưak,// phétchakhâat nazi ca sảṅhảan lưuk thəə thán sốṅ khon. ///</p> <p>[[Interpretation]]</p> <p>?aacaan tân kham thăam thửṅ khâaphacâw // wâ thâa khâaphacâw pen sophie,/ khâaphacâw ca tham yàaṅray // rử khâaphacâw mii kham nế?nam chəəṅ pàtibàt day // ca hây kəæ thəə dây///</p>	<p>which is a story about Sophie, a Jewish prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp.///</p> <p>The Nazi commander had Sophie <<who had 2 children>> choose // that (she) would allow the Nazi executioner execute which one of her 2 children ///</p> <p>If she refused // to choose// the Nazi executioner would execute both of her children. ///</p> <p>Ajarn posed the question to me// if I were Sophie// what would I do? // Or whether I had any practical suggestion// To give Sophie.///</p>	<p>Sophie's choice William Styron Jew, Nazi Execute, concentration camp</p> <p>Ajarn (Sombat) asked me a question (return to position challenged</p>	
<p>34. Rebuttal 3</p>	<p>khâaphacâw mây mii kham nế?nam hây sophie // lế? mây chưâ dưay // wâ ca mii khray // hây kham nế?nam “chəəṅ pàtibàt” kəæ thəə dây.///</p> <p>təæ baṅ thi khon [[thií tòk yừu nay sathảanả? diaw kan kàp thəə]] ?àat khâwca //</p>	<p>I don't have any suggestion for Sophie // and I don't believe // that there is anyone // to give a “practical” suggestion to her.///</p> <p>But perhaps someone [[who has fallen into the same situation as her]] may understand //</p>	<p>khâaphacâw</p>

<p>[[Exemplum]] [[orientation]]</p>	<p>lǎe? khít thǎn thaaj lǎak dáy dii kwàa./// khâaphacâw mii rǎn lǎw càak khây kàk kan nazi lǎay rǎn // maa lǎw hây ʔaacaan sǒmbàt fan, chên rǎn raaw khǒɔŋ Filip Muller.///</p>	<p>and be able to think about the choice better. /// I have many stories from Nazi concentration camps // to tell Ajarn Sombat for example the story of Filip Muller.///</p>	<p>khâaphacâw Lexis: Nazi, concentration camp Filip Muller</p>
<p>[[Incident]]</p>	<p>chaay phûu ní yǎt ʔòk kǎaw tháaw ca dǎen khâw pay nay hǒŋ gas./// yaam phétchakhâat nazi yút khǎw wáy // lǎe? klàaw wâa “ca sây kalòok ño ño khǒɔŋ kǎe wáy hây dii.// raw pen khon [[tǎtsǐn //wâa kǎe ca yùu //rǎ taay]]// mây chây kǎe”.///</p>	<p>This man readily and fiercely walked into the gas chamber./// The Nazi guard stopped him // and said “remember in your stupid skull well// I am the one [[who decides // whether you will live or die]]// not you.” ///</p>	
<p>[[Orientation]]</p>	<p>rǎ Ø rǎn raaw khǒɔŋ satrii Poland [[thí kamlan ca khǐɔt nay khây kàk kan thí Bergen- Belsen]].///</p>	<p>Or the story about the Polish woman [[who was about to give birth in the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen]].///</p>	<p>Or Polish women</p>
<p>[[Incident]]</p>	<p>phǎn sǒɔŋ khon nay khây kàk kan nazi chûay chiiwít thǎe wáy// thǎn thí rúu dii // wâa thǎa thǎhǎan nazi rúu khâw // ca kǎet ʔaray khǎn.///</p>	<p>Two friends in the Nazi concentration camp helped save her life both knowing well // that if the nazi soldiers knew// what would happen///</p>	

<p>[[Evaluation/Interpretation]]</p>	<p>tòcn thií satrii chaaw Jew phuû ní khlôwt luûk, // Ø kô mây mii kankray hây tàt rók [[thií chêam mææ khâw kàp thaarók.///</p> <p>phưân khốᶅᶅ thæ nừᶅᶅ khon cừᶅᶅ cháy fan khốᶅᶅ thæ kàt rók con khàat læ? Ø chûay chiiwít khốᶅᶅ mææ kàp lûuk wáy dây.¹⁶ ///</p> <p>rưâᶅᶅ raaw làw ní tham hây hẻn dâ // wâ Ø pen pay dâ // thií ca mây ywam camnon tòc khwaam chûa ráay mææ krathâᶅᶅ nay khây kàk kan nazi // læ? khwaampen pay dâ nay kaan lưâk bon thăan thaᶅᶅ siᶅᶅlatham damron yuu mææ nay sathăanakaan [[thií hòotráay lưă pramaan]]///</p>	<p>When this Jewish woman gave birth// there weren't any scissors// to cut the placenta///</p> <p>So one of her friends used her teeth // to cut the placenta // until it broke away and (she) saved the life of the mother and child.///</p> <p>These stories let (us) see // that (it) is possible // to not surrender to evil even in a Nazi concentration camp// and the possibility of fundamental moral choices exists even in extremely brutal/cruel circumstances.///</p>	
35.	<p>panhăa khốᶅᶅ ʔaacaan sỏmbàt khuu kham thăam // wâ nay sathăanakaan hòotráay lưă pramaan chẻn ní manút ca yan mii thaᶅᶅ lưâk ʔiik rưă.///</p>	<p>Ajarn Sombat's problem is the question // whether, in extremely brutal circumstances such as these, humans still have a choice. ///</p>	<p>panhăa khốᶅᶅ ʔaacaan sỏmbàt khuu HyperTheme</p>

<p>[[Historical explanation]]</p> <p>- Background</p> <p>- Explanati on sequence</p> <p>- Conclusion</p>	<p>Tzvetan Todorov sùksăa kcranii chaaw Jew nay Bulgaria [[thiî rôt chiiwít càak kaankhâa láaŋ phàwphan nay samăy sŏŋkhraam lôok khráŋ thiî sŏwŋ]].///</p> <p>khăw phóp //</p> <p>wâa chaaw Jew nay Bulgaria kwâa 50,000 khon rôt chiiwít</p> <p>lăe? Ø ?athíbaay</p> <p>wâa [[thiî phûak khăw “rôt”]] pen phôn càak hêtkaan tàaŋ tàaŋ mâak láay [[thiî maa rŏy rian]]</p> <p>con tham hây “thammá? dây chay chaná?:///</p> <p>săay soô khŏwŋ hêt kaan thánŋ lék yà y [[thiî maa rian rŏy tò kan]], <<...>> thâa mii hùan sôo day [[khàat pay mææ suàn diaw]],//</p> <p><<mây wâa Ø ca pen panyaachon [[thiî mây ywam ñiáp yuu // mui kòet phay nazi]], rui lăksanà? khŏwŋ phuû nam sãasanacàk Orthodox nay Bulgaria samăy nán, kaanprakhwŏwŋ tua khŏwŋ nák kaanmuaŋ talòt con khwaamchaan chalàat khŏwŋ phrá? mahăakasàt>> ,</p> <p>chaaw jew Poland khrŏŋ sãæn kŏ ?àat prasòp chataakam chên diaw kàp chaaw jew ?iik 6 láan</p>	<p>Tzvetan Todorov studied the case of Jews in Bulgaria [[that survived the genocide during the second world war.]]///</p> <p>He found //</p> <p>that more than 50,000 Jews in Bulgaria survived //</p> <p>and (he) explained //</p> <p>that [[the fact that they “survived”]] was a result of a collection of many different events which made “virtue” victorious.///</p> <p>The chain of both little and big events [[that were collected together]], <<whether (it) was intellectuals [[that were not willing to be quiet // when the Nazi danger occurred]] or the character of the Orthodox leaders in Bulgaria at that time, the politicians who stood their ground and the cleverness of the King,>> if just one link broke, // 50,000 Polish (sic) Jews would have met the same fate as another 6 million people in Europe. ///</p>	<p>Tzvetan Todorov Jews in Bulgaria</p> <p>Mental process</p> <p>Verbal process</p> <p>Absolute Theme</p>
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	<p>khon nay Europe.///</p> <p>saphâap chên ní tham hây Todorov sarùp wáy nay nán̄sṳ̄ khǒṅ khǎw, [[chṳ̄ the fragility of goodness]],</p> <p>wâa hàak Ø plṳ̄y hây khwaam chûa khâw ma nay chiiwít sǎathaaraná? khǒṅ sǎṅkhom kaan mṳ̄aṅ dây,// khwaamchûa kṳ̄ ca tḕp too ṅṳ̄k ṅaam dâ dūay tua ʔeṅ ṅāy ṅāy</p> <p>khanà? thiî khwaamdii thán pen rṳ̄aṅ lambàak//</p> <p>hǎa dâ yâak</p> <p>lǎe? prṳ̄? baarṅ samṳ̄ə.//</p> <p>tḕə Ø kṳ̄ pen pay dâ¹⁷///</p>	<p>This condition made Todorov conclude in his book [[called <i>the Fragility of Goodness</i>]]// that if (we) allow evil to come into public life of a political society// evil will grow and sprout itself easily // while goodness will be difficult// hard to find // and always fragile// but it's possible.///</p>	<p>Causative – this made todorov conclude</p> <p>condition</p>
<p>36. ...Rebuttal 3</p>	<p>nay nán̄sṳ̄ chṳ̄ diaw kan [[thiî khiǎn dooy Martha Nussbaum, nák pràtyaa [[thiî sṳ̄ksǎa khwaamkhít khǒṅ aristotle lúksṳ̄ṅ yîṅ]] khon nḕṅ]], thḕə sarùp//</p> <p>wâa mǎə raw mii chiiwít yūu nay lôok [[thiî aristotle banyaay wáy]],//</p> <p>tḕə khanà? diaw kan raw kṳ̄ pràatthanǎa lôok [[thiî ṅāy kwàa lǎe? brísùt kwàa]]. ///</p> <p>tḕə [[thiî hḕetphǒn khǒc thòkthiǎṅ yàaṅ aristotle mii nám̄nàk lǎe? khwaammǎay yîṅ]] kṳ̄ phrṳ̄? pen</p>	<p>In a book of the same name [[that is written by Martha Nussbaum, a philosopher [[who has studied the thoughts of Aristotle very deeply]]]], she concluded</p> <p>that even if we have a life in a world [[that Aristotle described,]]// but at the same time we would desire a world [[that is simpler and more pure]]. ///</p> <p>But [[the reason that Aristotle's argument has weight and great meaning]] (is) because (it) is a</p>	<p>Martha Nussbaum Aristotle</p> <p>Inductive hây: tṳ̄an hây raw</p>

	sìŋ [[tɕan hây raw tranàk// wâa manút mây ?àat banlú? sùu khwaam bɔ́rísùt láe? khwaam riáp n̄ây dây // dooy mây siă khwaam rûmruay hææŋ chiiwít ^{18]}]]//	thing [[that warns us to realise // that humans cannot attain purity and simplicity easily // without sacrificing the richness of life]]//	tranàk
Thesis	37. kaan phikhró? thǎŋ panhãa thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ nay sǎŋkhom thay yàŋ rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa <<...>> ?àat pen wíthii n̄eŋ nay hõn thaŋ damnəən chiiwít <<dooy hây khwaam sǎmkhan kàp khwaammây loŋtua thaŋ siŋlatham>> thíi sòŋ phõn tɕan phuû khon hây tranàk nay raakhaa khǎŋ kaan tàtsĩncay thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ yàŋ bèt sèt dèt khàat pràat càak khwaam mây loŋ tua thaŋ siŋlatham thúk chanít//	The analysis of the political problems in Thai society such as the coup of 19 September, <<by placing importance on moral imperfection/ imbalance>> may be one way to live life that sends a result// to warn people to consider the price of absolute political decision-making without moral balance.//	kaan phikhró? thǎŋ panhãa thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ nay sǎŋkhom thay yàŋ rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa Inducive hây: tɕan phuû khon hây tranàk

Pitch Pongsawat

Pitch Pongsawat (2550/2007b). "การรัฐประหาร 19 กษยา 2549 คือการทำให้พลเมืองกลายเป็นไพร่" [The Coup of 19 September 2549 turned citizens into subjects].

ฟ้าเดียวกัน [*Faa Diaw Kan - Same Sky*], *Special Edition*, 58-88.

“kaanrátthaprahään 19 kanyaayon 2549 khuu kaanthamhây phonlamuaj klaay pen phrây”

Genre stages	Thai	English	Linguistic features
Thesis	“kaanrátthaprahään 19 kanyaayon 2549 khuu kaanthamhây phonlamuaj klaay pen phrây”	The coup of 19 September 2549 signified the transforming of citizens into phrai	Title
1. Background	<p>“phrây (n.): chaaw mưaj, phonlamuajsăaman; khon leew”¹///</p> <p>“phrâyfăa (n.): râttsadưon khăa phăændin”²///</p> <p>“phonlamuaj (n.): prachaachon, râttsadưon, chaaw prathêet”³///</p> <p>“wátthanatham kaanmưaj bəæp phrâyfăa: kưranii [[thiı khon nay sãŋkhom mii khwaamnóom?iaŋ thaaj kaanmưaj nay láksana [[thiı yưưmráp ʔamnâat rát// chũa faŋ pàttibàt taam kòtmăay // sũj pen phỏn khữưj kaantàtsĩncay thaaj kaanmưaj yàaj diaw]]]].///</p>	<p>1. Phrai (n): townsperson, commoner, vile person///</p> <p>Phrai faa (n): populace, royal subject //</p> <p>Phonlamuaj = citizen, populace, national//</p> <p>Watthanatham kaanmưaj baep phrai faa [phraifaa political culture]: the case [[when people in society have a political tendency [[that (they) accept the power of the state// follow the law // which is only a result of political decisions]]]]]///</p>	<p>Definition Rpt of phrai, lexis for people Ellipsis of verb as in dictionary</p> <p>Relational processes</p>

¹ râtchabanditsathään, phótcanaanukrom chabàp râtchabandittayasathään P.S. 2542 (kruŋthêep: naanmii búk pháplíkkheechân, 2546, năa 807)

²

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	<p>Ø mii khwaam rúu khwaamkhâwcaŋ kiawkàp rabòp kaanm̄aŋ dooy thûa thûa pay// tææ Ø mây sǝncay // thiĩ ca khâw pay mii sùanrûam nay kaantàtsĩn panhãa thaŋ kaanm̄aŋ // læ? Ø mây mii khwaamrúusək [[wâa ton?eeŋ yùu nay thãaná? // thiĩ ca mii khwaammăay // mii ʔitthiphon tòo kaanm̄aŋ]] // dooy Ø mii thátsanakhati? [[wâa ton kàp kaan m̄aŋ yùu khonlalôok]].///</p> <p>Ø mây kiawkhôn kan // læ? Ø mây phayaayaam pay yûŋ kìaŋ kàp kaanm̄aŋ. ///</p> <p>Ø mii tææ nâathĩ // kh̄ kh̄ kh̄w̄y kh̄w̄róp kòtmăay læ? kh̄w̄ baŋkháp tàaŋ tàaŋ kh̄w̄y ráttabaan thâwnán.///</p> <p>nay k̄w̄ranii chên ní Ø rîak // wâa raw mii wátthanatham thaŋ kaanm̄aŋ bææp phrâyfáa”4///</p>	<p>(they) have general knowledge and understanding about the political system//</p> <p>but (they) are not interested to take part in decisions on political problems// and (they) don't have the feeling [[that they themselves are in a position // to have meaning // to have influence in politics]]// by having the viewpoint [[that they and politics are in different worlds]]///</p> <p>(they) are not concerned with each other// and (they) don't try to bother with politics///</p> <p>(they) just have a duty// that is to obey the law and different regulations of the government///</p> <p>in this case (it is) called that we have a political culture of royal subjects///</p>	<p>Phrai is ellipsed subject in each clause</p> <p>Change to raw as Theme</p>
<p>2. Preview</p>	<p>bòtkhwaam chín ní nam sanǝ kaantham khwaamkhâwcaŋ kaanrátthaprahãan [[thiĩ k̄ət kh̄n m̄a 19 kanyaayon 2549]] læ? kaan sathãapanaa rabòp</p>	<p>This article presents an understanding of the coup [[that occurred on 19 september 2549]] and the establishment of the government following the coup [[which has a close relationship]]///</p>	<p>bòtkhwaam chín ní nam sanǝ</p>

	kaanm̄aη phaay lǎη kaan rǎtthaprahǎan [[s̄uη mii khwaamkiawm̄aη sǎmphan kan yàη nǎæp nǎæn]]///		
3.	phûukhiǎn hěn // wâa praden sǎmkhan nay r̄aη khǒη kaan rǎtthaprahǎan [[thiī phàan maa nán]] yûu thiī r̄aη khǒη khwaam khâwcaη m̄iti? lǎe? pǎttibàtkaan khǒη ʔamnâat nay sǎηkhom nay s̄i prakaan///	The writer thinks // That an important point regarding the coup resides in an understanding of the four dimensions and actions of power in society///	I believe – self reference
4.	prakaan thiī n̄η kaan rǎtthaprahǎan nay khráη ní pràatsacàak khwaamrunr̄æη lǎe? kaann̄cōηl̄at// ciη r̄m̄m̄ mây? /// lǎe? raw ca khâwcaη khwaamsǎmphan ráwàη kaanrǎtthaprahǎan kàp kaanphatthanaakaan prachaathíppatay dây yàηray?/// nay s̄uàn ní Ø ca dâη klàaw th̄η kaan rǎtthaprahǎan nay khráη ní // wâa Ø pen kaan tham rǎtthaprahǎan [[thiī thamhây “phonlam̄aη klaay pen phrây”]] dây yàηray?/// lǎe? khwaampen phrây nán sǎmphan kàp kaans̄æks̄æη khǒη kaanm̄aη khǒη thahǎan yàηray///	First point this coup was without violence and bloodshed wasn’t it? /// And how can we understand the relationship between the coup and the development of democracy? /// In this part (I) will say about this coup// How was (it) the staging of the coup [[that turned “citizens into phrai”]] /// And how is phrai-ness related to the intervention of the military into politics?///	First point
5.	prakaan thiī s̄cōη kaan rǎtthaprahǎan mii khwaamsǎmphan kàp “khwaampen ciη thaη kaanm̄aη” khǒη thay yàηray?///	2 nd point: What is the relationship between the coup and Thai “political reality”? /// this Because those [[who opposed the	Second point

	<p>thánj ní nư̄ng càak ph̄u [[thī t̄òt̄aan kaantham rátthaprahãan]] nán mák ca th̄uuk wícaan // w̄a mây kh̄awcay khwaam pen ciṅ thaṅj kaanm̄uṅj kh̄ṅṅ thay///</p>	<p>coup]] were criticised that they did not understand Thai political reality.///</p>	
6.	<p>prakaan thī s̄am kaanrátthaprahãan mii khwaam s̄amkhan k̄ap “khwaam pen thay” ȳaṅray?///</p> <p>nay praden ní Ø ca d̄ây kl̄aaw th̄ṅj m̄itì? kh̄ṅṅ “khwaampen thay” nay rátthaprahãan l̄é? kaans̄aṅj khwaamch̄ṅṅp̄tham h̄ây k̄ap kaantham rátthaprahãan d̄uay khwaampen thay///</p>	<p>3rd point: What is the importance of “Thainess” to the coup? ///</p> <p>in this point (I) will discuss the dimension of “Thainess” in the coup and building legitimacy for staging the coup with Thainess.///</p>	Third point
7.	<p>prakaan thī s̄i r̄ábṅṅp̄ kaanm̄uṅj phaayl̄ṅj kaan rátthaprahãan mii n̄ataa ȳaṅray?///</p> <p>s̄ṅj ca d̄ây ph̄uut th̄ṅj r̄ábṅṅp̄ kaanm̄uṅj sam̄ānach̄ṅj [[thī mii l̄áksaná? ph̄is̄èet// ȳuu thī “kaan pras̄aan prayòot nay th̄ān̄á? kaan phan̄uak ṅam̄n̄at”// ph̄ṅa “l̄ót t̄on thun nay kaanp̄òkkhr̄ṅṅj l̄ṅj kaan rátthaprahãan”]]///</p>	<p>7. 4th point: What does the political system look like since the coup?</p> <p>(I) shall talk about a harmonious political regime [[that has unique characteristics in power assimilation // to “reduce administrative costs for the post-coup government”.]]///</p>	Fourth point
Thesis	<p>“kaan thamh̄ây phonlam̄uṅj klaay pen phr̄ây” nay th̄ān̄á? h̄ṅcay kh̄ṅṅj kaan–tham rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa</p>	<p>H: “Transforming citizens into phrai” as the heart of the staging of the coup of 19 september</p>	title
8. Argument 1 [[Issue]]	<p>kaan tham rátthaprahãan m̄ṅa 19 kanyaa [[thī ph̄aan maa]]nán mây s̄ām̄at ṅath̄ibaay ṅṅay ṅṅay d̄uay kr̄ṅṅp̄ khwaamkh̄awcay r̄ṅṅj phad̄etkaan/ prachaath̄ipatay l̄é? saphaawá? thammach̄at/ s̄anyaa prachaakhom///</p>	<p>8. The coup of 19 September cannot be explained easily with a framework of dictatorship/democracy and natural conditions/ social contract.///</p>	Staging of coup as Theme Verbal process

9. [[Position challenged]]	<p>klàaw khuu mûa kòət kaanrátthaprahään khôn nán// [[kaan thiî mây mii khon [[ʔòk maa tân kaantham rátthaprahään nán]]] thùuk hây khwaammăay [[wâa pen kaan “sadæəŋ kaanyɔɔmráp” lăə? “hěn dūay”]]// daŋthiî bandaa khaná? rátthaprahään lăə? phūu [[thiî sanàpsanŋn rátthaprahään]] dây klàaw ʔaw wáy///</p>	<p>That is, when the coup occurred// [[the fact there was no one [[coming out opposing the staging of the coup]] was given the meaning [[that (it) “an expression of acceptance” and “agreement”]]// as the coup group and supporters have expressed.///</p>	<p>That is... Relational or material? See Patpong (2006) p. 537</p>
10.	<p>míʔnămsám kaantham rátthaprahään lăə? kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ dūay khaná? rátthaprahään phaay tây chû “khanáʔpàtirūup kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ nay rábɔɔp prachaathípatay ʔan mii phrámahăakasàt soŋ pen pramúk” nán, mæə wâa dâan n̄əŋ Ø ca dây yóklăək rátthathammanuun chabàp 2540 [[thiî riák kan wâa rátthathammanuun chabàp prachaachon]] // Ø hâm chumnum // lăə? mii kaan sakàtkân “khl̄un tây náam” tàəŋ caŋwàt, // tæə ʔiik dâan n̄əŋ Ø k̄ yɔɔm hây mii kaanprathúəŋ khɔɔŋ khon klùm léklék nay m̄əŋ lăə? nay mahăawítthayaalay// tràap thâw thiî khon làw nán mây dâw kiàw khôn thaəŋ tron kàp “khl̄un tây náam” // s̄əŋ nâ ca măay th̄əŋ bandaa pháak kaanm̄əŋ</p>	<p>Furthermore, the staging of the coup and the governing by the coup group known as “Council of democratic reform with the king as the head of state”, even though on the one hand (the coup group) annulled the constitution of 2540 [[that was called the people’s constitution]],// (they) forbad gatherings // and there was the interception of “undercurrents” from the provinces, // but on the other hand (they) allowed there to be protests in small groups in the city and in universities // as long as those groups are not related to the “undercurrents”// which means all the political parties and election canvassers in the provinces including regional district</p>	<p>Moreover Absolute theme Complex nom grp coup group, staging of coup governing Beta clause marked One hand... other hand Coup group ellipsed</p>

	<p>lǎe? hǔa khanææn khǒwŋ phák kaanmæaŋ nay tàaŋ caŋwàt⁵ ruam pay thǎŋ ʔoŋkɔwŋ pòkkhɔwŋ thǒwŋ thìn nay radàp tambon///</p>	<p>organisations.///</p>	
11.	<p>nǒwknǎa càak kaan ʔaŋʔiŋ [[wâa kaan kratham rátthaprahăan nán mây dây lewráay // phróʔ sǣeriiphâap nay kaan sadæaŋ khwaamkhihǎn nán yaŋ mii hây hǎn yùu càak [[thií mii kaanprathúaŋ yàaŋ sǎntiʔ klùm léklék]]]// [[thií khàt kàp kòtʔayakaansùk lǎeʔ prakàat khanáʔ rátthaprahăan nay khanàʔ diaw kàp [[kaanthií khanáʔ rátthaprahăan sòn kamləŋ thahăan pay pracamkaan taam sǎmnákŋaŋ khǒwŋ sǣmuanchon// lǎeʔ mii kaan khǒw khwaamrúammæu phàanpàakkabòk pæuŋ chên ní]]], raw ca klâa yuunyan dây yàaŋray // wâa kaanrátthaprahăan nán pen kaan sâaŋ sǎnyaaprachaakhom phàan kaan yinɔwŋm phrówmcay khǒwŋ prachaachon?///</p>	<p>Apart from the claim [[that the staging of the coup wasn't bad // because there was still freedom of expression [[in that there were peaceful protests by small groups]]]// [[that conflicts with the martial law and the announcement of the coup group at the same time [[that the coup group sent troops to be stationed at media offices// and there was the request for cooperation at gunpoint]]] how can we be assured // that this coup is building a social contract with the consent of the people?///</p>	<p>Apart from claim... Highly embedded Subject (we) here Verbal clause interrogative</p>
12.	<p>wíthii kaansanàpsanǔn kaantham rátthaprahăan [[thií phàan maa]] yaŋ ʔòk maa càak thátsanáʔ nay sǎŋkhom //</p> <p>thií wâa kaanrátthaprahăan nán pen siŋ campen //</p> <p>phróʔ hàak Ø mây tham rátthaprahăan lǎæw //</p> <p>khwaamrunræaŋ [[thií ca nam pay sùu kaan nɔwŋlǎt]] nán ca tǒŋ kǎət khún ///</p>	<p>The method of promoting the staging of the coup comes from the view in society // that said the coup was a necessary thing //</p> <p>because if (they) did not stage the coup, //</p> <p>violence [[that was followed by bloodshed]] would occur.///</p>	<p>Staging of the coup View in society Violence and bloodshed</p>

	<p>daṅnán khwaamsǎmrèt khǒṅ kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán cṅ yùu thiī kaanmâymii khwaamrunrææṅ nṅṅ l̄at k̄æt kh̄n //</p> <p>thánj thiī kaanrátthaprahǎan k̄ pen khwaamrunrææṅ thaṅ kaanm̄aṅ yàṅ n̄ṅ chây r̄m̄ mây?⁶ ///</p>	<p>Therefore, the success of the coup rests in there not being violence or bloodshed occurring //</p> <p>even though the coup was a type of political violence - isn't this true? ///</p>	<p>Success of the coup/ Acknowledg positions Interrog</p>
<p>13. [[Rebuttal]]</p>	<p>kaanʔathíbaay th̄ṅ “khwaamsǎmrèt khǒṅ kaan tham rátthaprahǎan” phàn kaanp̄ṅkan mây hây k̄æt kaannṅṅl̄at nán pen r̄aṅ [[thiī nâ t̄aṅ kh̄ṅ s̄ṅs̄y pen yàṅȳṅ]] //</p> <p>phr̄ṅ? khaná? rátthaprahǎan nán pen suàn n̄ṅ khǒṅ konkay rát</p> <p>thiī mii nâathiī nay kaan p̄ṅkan mây hây khwaamrunrææṅ l̄æ? kaannṅṅl̄at k̄æt kh̄n yùu l̄æw]. ///</p> <p>Ø mây campen //</p> <p>t̄ṅ p̄ṅkan khwaamrunrææṅ dûay kaanȳt ʔamnâat rát //</p> <p>hàak t̄æ k̄huan t̄ṅ p̄ṅkan khwaamrunrææṅ phàn kaancháy ʔamnâat rát taam thiī tonʔeeṅ mii nâathiī siã mâak kwàa. ///</p> <p>kaan mây p̄t̄ibàt taam kham s̄aṅ [[thiī mây pen tham]]</p>	<p>The explanation of the “success of the coup” through prevention of bloodshed is an issue [[that should create great suspicion]]//</p> <p>because the coup group is one part of the mechanism of the state which has the duty in the prevention of violence or bloodshed.///</p> <p>(It) is not necessary //</p> <p>to prevent violence by seizing the power of the state //</p> <p>but rather (it) should prevent violence through the use of power of the state as one’s duty ///</p> <p>refusing to follow orders [[that are unjust]] could occur//</p>	<p>Explanation ... is extremely suspicious hyperTheme and engagement -distance</p> <p>Negative polarity</p>

	<p>nán kô sǎamâat kəətkhûn dâi // rə̃ kaaŋ sakàtkân mâi hâi kəət kaaŋpàthá? kaaŋ khǝŋ khûu khàt yǎæŋ tháŋ sǝŋ fáay kô sǎamâat kəətkhûn dâi. ///</p> <p>Ø mâi campen// ca tǝŋ cháy wíthii kaaŋrátthaprahǎan///</p>	<p>or intercepting [in a situation] so there is no clash between the two opposing sides could occur///</p> <p>(It) is not necessary // to use the method of a coup.///</p>	
14.	<p>mínǎmsám khaŋá? ráttthaprahǎan yáŋ nam ʔaw khûu khàt yǎæŋ láe? khuu kɔranii khǝŋ rábǝɔp kaaŋmɕaŋ kàw khâw sùu wəŋ ʔamnáat//</p> <p>raaw kàp khaŋá? ráttthaprahǎan ʔeŋ nán kô pen khûu khàt yǎæŋ khǝŋ rábǝɔp kaaŋmɕaŋ kàw // sǝŋ tǎæk tàaŋ càak làkkaan kaansǎeksæŋ thaŋ kaaŋ mɕaŋ dūay ʔəŋkɔɔŋ phaayŋɔk [[thií pen klaŋ thaŋ kaaŋ mɕaŋ]] nay thǎaná? sùan nəŋ khǝŋ kítcaakaan dāan kaaŋ chūaylǝa dāan manútsayatham ráwàaŋ prathêet (international humanitarian intervention) nay kɔranii [[thií kəət saphaawá? “rát thií lómlǝew” (failed state)?]] ///</p>	<p>Furthermore, the coup group has taken the opposition of the old political system into the circle of power // as if the coup group itself is the opposition of the old political system //</p> <p>which differs from the principles of political intervention by an outside organisation [[that is politically neutral,]] for example, the work of international humanitarian intervention in the case [[that there is a “failed state”]]///</p>	Moreover, coup group, opposition
15.	<p>kaanhâi kaansanǎpsanǎn kaaŋrátthaprahǎan phaan kaaŋathíbaay [[wâa kaaŋrátthaprahǎan khráŋ ní prasòp khwaamsǎmrèt// dooy mâi mii kaaŋnɔŋlǝat]] nán sathɔŋ hâi hǎn</p> <p>wâa thǎæ ciŋ láæw cintanaakaan nay rǝaŋ khǝŋ khwaam runræŋ láe? kaaŋnɔŋlǝat mii ʔitthíphon</p>	<p>Supporting the coup through the explanation [[that this coup was successful //with no bloodshed]] shows [us]</p> <p>that really the imagination of violence and bloodshed has a great influence in determining the direction of political change.///</p>	hyperTheme giving support to the coup through the explanation

	<p>pen yàaj màak nay kaan kamnòt thítthaaj kaanpliànplæaj thaaj kaanmɯaj.///</p> <p>klàaw khɯɯ khwaamrunræaj lée? kaannɔŋlɛat pen tháj “thií maa” khɔŋ kaantham rátthaprahãan // (phêa mây hây kèət khwaamrunræaj lée? kaannɔŋlɛat)//</p> <p>lée? Ø pen “tua chíi wát khwaamsămrèt” // sɛŋ tham hây Ø khít pay dâj // wâa thâa Ø mây hěn dūay kàp kaanrátthaprahãan ciŋciŋ //</p> <p>léeaw Ø kɔ khuan tɔŋ ʔɔk maa siàŋ chiiwít // phêa hây kèət khwaamrunræaj lée? kaan nɔŋlɛat,///</p> <p>daŋnán mɛa raw “mây hěn” khwaamrunræaj lée? kaannɔŋlɛat nay kaantâan kaanrátthaprahãan // kaan rátthaprahãan khráj ní Ø kɔ thũ // wâa Ø prasòp khwaamsămrèt.///</p>	<p>That is, violence and bloodshed are both the “origin” of staging of the coup// (in order to avoid violence and bloodshed)//</p> <p>and (they) are an “indicator of its success” // which makes us think that if we really don’t agree with the coup // then we should come out and risk our lives // to create violence and bloodshed/// Therefore when we “don’t see” any violence and bloodshed in resistance to the coup, // this coup is thus believed // to have been successful.///</p>	<p>acknowledge</p> <p>Causative which makes us think Mental process</p> <p>Violence and bloodshed</p>
16.	<p>kaan?athíbaay khwaamsămrèt khɔŋ kaantham rátthaprahãan cɛŋ wonwian //</p> <p>lée? sèeptit kàp khwaamrunræaj lée? nɔŋlɛat yàaj màj mii thií sín sùt⁸//</p> <p>phrɔ? thãan khɔŋ khwaamkhít thájɲmòt nay rɛaj nán phùuk tít kàp khwaamkhâatwǎŋ [[wâa khwaamrunræaj lée? kaannɔŋlɛat pen làk nay</p>	<p>The explanation for the success of the coup is thus circular // and fixed on endless violence and bloodshed // because the basis of all; the ideas are tied to the expectation [[that the violence and bloodshed is at the core of any consideration of success or failure of political intervention]]/</p>	<p>Explanation is circular Consequence</p> <p>Because</p>

	<p>kaanphítcaaranaa khwaamsămrèt rṃ̃ lómlĕw khṳ̃ṳ kaansăeksăæŋ thaŋ kaanmṃaŋ]] //</p> <p>daŋthĩ Ø hĕn dâŋ çat càak khwaamphayaayaam nay kaan?athíbaay khwaamcampen nay kaankhoŋwáy sṃ̃ŋ kòt?ayakaansṃ̃k// phrṳ̃? sathăanakaan “yaŋ mâŋ nĭŋ” // lăe? phrṳ̃? khlũm̃n tâŋ náam yaŋ mii yùu.</p>	<p>as can be clearly seen from the attempt to explain the necessity for the continuation of martial law// because the situation is “still not calm” // and because there are still undercurrents.///</p>	
17.	<p>kaan?athíbaay khwaamrunrăæŋ nay láksanà? khṳ̃ṳ kìtcakam [[thĩ mii khũ khàtyăæŋ ráwàŋ fàay rátthaprahăan lăe? fàay khlũm̃n tâŋ náam]] ní tham hây khaná? rátthaprahăan klaay tua pen khũ khàtyăæŋ kàp rábṳ̃ṳ kàw mâak kwàa kaanpen khon klaŋ [[thĩ khâw maa kăækhăy panhăa khwaamkhàtyăæŋ runrăæŋ khṳ̃ṳ tháŋ sṳ̃ṳ fàay]]//</p> <p>daŋ thĩ khaná? rátthaprahăan phayaayaam ?əəy?âaŋ ?aw wáy tăæ tôn ruam tháŋ talṳ̃ṳ weela [[thĩ yaŋ khon ?amnâat yùu phaay tâŋ rábṳ̃ṳ kaanmṃaŋ phaaylăŋ kaanrátthaprahăan]].///</p>	<p>The explanation of violence as an activity [[that has disputants between the coup side and the undercurrent side]] has made the coup group transform itself into the opposition of the old system more than being the mediator [[that comes in to solve the problem of violent conflict between both sides]]//</p> <p>as the coup group has tried to claim since the beginning including all the time [[that it has been in power under the post-coup political regime.]]///</p>	<p>Explanation of violence</p> <p>Coup group Undercurrent s</p> <p>Try to claim Verbal process distance</p>
18. [[Coda]]	<p>nṳ̃k càak ní lăæw, mṳ̃ránákam khṳ̃ṳ luŋ nuamthṳ̃ṳ phraywan dūay cèetcamnoŋ khṳ̃ṳ “kaan phliichĭip phĕa prachaathípatay” kṳ̃ pen sĭŋ [[thĩ sathṳ̃ṳn hây hĕn// wâa kaantham rátthaprahăan lăe? kaanhây khwaamchṳ̃ṳp tham kăæ kaanrátthaprahăan [[thĩ yaŋ mòkm̃n worwian kàp tăkkà? khṳ̃ṳ kaan ?aw khwaam runrăæŋ thĕŋ chiiwít maa pen tháŋ thĩ maa nay kaan rátthaprahăan lăe? tua chiiwít khṳ̃ṳ khwaam sămrèt]] nán mâŋ săamâat phísùut</p>	<p>Apart from this, the death of uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan with the determination to “sacrifice his own life for democracy” is something [[which makes us reflect // that the staging of the coup and giving legitimacy to the coup [[that is still absorbed in the circular logic of violence as both the origin of the coup and an indication of its success]] can’t prove the legitimacy and success of the coup at all]]//</p>	<p>Apart from this Death of Nuamthong Phraiwan Inducive sathṳ̃ṳn hây hĕn</p>

	khwaamchôp ⁹ tham lǎe? khwaamsǎmrèt khǒw kaanrátthaprahǎan dây lǎey]] // lǎe? Ø tham háy kǎet khwaamsǔnsǎ khǒw chiiwít phuûkhon chênkan.///	and it caused the death of people as well.///	Mental process causative
19. Argument 2 [[Issue]] Position challenged 2	khwaam ⁹ iap lǎe? khwaamyinywóm khǒw prachaachon camnuan mây nõw tò kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán yôm ca tǎy dâyráp kaan ?athíbaay.// tǎe kham ?athíbaay bææp dǎem nay kaanwíkhǒw? kaanm ⁹ ay thay nay míti? khǒw wátthanátham kaanm ⁹ ay/ phrútikam thaay kaanm ⁹ ay nán mây dâ tham háy raw khâwca kaanm ⁹ ay thay nay pàtcùban dây mâak nák./// klàaw kh ⁹ tǎe dǎem sǎykhom thay dâyráp kaan ?athíbaay [[wâa Ø mii wátthanátham kaanm ⁹ ay bææp “phrây fáa”]].// Ø tham háy pen ?ùppasàk sǎmkhan tò kaan phátthanaa kaanm ⁹ ay thay pay sùu kaanm ⁹ ay bææp prachaathíppatay ⁹ ///	The silence and consent of many people for the coup should receive an explanation// but the past explanation that analyses Thai politics in the dimension of political culture/ political behaviour does not let us understand Thai politics in the present time much./// That is to say, formerly Thai society received the explanation [[that (it) has a political culture of “phrai faa (royal subjects)”]]// which caused an important obstacle to the development of Thai democratic politics.///	Silence and acceptance Modal Explanation Causative + mental process That is, formerly causative
20.	tǎe ?aw khâw ciy, hàak cháy tàkkà? khǒw khaná? rátthaprahǎan [[thií ? ân ton// wâa dây kratham kaanpatirûp kaanpòkkhǒw nay rábòw prachaathíppatay ?an mii phrámahǎakasàt pen pramúk chên ní]],// khwaampen “phrây (fáa)” chên ní chây rûmây [[thií	However, if (we) use the logic of the coup group [[that they cite themselves// that they have reformed the government in the democratic system with the king as the head of state]]// is “phrai(faa)-ness” like this appropriate for the reform of Thai politics?///	Adversative Condition Use name of coup group as action – the governing

	mòʔsǝm tòc kaan patirúup kaanm̄əŋ thay]]?///		and reform of...
21. Rebuttal 2 [[Thesis/Anti-thesis]]	phûukhĩan sanǝə // wâa panhãa khǝŋ kaanm̄əŋ thay nán mây dâi yùu thiĩ wátthanatham læʔ phrítikam thaŋ kaanm̄əŋ khǝŋ bùkkhon nay rábòɔp kaanm̄əŋ [[thiĩ pen phrây fáa]] dooy tua khǝŋ phûak khǝw ʔeeŋ càak phátthanaakaan thaŋ prawàtsàat læʔ wátthanátham [[thiĩ yaaw naan]]. //	I propose // that the problem with Thai politics does not lie with culture or the political behaviour of individuals in a political system [[that are royal subjects]] with that group from a long historical and cultural development, //	I propose Pronounce Neg. pol.
[[Thesis]]	hàak tàæ Ø pen r̄əŋ khǝŋ [[kaan thiĩ bùkkhon làw nán “thùuk tham hây pen phrây (fáa)” ná hũəŋ caŋwàʔ nay pàtcuban s̄iə]] mâak kwàa // daŋ thiĩ hẽn yùu càak kaankratham ráttaprahãan nay khráŋ ní// thiĩ tham hây k̄əət kaanpliàn sathãanáʔ thaŋ kaanm̄əŋ khǝŋ bùkkhon nay rábòɔp kaanm̄əŋ càak “phonlam̄əŋ” maa sùu khwaam pen “phrây” yàəŋ chátceen læʔ còŋcæəŋ.// rūə klàaw dâi // wâa ráʔ ʔeeŋ tàəŋ hàak thiĩ tham hây phonlam̄əŋ pen phrây// ph̄əa tham hây kaan phátthanaa thaŋ kaanm̄əŋ pay sùu prachaathíppatay nán mây k̄əət kh̄əŋ rew pay nák.///	but it is more [[that that group of individuals “were made into royal subjects” in the present period]] as can be seen from the staging of this coup that clearly and openly changed the [status of] individuals in the political system from “citizens” to “phrai” // or we can say // that the state itself made citizens into phrai // so that it made the democratic development not occur too quickly.///	Adversative but Fact clause - fact htat those people were made into phrai... Verbal process Predicated Theme causative

22...Rebuttal2	<p>kaan?athíbaay kaan rátthaprahään nay pàtcuban [[wâa “tham hây phonlamœaŋ klaay pen phrây”]] nán pen thaaŋhâak càak kaan?athíbaay læ? sâaŋ khwaamchôptham hây kàp kaanrátthaprahään phaan nææw khít pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ dooy chaphó? nay sākħăa wâa dūay rœaŋ sǎnyaa prachaakhom //</p> <p>sêŋ mák ca thùuk lólian //</p> <p>wâa nææw khít pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ nán lálœy mítì? thaaŋ prawàttisàat //</p> <p>phró? mây mii làkthään //</p> <p>ymnyan dây //</p> <p>wâa “saphaawá? taam thammachâat” læ? “sìt nay thammachâat” <<...>> nán mii yùu ciŋ//</p> <p><<kòcn thií manút ca ruam tua kan pen sǎŋkhom kaan mœaŋ>> //</p> <p>rm̐ mii yùu nay chûaŋ nǎy khǒcŋ prawàttisàat //</p> <p>sêŋ mii suàn sǎmkhan tòc khwaamkhonjsênkhorwaa khǒcŋ khôc sanœœ ʔeeŋ//</p> <p>khanà? thií khôc wípħâak wícaan [[thií sǎmkhan]] kó khuu [[nææw khít daŋ klàaw nán nén ?athíbaay thǎŋ kamnœat læ? khwaamchôptham khǒcŋ sathăaban thaaŋ kaan pòkkrwœŋ [[thií mii</p>	<p>The explanation of the present coup [[that “caused citizens to become low class subjects”]] is a choice of explanation and building of legitimacy through political philosophies especially to do with a social contract//</p> <p>which are often ridiculed //</p> <p>that that idea of political philosophy neglect the historical dimension //</p> <p>because there is no basis //</p> <p>to confirm</p> <p>whether “the natural condition” and “natural rights” <<before humans collected together to be a political society>> really existed //</p> <p>or existed at any historical period//</p> <p>which has an important factor for the stability of their argument.//</p> <p>while an important criticism is [[those ideas emphasise origins and legitimacy of government institutions [[that are centralised //and use administrative regulations [[that are</p>	<p>Explanation “tham hây phonlamœaŋ klaay pen phrây” – embedded passive, verbal</p>
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	<p>booraan nay n̄ææ khǒŋ kaanʔathíbaay rábòp phrây [[thií k̄əət kh̄ên nay th̄aanáʔ pen rábòp kaan pòkkhrǒŋ [[thií tron k̄ap ʔùppanísăy khǒŋ chon châat thay¹² // tr̄aap th̄aw thií khwaamconrâkphákdií khǒŋ phrây nán kh̄ên yùu k̄ap muunnaay pen lamdàp kh̄ên.]]]]]]//</p>	<p>was based on the habits of the Thai race// as long as the loyalty of the phrai depends on the hierarchical master.]]]]]]//</p>	<p>clause</p>
25.	<p>daŋ nán kaanklàaw th̄ŋ panh̄aa khǒŋ rábòp ʔùppath̄am [[w̄a Ø pen ʔùppasàk t̄ò prachaathíppatay láeʔ kaanpàtir̄up kaanm̄aŋ // daŋ s̄ath̄ón maa càak kaans̄ú siǎŋ nay chonnabòt¹³ r̄ū kaan s̄eep̄t̄it nayoobaay prachaaníyom]] nán c̄uŋ pen r̄ūŋ khǒŋ kaan ph̄uut th̄ŋ “rábòp ʔùppath̄am [[thií mây ph̄uŋpràatthan̄a”]] mâak kwàa kaan “mây pràatthan̄a rábòp ʔùppath̄am”// thií ph̄uuk phan k̄ap “khwaampen phrây” yàaŋ l̄úks̄úŋ//</p>	<p>Therefore, referring to the problem of the patron-client system [[that (it) is an obstacle to democracy and political reform// as is reflected in the buying of votes in the rural areas or the fixation on policies of popular culture]] (it) is an issue of “an undesirable patronage system” more than “not wanting a patronage system”// which is deeply tied to “being phrai”.///</p>	<p>Therefore...</p>
26. [[Factorial explanation]] ---Outcome	<p>láeʔ Ø ca w̄a pay láeæw bùkkhon nay ʔudomkhatiʔ khǒŋ ph̄uunam thaaŋ kaanm̄aŋ nay rábòp kaanm̄aŋ sam̄aanach̄an phaaylǎŋ kaan rátthaprah̄an k̄s̄ kh̄ū “phrây sam̄ăy mày” (modern state subject) mâak kwàa kaanpen “phonlam̄aŋ sam̄ăy mày” (modern citizen).///</p>	<p>And it can be said that the ideal individual of the political leaders in the harmonious post-coup political regime is the “modern phrai” (modern state subject) more than the “modern citizen”.///</p>	<p>láeʔ Ø ca w̄a pay láeæw phrai citizen</p>
27. [[Factor 1]]	<p>phonlam̄aŋ nay khwaamm̄aay khǒŋ kaanm̄aŋ sam̄ăy mày kiàwphan k̄ap kaanpliànplæaŋ pay s̄uú rábòp prachaathíppatay//</p>	<p>A citizen, in the meaning of modern politics, is involved in change in the democratic system//</p>	<p>Citizen, democracy, r̄aatsad̄on</p>

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	<p>sêḥ măay thŭḥ [[kaanpliànplæəḥ rāatsadɔɔn (subject) rəḥ phûu [[thiī sĭa phaasiī hây rát// lăé? tŭḥ yút thŭḥ patibàt tua taam kòtmăay khɔɔḥ bânḥəḥ chên kan mòt]] hây pen phonlamḥəḥ// sêḥ phonlamḥəḥ măay thŭḥ rāatsadɔɔn [[thiī <<nɔɔk càak sĭa phaasiī// lăé? patibàt taam kòtmăay bânḥəḥ lăəw>> yaḥ tŭḥ mii bòtbàat lăé? ʔamḥàat thaəḥ kaan ḥəḥ]].///</p> <p>yàəḥ nɔɔy Ø mii sĭt // lăək tâḥ///</p> <p>lăé? yĭḥ pay kwàa nán, khḥ Ø mii sĭt nay kaansadæəḥ khwaamkhíthĕn tàəḥtəḥ thaəḥ kaan bân kaanḥəḥ// lăé? mii sùanrúam kàp kĭtcakam khɔɔḥ rát nay thăaná? fàayrúk//</p> <p>phûa riāk rɔɔḥ kòtmăay// mây chây pen fàay ráp kòtmăay.¹⁴///</p>	<p>which means [[the change of “ratsadorn” (subject), or people [[who pay taxes to the state // and must in turn completely abide by and behave according to the law of the country]] into, citizens (phonlamḥəḥ)//</p> <p>which refers to subjects (ratsadorn) [[who, <<as well as paying taxes// and following the law of the country>>, still have a political role and power in politics.]]//</p> <p>(They) at least have the right // to vote</p> <p>and over and above that is they have the right to express different views/opinions on politics// and have a part in the activity of the state// by assertively demanding from the law // and not merely accepting the law///</p>	<p>(subject) state behavioural process</p> <p>relational: possessive</p> <p>at least...</p> <p>and even more...</p>
<p>28. [[Factor 2]]</p>	<p>khwaamtæəktəḥ khɔɔḥ phrây samăy mày kàp phonlamḥəḥ samăy mày nán yùu thiī [[kaanpen phonlamḥəḥ samăy mày nán măay thŭḥ sĕeriichon [[thiī mii sĭt nay kaanpòkkhrɔɔḥ tonʔeəḥ// lăé? [[thiī sāmkan]] Ø mii sĭt nay kaanmâyhĕn dūay kàp rátthabaan taam wĭthĭthaəḥ khɔɔḥ rábɔɔp prachaathĭppatay]]]. ///</p>	<p>The difference between phrai and phonlamḥəḥ lies in [[being a modern citizen means a free person [[who has the right to self-government // and [[what’s important]] (who) has the right to disagree with the government (civil disobedience) following a democratic system]]]//</p> <p>Legal protection of a citizen will differ from</p>	<p>Difference between phrai and citizen</p> <p>Relational processes</p>

	<p>khūnnaaj lǎe? sūu kwàa thâat.///</p> <p>ʔitsarà? khǒw phrây nán yūu trong [[thiī kaankeen rææŋaan nán mii sàtsùn [[thiī çatceen]]],//</p> <p>ʔaathí? khrûŋ pii rǔ̃ sǎam dʰan mí? chây kaantōŋ tham ŋaan ráp cháy muunnaay talòt thánj pii mǔan thâat¹⁵///</p>	<p>The freedom of phrai lies directly in a proportional conscription to labour, // that is half the year or three months, (when) they don't have to work for the bosses all year like a slave (does)///</p>	<p>class, boss, slave</p>
<p>31. [[Factor 4]]</p>	<p>ŋaan khían wíchaakaan nay ʔadiit mii khwaam chûa [[wâa phrây nán dâj prææ saphâap maa sūu kaan pen kradumphii rǔ̃ chonchán klaaŋ nay mʰaŋ¹⁶ // lǎe Ø klaay pen chonchán chaawnaa nay chonnabòt]].¹⁷ ///</p> <p>tǎæ ʔaw khâw ciŋ lǎæw nay sǎaytaa khǒw rát phrây kô yaj khonj pen phrây//</p> <p>tǎæ Ø pen “phrây samǎy màj” nay khrâap “râatsadwɔn – phonlamʰaŋ” nânʔeeŋ//</p> <p>nay khwaam mǎaj thiī wâa dæm nán râatsadwɔn rǔ̃ phrây mâj thùuk thǔ̃ //</p> <p>wâa pen ʔoŋprakòp sùn nùŋ khǒw rát. ///</p> <p>Ø pen phiaŋ khææ sàttraawút rǔ̃ khrûaŋ mʰaŋ khǒw rát//</p> <p>thiī tōŋ thùuk khûapkhum dooy phûu pòkkhrɔw¹⁸ ///</p> <p>daŋ kham klàaw nay bòt phráràatchaniphon</p>	<p>Past academic writings have the belief [[that phrai changed into the bourgeoisie or the urban middle class // and (they) changed into farmers in the countryside//</p> <p>But truthfully, in the view of the state, the phrai are still phrai, // but (they) are “modern phrai” in the guise of subject-citizen (ratsadorn - phonlamʰaŋ) // in the meaning that formerly subjects or phrai were not believed // to be an element of the state//</p> <p>They were just weapons bearers or tools of the state// that had to be controlled by the governors ///</p> <p>As the words in the Ramakien [[that</p>	<p>Acknowledge</p> <p>Phrai, bourgeoisie, urban middle class, farmers, state, râatsadwɔn Adversative conj</p> <p>quotes</p>

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	<p>raamakian [[thiĩ wâa// “fàay fũuŋ ?aanaaprachaarâat khuu sàattraawút thánj lăay .../// ?aawút [[mây mii phũu thũu]] khuan r̄u ca wĩj róp dâ”¹⁹// maa sùu kaan thiĩ “râatsadɔɔn” [[thiĩ pen ?oŋprakòɔp khɔɔŋ rát]] s̄uŋ “thâa taay pay khon n̄uŋ// k̄ mây rúus̄k kraray nák,// t̄æ thâa taay pay mâak,// bâan m̄uŋ k̄ ca ɲiáp ɲăw...”²⁰] ///</p> <p>t̄æ râatsadɔɔn ca mii s̄uan s̄amkhan dây// k̄ t̄ò m̄u ruam kan pen n̄uay yà [thiĩ riák wâa “châat”]// l̄æ? ch̄u f̄a kham s̄aŋ khɔɔŋ rát thâwnán [[thiĩ riák wâa “nâathiĩ phonlam̄uŋ”]// ph̄u hây châat k̄aw n̄a// r̄u “siwilay”²¹///</p>	<p>state// “the people are the weapons bearers.../// weapons [[with no people to carry (them)]] should not be able to go to war”// to the “ratsadorn” [[that are an element of the state]] “if one person dies // (we) won’t notice it much. // But if many die,// the country will be quiet and lonely...” ///</p> <p>But subjects have an important part [to play] // when (they) collect together in a large group [[which is called “nation”]] and [they] obey only the order of the state [[which is called “duty of the citizen so the nation can progress // or “(become) civilised”]///</p>	
32. Argument 3	<p>sathãaná? khɔɔŋ phrây samăy mà y c̄uŋ pen phõn phalìt [[thiĩ s̄amkhan]] nay rát s̄ombuuranaayaasit̄thirâat²² [[s̄uŋ pen rát [[thiĩ k̄ət kh̄n ciŋ nay prawàttisàat]]]// l̄æ? Ø pen “rát?udomkhati?” [[thiĩ mii “phõn thaŋ ?udomkaan” t̄ò kaan sathãapanaa rábɔɔp kaanm̄uŋ nay</p>	<p>The situation of modern phrai is thus an important product of the absolutist state [[which was a state [[that arose in history]]]// and was the “ideal state” [[that had “ideological results” for the establishment</p>	<p>Situation of modern phrai...</p>

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	pàtcuban]].///	of the modern political system.]]///	
33. [[Factorial explanation]]	yàṅray kô dii rát sǒmbuuranaayaasìtthirâat nay mítì? prawàttisàat khǒṅ thay mii láksanà? phísèet [[thī nâasǒncay]] sǎam prakaan.	However, the absolutist state in a Thai historical dimension has three special interesting characteristics.///	However, absolutist state ... three factors
34.	<p>prakaan rǎæk, kaansathǎapanaa rát sǒmbuuranaayaasìtthirâat khǒṅ thay pen kaantham laay ṽitthiphon khǒṅ thǒṅthìn //</p> <p>lǎe? dṁṅ ṽaw phrây thúk khon maa khṁn kàp sùan klaaṅ dooy kaan sathǎapanaa hây pen phrây khǒṅ phrâbàatsǒmdètphrâcâwyùuhǎa nay naam khǒṅ “râatsadṁn” //</p> <p>sṁṅ kaankratham daṅ klàaw kṁt khṁn dây phàan théknoolooyii kaan pòkkhrṁṅ mà y mà [[náp nṁṅ tǎṅtǎe kṁṅtháp samǎymà y, rabòp rǎatchakaan, khrooṅsâṅ kaanphátthanaa phṁnthǎan ṽaathí? prapaa, fayfáa lǎe? kaankhommanaakhom khǒnsòṅ, kaanmii phaasǎa rǎatchakaan nṁṅ diaw <<(ruam thǎṅ kaan pattirûup kaansṁksǎa phṁa triam khon khâw sùu rǎbòp rǎatchakaan lǎe? rǎbòp thun níyom)>> lǎe? kaanmii phǎæn thī (nay thǎaná? rǎbòp phaasǎa [[thī mây chây tua náṅṁṁṁ]])].]</p> <p>lǎe? thī sǎmkhan rát samǎy buuranaayaasìtthirâat [[sṁṅ pen rát samǎy mà y]] nán mii thǎan thaṅ sètthakìt nay bàeap samǎymà y dūay tua ṅṁn càak kaan kèp phaasiṽ // thī mii prasìtthiphâap phaay tâ y kaankhayǎy</p>	<p>1st point: The establishment of the absolutist state was the destruction of the freedom of regional areas// and pulling in the phrai into the centre with the establishment of the King’s subjects (phrai) with the name of “ratsadorn”,//</p> <p>this being able to occur with new governing technology [[including the modern army, the public service, the construction of basic utilities such as water supply, electricity and communications and transport, having an official language <<including the development of the education system to prepare people for the public service and capitalist system>> and having a plan (in the language system [[that doesn’t use letters]])]]</p> <p>And what is important, the absolutist state [[which is a modern state]] has a modern economic base with money for collecting taxes // which has efficiencies under the</p>	First...

	<p>sèetthakit bææp talàat mâak kwàa rát booraan [[thiî mii khanàat lék// lǎe? phùukphan kàp kaan m̄aŋ lǎe? khwaamcoŋrâkphákdii nay bææp sǎnyalák ʔaathiʔ kaansòŋsùay kaankeenrææŋŋaan càak h̄am̄aŋ// ph̄a pay róp nay s̄oŋkhraam bææp ʔaanaacàk r̄m̄ kaantææŋŋaan ráwàaŋ r̄aatchawoŋ th̄óŋthìn kàp s̄un klaaŋ ʔamnâat]]///</p>	<p>expansion of a market economy more than the ancient state [[that was small// and tied to politics and symbolic loyalty, e.g. paying tribute and conscripting labour for the head of the city // to go and fight in empire wars or a marriage between regional royalty and central powers.]]///</p>	
35.	<p>rát s̄ombuuranaayaasitthirâat kh̄óŋ thay c̄ŋ pen thán rát samăy mày lǎe? rát thun níyom ruam s̄un maa tæè t̄on.²³///</p> <p>ʔiik thán pen rát ʔùppathăm lǎe? rát prachaniyom// ph̄a yææŋ thăan kaanm̄aŋ kh̄óŋ rát th̄óŋ thìn.///</p> <p>khwaamʔòŋŋææ kh̄óŋ th̄óŋthìn dooy kaansathăapanaa ʔamnâat kh̄óŋ rát s̄anklaaŋ nán pen h̄uacay [[thiî sămkhan]] nay kaan s̄aŋ khwaamceencòp h̄ay kàp prathêet châat²⁴///</p>	<p>The Thai absolutist state has thus been both a modern state and a central capitalist state since the beginning.///</p> <p>Also, (it) is a patronage state and a populist state // to contest the political base of local politics.///</p> <p>The weakness of the regions with the establishment of the power of the central state is the core capacities of the nation///</p>	<p>consequence</p>
36.	<p>nay ŋææ níi kamn̄ət k̄oŋtháp thay nán c̄ŋ pen r̄uŋ kh̄óŋ kaan p̄ŋkan ʔèkkarâat kh̄óŋ châat ph̄oŋ ph̄oŋ kàp kaansalăay “khl̄m̄n tây náam” nay chonnabòt càak kaanpràap kabòt chaawnaa/ ph̄u mii bun taam h̄am̄aŋ.///</p>	<p>In this view the birth of the Thai army was thus a matter of protection of the sovereignty of the nation (and) in the same way the breaking up of the “undercurrents” in the countryside by the suppression of the rebellions of farmers or influential people that became a threat.///</p>	<p>For this reason Lexis: army</p>

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	<p>lǎe? kɔŋtháp thay mii bòtbàat nay kaan salǎay khluên tây náam nay thǎanâ? kaankhayǎay ʔamnáat càak sùan klaan mâak kwàa róp kàp tàaŋ chàat siǎ ʔiik.///</p> <p>m̄a náp kítcakam làk làk nay kaan kòc tua khǔŋ kɔŋtháp samǎy mày lǎe? nay samǎy rǎæk r̄em khǔŋ kaan sathǎapanaa kɔŋtháp samǎy mày nay rátchamǎy khǔŋ rátchakaan thií 5 nán//</p> <p>thahǎan khǔŋ thay k̄ mây chây thahǎan khǔŋ phrâraachaa d̄uay sám//</p> <p>d̄uay wâa t̄ŋ chây weelaa lǎay pii nay [[kaan thií ca rûapruam kɔŋtháp khên maa pen kɔŋtháp (lǎe? thahǎan) samǎy mày khǔŋ phrâraachaa²⁵]]///</p>	<p>And the Thai army has a role in the breaking up of the undercurrents in the expansion of power from the centre rather than fighting with foreign countries///</p> <p>When (we) count the basic activities in the building of the modern army, and in the first establishment of the modern army during the reign of Rama V, // the Thai military was not even the military of the king//</p> <p>since they had to spend many years [[in becoming a modern army (and soldiers) of the king]]///</p>	
37.	<p>prakaan thií sǔŋ, rát sǔmbuuranaayaasitthirâat mí? dây plòtplòy phuú khon hây pen phonlam̄aŋ samǎy mày [[thií mii sít thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ nay bææp prachaathíppatay]]//</p> <p>hàak tǎe Ø prææ saphâap</p> <p>hây phuú khon nay rát plian càak phrây [[thií khên kàp muun nay]] maa pen phrây [[thií khên kàp rát ruam s̄un]] d̄uay kaan khúmkr̄oŋ phrây phàn rábòp kòtmǎy samǎy mày²⁶ [[thií yaŋ pen kòtmǎy [[thií “phráráatchathaan” càak phrámahǎakasàt]]].///</p>	<p>2nd point: The absolutist state does not liberate people to be modern citizens [[who have democratic political rights]]// but (they) change the conditions // so that people in the state change from phrai [[that are dependent on their bosses]] to be phrai [[that are dependent on the central state]] with the protection of the phrai through the modern legal system [[which is still a law [[that is “offered” by the king]]]].///</p>	Second factor, absolutist state

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	<p>daŋ nán khwaam sǎmphan ráwàaŋ rábòp kòtmǎay samǎy mà y lǎe? sathǎaban phrámahǎakasàt khǒŋ thay cŋ yææk kan mâ y ʔòk //</p> <p>lǎe? mii bôt bàat sǎmkhan nay kaansathǎapanaa rábòp phrây samǎy mà yàaŋ khǎæŋkhǎn //</p> <p>phrǒ? kòtmǎay samǎy mà y nán pen cèetcamnoŋ [[thií sadææŋ ʔòk maa khǒŋ phrámahǎakasàt]].///</p> <p>lǎe? mǎe ca mii kaan pliànplææŋ kaan pòkkhrǒŋ maa sùu rábòp rátthasaphaa lǎe? rátthathammanuun, //</p> <p>tææ thawâa bææp thamniam phíthii khǒŋ khwaam sǎmphan ráwàaŋ kòtmǎay kàp sathǎaban phrámahǎakasàt nán kǒ yan damnøen yùu tǒ pay, // sêŋ dooy rátthathammanuun lǎeæw, phrámahǎakasàt ca thùuk lóŋ thǒŋ ʔamnâat nay kaanbanyàt kòtmǎay loŋ //</p> <p>hàak tææ nay ʔudomkaan lǎeæw kaanʔâaŋʔiŋ thǎŋ khwaam sǎmphan ráwàaŋ phrámahǎakasàt kàp rábòp kòtmǎay lǎe? sathǎaban tùlaakaan nán mii hây hǎn yàaŋ chátceen //</p> <p>ruam pay thǎŋ kaanʔæyʔâaŋ thǎŋ “phráràtchaʔamnâat” //</p> <p>daŋ thií phûut thǎŋ kan nay pàtcuban.///</p>	<p>Therefore the relationship between the modern legal system and the Thai monarchy cannot be differentiated // And has an important role in the establishment of the modern phrai system//</p> <p>because the modern law is the intention [[that is expressed of the king]]///</p> <p>and even if there is a change to a parliamentary government and constitution, //</p> <p>but the culture of the relationship between the law and the monarchy still continues// which by the constitution, the king’s power will diminish with the legal regulation// Nevertheless, ideologically, reference to the relationship between the king and the legal system and the justice system is clearly seen //</p> <p>including the claim of “royal power” // as it has been brought up in the present day.///</p>	<p>Therefore</p> <p>But...</p>
<p>38.</p>	<p>phrây samǎy mà y cŋ pen phuú [[thií khûn tǒ rát phàn rabòp kòtmǎay samǎay mà y (legal subject of the state) [[thií kǎet khûn nay sǎŋkhom khǒŋ thay kǒŋ</p>	<p>Modern phrai are thus people [[who depend on the state through the modern legal system (legal subject of the state) [[which arose in Thai society before the</p>	<p>Phrai Consequence</p>

	<p>kaansathăapanaa rábòɔp prachaathíppatay]]].///</p> <p>daŋnán kaanrátthaprahăan mûa 19 kanyaa [[thîi phàan maa]] nán, máæ wâa ca pen kaanyóklêək rátthathammanuun láé? prakàat cháay kòtmăay taam ʔamphəəcay khǒɔŋ khaná? rátthaprahăan,//</p> <p>tææ kô mây dâŋ nam pay sùu saphaawá? khwaamwûnwaay ᨾ᩵ kaan cháay kamlaŋ kòtkhîi thaaŋ tronŋ taam cintanaakaan thaaŋ kaanmᨾaŋ bæəp prachaathíppatay/phadètkaan ᨾ᩵ nɔɔŋ lɛ̀át/mây nɔɔŋlɛ̀át///</p> <p>daŋ thîi cháŋ ʔaŋ kan //</p> <p>wâa kaan rátthaprahăan nay khráŋ níi “mây dâŋ leew ráay con kəən pay nák” //</p> <p>tææ Ø pen rᨾaŋ khǒɔŋ kaanphayaayaam //</p> <p>sâaŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmᨾaŋ hây yùu nay láksanà? khǒɔŋ kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ phrây samăy màŋ khǒɔŋ khaná? rátthaprahăan láé? chonchán pòkkhrɔɔŋ phaaytây rábòɔp kaanmᨾaŋ phaaylǎŋ kaanrátthaprahăan tàaŋ hàak.///</p>	<p>establishment of the democratic system]]]]///</p> <p>Therefore, the coup of 19 September, even though it saw the suspension of the constitution and the announcement of the use of special laws at the will and liberty of the coup group,//</p> <p>But it has not led directly to a situation of turmoil or the use of power and oppression according to the political imagination of the style of democracy/dictatorship or bloodshed/no bloodshed.//</p> <p>As has been claimed, //</p> <p>That the coup at this time is “not too bad” //</p> <p>but it is an attempt //</p> <p>to build a political society in the style of governing of modern phrai by the coup group and the governing class under the post-coup regime.///</p>	<p>Therefore the 19 september coup</p> <p>But</p> <p>Verbal process</p> <p>As has been claimed</p>
39.	<p>prakaan thîi sǎam, dooy làkthăan thaaŋ prawáttisàat nán, rátthasombuuranaayaasit khǒɔŋ thay mây dâŋ khêmkhǎəŋ láé? ruam sũun dâŋ yàaŋ [[thîi raw cintanaakaan khên maa]].///</p>	<p>Point 3: from historical evidence the Thai absolutist state was not strong and centralised as [[we have imagined]]///</p>	<p>Third factor</p> <p>Absolutist state</p>

	<p>kaan wíphâak wícaan sathăaban phrámahăakasàt lăé? ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt ʔeeŋ nán kəət khên maa dooy taləot.///</p> <p>Ø hěn dâý càak khôc khiăn wíphâak wícaan kaan bəríhăan rāatchakaan lăé? tua ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt ʔeeŋ nay samăy rāatchakaan thí 6.///</p> <p>lăé? thíi sămkhan, sət̚ ləw nán pen sət̚ [[thií, mǎæ wăa ca pen khon thay, // tǎæ kô yuu nay ban kháp (săŋkàt) tàŋ chăat.]]///</p> <p>lăé? thíi năa sǒncay kô khuu [[mǎæ nay samăy sombuuranaayaasitthirât ʔeeŋ, lăksanà? khôc ʔoŋ kòtmăy mìn phrábaromdeechaanúphăap kô mây dâý mii lăksanà? diaw káp kòtmăy nay yúk lăŋ kaanpliànplææŋ kaanpòkkhrəc ʔoŋ // phrə? tǎæ dəəm Ø pen kòtmăy [[thií kiàwkhôc káp kaanmìn ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt]]].///</p> <p>Ø mây chây kòtmăy [[thií kiaw khôc káp kaanmìn ʔoŋ phrámahăakasàt, [[thií kiaw khôc káp sathăaban phrámahăakasàt, [[thií yooŋ kiaw pay káp khwaammânkhon khôc chăat lăé? khwaampenthay yàŋ bəæpnăæn]]]]]] măn kòtmăy nay yúk lăŋ [[thií rát chây pen khruŋm̄ nay kaan cătkaan káp phuu [[thií tət̚tāan rát.²⁷]]]///</p>	<p>Criticism of the monarchy and the king himself happened all the time.///</p> <p>(This) can be seen from the critique of the administration of the public service and the king himself during the reign of Rama VI.///</p> <p>What is important is those communications were communications [[that, even though they were Thai people (who wrote them)// they were under the control of foreign nations]]///</p> <p>and what is interesting is [[even though (this was) in the time of absolutism itself, the characteristics of the lèse majesté law did not have the same characteristics as the law in the period after the change of government // because formerly (it) was a law [[that was concerned with insulting the king himself]]]]///</p> <p>(It) was not a law [[that was concerned with insulting the king [[that is concerned with the monarchy [[which is closely connected to national security and Thainess]]]]]], like the law in recent years [[that the state used as a tool to get rid of its people [[that oppose the state]]]]///</p>	<p>Thematic equative</p> <p>Thematic equative</p>
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	<p>phûnam thaaj kaanm̄aaj [[thī pen thahãan]]].///</p> <p>nay láksanà? thī s̄w̄j Ø pen kaanm̄w̄j [[w̄a thaaj ʔw̄k [[thī s̄m̄khan]] k̄ kh̄ū kaan càt khwaams̄mphan ráwàaj thahãan k̄p kaanm̄aaj phàn kaancàt khwaams̄mphan ráwàaj thahãan k̄p phonlar̄a²⁹]]//</p> <p>s̄ūj m̄aay th̄j̄ kaankh̄ūapkhum thahãan phàn nayoobaay ɲóppramaan.///</p> <p>kaancàt kamlaaj khon [[thī thahãan ʔeaj]] camt̄w̄j mii ʔitsarà? nay kaan tham̄aankh̄w̄j ton//</p> <p>t̄æ Ø k̄ ca t̄w̄j m̄ay kh̄aw maa k̄iaw kh̄w̄j k̄p kaanm̄aaj dooy tron.///</p> <p>n̄an k̄ kh̄ū kaan s̄aaj khwaam pen ʔaachīp h̄ay k̄p thahãan (professionalism).³⁰///</p>	<p>been soldiers]]] ///</p> <p>second is the perception [[that the important way out is the management of the relationship between the military and politics through the management of the relationship between the military and civilians (non-combatants) which means controlling the military through budgetary policy. ///</p> <p>The mobilising of military manpower itself must have the freedom to do its own work// but must not intervene directly into politics.///</p> <p>That is thus the building of military professionalism.///</p>	<p>Second</p> <p>n̄an k̄ kh̄ū</p>
<p>42. [[Rebuttal 3]]</p>	<p>Ø duu m̄ã̄n [[w̄a n̄æw̄kh̄it r̄uaj kaanpen thahãan ʔaachīp n̄an ȳīj tham̄ h̄ay thahãan ȳūj k̄iaw k̄ap kaanm̄aaj m̄aak kh̄ūn// daaj kh̄w̄ thòkth̄iaaj s̄m̄khan nay r̄uaj khwaams̄mphan rawàaj thahãan k̄p kaanm̄aaj]]//</p> <p>thī nay d̄aan n̄ūj Ø ch̄ūa//</p> <p>w̄a thahãan n̄an t̄w̄j pen thahãan ʔaachīp.//</p> <p>Ø c̄ūj m̄ay ȳūj k̄iaw thaaj kaanm̄aaj.///</p>	<p>(It) seems [[that the idea of being a professional soldier makes the military meddle more in politics // as in the important debate on ... the relationship between the military and politics]]//</p> <p>that on the one hand (it is) believed // that the military must be professional soldiers // so they thus do not concern themselves with politics///</p>	<p>Ø duu m̄ã̄n</p> <p>[[w̄a Entertain</p> <p>Causative</p> <p>Military, military professional</p>

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	<p>nay khanà? thiî nák wíchaakaan ãik klùm nèŋ klàp hě̃n // wâa m̄aday kô taam thiî thahãan nán sadææŋ ʔòk s̄ŋ thátsaná? [[wâa ton nán pen thahãan ʔaachiîp]],// m̄a nán læ? Ø ca pen h̄uŋ caŋwà? [[thiî thahãan s̄aŋ khwaamchôptham nay kaankhâw s̄æksææŋ thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ dooy tron³¹]]// phró? “khwaampen ʔaachiîp” khôŋ thahãan nán pen khwaam chôptham làk// thiî ca s̄ãamâat s̄æksææŋ thaŋ kaan m̄aŋ d̄ây // d̄ây khwaam pen ʔaachiîp khôŋ thahãan pen khô ʔaŋ [[thiî thamhây s̄ŋkhom hě̃n// wâa ton nán mây d̄ây mii phôn prayòot kàp kaanm̄aŋ [[thiî damnəən yùu]]].// læ? Ø tham hây hě̃n // wâa nay prawàttisàat kaan m̄aŋ thay samăy mày nán, kaantham ráttháprahãan dooy thahãan klaay pen suàn nèŋ khôŋ phaarakit khôŋ thahãan thay pay s̄ía l̄ææw.// r̄m̄ pen nâathii khôŋ s̄m̄muanchon// thiî ca t̄ŋ pay s̄ãmphâat thahãan//</p>	<p>On the contrary, another group of researchers think // that whenever the military expresses the view [[that they are professional soldiers]]// <u>right at that very time</u> will be the time [[that the military is constructing legitimacy for direct political intervention]]// because “military professionalism” is the basis of legitimacy // to be able to intervene in politics with the professionalism of the military being the excuse [[that makes society see// that it has no benefit in ongoing politics]] // and allows (society) to see that in the history of modern Thai politics, the staging of a coup by the military has become one aspect of the obligation of the Thai military// or it is the duty of the mass media // which has to interview the military// whether (it) has an idea [[that (it) will revolt or not]]//</p>	<p>sm While another group... emphatic Causative mental process</p>
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	<p>wâa Ø mii khwaam khít [[wâa Ø ca patiwát rǔ̃ mây]] s̄ng ná hūaŋ caŋwà? thĩ tòp// wâa Ø "mây mii" nán ?eeŋ.///</p> <p>khwaampen thahãan ?aachiíp kô ca kèət khên // lǎe? klaay pen khwaamchôptham nay kaankhâw sâæksæeŋ thaŋ kaanmuaŋ phaan kaanhây thátsaná? [[thĩ tem pay dūay khwaam wǎŋ nay kaanpen thaŋ lǎk khǒŋ ch̄aat bâan muaŋ nay yaam wíkr̄t// daŋ thĩ hěn yùu]].///</p> <p>daŋ nán khwaam sǎmkhan khǒŋ kaanhây sǎmph̄at wâa thahãan ?aachiíp ca patiwát rǔ̃ mây nán mây d̄ay yùu thĩ kaankoohòk [[wâa Ø mây tham rátthaprahãan// rǔ̃ Ø mây khít// Ø ca tham rátthaprahãan]],// tǎe Ø yùu thĩ kaansâaŋ khwaamchôptham thaŋ kaanmuaŋ khǒŋ thahãan phaan kaan tòp [[wâa Ø mây patiwát// phr̄? ton pen thahãan ?aachiíp tàŋ hàk]] ///</p>	<p>which at the time (it) answered// that "(we) don't have (the intention to stage a revolution)"///</p> <p>Professionalism of the military will thus occur // and become the legitimacy for political intervention through the provision of an opinion [[that is full of hope in being the choice of the nation in a crisis // as can be seen.]]///</p> <p>Thus this importance of giving interviews whether professional soldiers will revolt or not does not rest in the lie [[that (the military) does not stage a coup// or does not think // (it) will stage a coup,]]// but (it) rests in the construction of political legitimacy of the military through the answer [[that (it) won't revolt// because they themselves are professional soldiers.]]///</p>	<p>Existential</p> <p>therefore</p>
<p>43.</p>	<p>nay prakaan tòc maa, kaan?athíbaay [[wâa thahãan nán pen prachaathíppatay// rǔ̃ pen phadètkaan]] mây d̄ay tham hây raw khâwcay hūaŋ caŋwà? lǎe? pàtibàtkaan khǒŋ ?udomkaan// thĩ thamhây thahãan kàp prachaachon sǎamâat phanùk prasãan tua ?eeŋ khâw dūay kan phaan kaansathãapanaa rabòp phr̄y samǎy mày dūay</p>	<p>In the next point the explanation [[whether the military is democratic// or is dictatorial]] does not help us understand the timing and operation of ideology// that allows the military and the people to connect themselves and get on with each other through the establishment of the modern state subject regime by the coup</p>	<p>The next point.. explanation</p> <p>Causative mental process</p>

	<p>kaanrátthaprahään lǎe? kaanpòkkhrɔŋ lǎŋ kaanrátthaprahään.///</p> <p>thánj ní phrɔ? ʔudomkhati? khɔŋ thahään nay kaansâŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmɛaŋ kô khuu [[kaan thiî thahään nay thääná? rát nán tham kaankhúm khrɔŋ phrây nay thääná? phonlarɛan]].//</p> <p>Ø mí? chây [[kaan thiî thahään pòkpɔŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmɛaŋ bon làk kaan rɛaŋ sɛeriiphâp lǎe? kaanpòkpɔŋ phonlamɛaŋ]]///</p>	<p>and post-coup government ///</p> <p>This is because the ideals of the military in the building of a political society is such [[that the military in the position of the state protects the phrai in the position of civilians]]//</p> <p>(It's) not [[that the military protects a political society on the basis of freedom and protection of the citizens]]///</p>	<p>Causative</p> <p>All this because...</p>
<p>44. [[Position challenged4]]</p>	<p>Ø lɔŋ duu tuayàŋ kham sǎmphâat khɔŋ ph.l.ɔ.ɔ. chalit phúkphǎasùk phòp. thɔɔ. lǎe? rɔŋ prathaan khɔɔ.mɔɔ.chɔɔ. //</p> <p>thiî hây sǎmphâat thǎŋ kaan yóklǎək kòtʔayakaansùk nay sín pii, wâa “phǎm khít//</p> <p>wâa thánj khɔɔ.mɔɔ.chɔɔ. lǎe? rátthabaan yàak ca yók lâək kòtʔayakaansùk dooy rew, //</p> <p>tǎe ʔàat mii panhǎa nay baŋ cùt chên kaandǎen khabuan prathuáŋ.//</p> <p>tǎe hàak mɔŋ phâap dooy ruam thûa pay lǎeaw mây kǎət panhǎa,//</p> <p>Ø kô ca yók lâək kòt ʔayakaansùk nay phúɛn thiî [[thiî mây mii panhǎa]].///</p>	<p>Let's look at an example of an interview of Air Chief Marshal Chalit Phukpasuk, Commander-in-chief of the air force and deputy of the council of national security // who gave an interview about the abolition of martial law at the end of the year saying “I think // that both the Council of National Security and the government want to revoke martial law soon// but there may be problems in some areas such as the protest marches// but if (we) look at the whole scene and there is no problem // then (we) will revoke martial law in the areas [[that don't have problems]]///</p> <p>but parts of the border we still need to have</p>	<p>(Let's) look at... Air Chief Marshal... Quoted speech</p>

	<p>tææ suàn khǒŋ chaay dææn raw yaŋ khonj tǒŋ mii kòt ʔayakaansək.///</p> <p>yàŋ ray kǒ taam, hàak Ø ca thǎam //</p> <p>wâa mii kòt ʔayakaansək//</p> <p>lææw kəət phǒn krathóp tǒ kaan damnəən chiiwít pracamwan rə̃ mây,//</p> <p>tǒp dâ //</p> <p>wâa mây mii phǒn krathóp ʔaray læy //</p> <p>tææ yaŋ tham hây kəət khwaam mânkhoŋ saŋòp læʔ plǒtphay maa talǒt. ///</p> <p>Ø khít //</p> <p>wâa sín pii <<...>> Ø ca yók ləək kòt ʔay kaansək nay phúun thií [[thií plǒtphay]] dây³²///</p> <p><<thâa mây mii ʔaray>></p>	<p>martial law.///</p> <p>However, if (we) ask // whether having martial law has any effects on everyday life or not//</p> <p>(we) can answer that it has no effect at all // but it still creates stability, tranquility and safety all the time. ///</p> <p>(I) think // that at the end of the year <<if there is nothing (happening)>> (we) will be able to revoke martial law in safe areas.” ///</p>	
<p>45. [[...Rebuttal]]</p>	<p>raw cəŋ hěn //</p> <p>wâa kaanplææ khwaammăay nay rə̃həŋ civil-military relationship nán pen kaanhây khwaamsămkhan nay mítiʔ khǒŋ thékník khwaamsămphān khǒŋ ʔoŋkɔɔn/ sathăaban kaanməŋ//</p> <p>tææ Ø mây dâ sǒncay bɔribòt sămkhan bə̃həŋ læŋ khwaamsămkhan khǒŋ ʔoŋkɔɔn//</p> <p>thií tǒŋ mii khôw tǒkloŋ rúam kan nay rə̃həŋ khǒŋ kaanhây khwaamsămkhan kàp sít khǒŋ “phonlarə̃an nay thăanáʔ</p>	<p>We thus believe // that the interpretation of civil-military relationship ascribes importance to the technical relations of political organisations/political institutions//</p> <p>but (the interpretation) has not been interested in the background relations between organisations // that need to have mutual agreement on the rights of “civilians in the position of citizens” for the reason [[that the military must not violate</p>	<p>We Mental process</p> <p>Civil-military relationship</p>

	<p>phonlamᩉ᩠ᩅᩁᩃᩁ” nay kaan [[thiī thahāan mây săamâat lamêət Ø dâi]]// ᩃᩁᩃ ᩃᩁᩃ ca mii kaan lamêət sít daᩃ klàaw// kaanlamêət sít daᩃ klàaw phaay tâi khwaamcampen dāan khwaammānkhoᩃ ca tōᩃ phāan kaantruàtsòᩃp // láe? ráprɔᩃᩃ càak tua thææn khɔᩃᩃ prachaachon nay konkay rátthasaphaa.// mᩁᩃ Ø phāan pay nay ráyá? nᩉᩃ// láe? mii phǎn [[tham háy kèət kaan?aw phít láe? truàt sòᩃp phuú [[mii ?amnâat// tàtsĩncay]] dây ///</p> <p>daᩃ nay kɔranii khɔᩃᩃ khwaamtææktaᩃᩃ nay kaancháy kòt ?ayakaansᩁk nay rabòᩃp kaan pòkkhrɔᩃᩃ bææp prachaathíppatay kàp kaan cháy kòt?ayakaan sᩁk nay rabòᩃp kaan pòkkhrɔᩃᩃ [[thiī mây chây prachaathíppatay]]] sᩁᩃ kaancháy kòt ?ayakaansᩁk nay rabòᩃp kaanpòkkhrɔᩃᩃ bææp prachaathíppatay nán, mææ wā Ø ca cháy dâi// tææ kó cháy dâi nay láksanà? chūa khraaw// ᩃᩁᩃ yɔᩃm thùuk khátkhāan prathúañ dâi // sᩁᩃ nam pay sùu kaantiikhwaam phāan rátthathammanuun// láe? tōᩃ thùuk truàt sòᩃp <<...>> dūay ?oᩃkɔᩃᩃ [[thiī maa càak kaan lᩁaktāᩃ]] ᩃᩁᩃ khaná?</p>	<p>(their rights)]// Or even if there is a violation of rights// This violation under the necessity of security has to pass investigation // and be endorsed by people’s representatives in the parliament// when some time has passed// and there are results [[that implies guilt and investigation of those decision-makers [[whohas the power //to decide]]//</p> <p>As for the difference of martial law enforced under a democratic administration as compared to the use of martial law enforced in a non-democratic environment, the use of martial law in a democratic system of government, even if it is used//</p> <p>it can only be enforced temporarily // or it can be protested against or opposed// leading to an interpretation through constitution// and it must be checked later <<after time has passed>> by an organisation [[that is elected]] or a committee [[that is endorsed by the parliament [[that has</p>	<p>Condition</p> <p>Martial law</p> <p>condition</p>
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	<p>bùkkhon [[thií “mây chây thahăan”]] ní, m̄a nam maa ch̄am tò kàp khwaamkhâwca y r̄a y phrây, // raw ca h̄n d̄ay // w̄a phonlar̄uan nán, n̄ok càak mây chây thahăan lǣaw, // y a y t̄o y ph̄u y pha a thahăan nay n̄ǣ kh̄o y kaan d̄ay r̄ap kaan kh̄um kh̄o y càak thahăan s̄a m̄ak kw̄a. // l̄æ? Ø tham h̄ay raw h̄n w̄a kaan càt t̄a y “rátthabaan phonlar̄uan” nán m̄ay th̄u y rátthabaan [[thií mây chây thahăan]] // t̄ǣ ?àat pen kh̄a r̄a t̄hakaan r̄u y ?adiit thahăan k̄o d̄ay. // Ø mây cam pen ca t̄o y m̄ay th̄u y prachaachon t̄ǣ y àa y day³⁵ //</p>	<p>individual [[who “is not a soldier”]] when we make the connection with understanding the meaning of “phrai” // we can see // that civilians, apart from not being soldiers, // still depend on the military in the view of receiving more protection from the military /// and it makes us see // that the setting up of a “civilian government” means a government [[that is not military]] but (it) may also be a public servant or a former soldier.// (It) is not necessary to refer to people (prachachon)///</p>	<p>mental process causative mental process</p>
47. Explanation	<p>nay prakaan s̄uttháay, nay ch̄u a y [[thií k̄æt kaan tham rátprahăan]] nán r̄u a y [[thií s̄amkhan]] k̄o kh̄u a y kaan pl̄ǣ ch̄u a y khaná? rátprahăan pen phasăa ?a y k̄r̄it. // klaaw kh̄u a y, Ø ca pl̄ǣ kham w̄a “khaná? patir̄u p kaan p̄ok kh̄o y nay rab̄o y prachaathíppatay ?an mii phr̄a mahăa kas̄at so y pen pramúk” pen phasăa ?a y k̄r̄it d̄ay y àa y ray // n̄u a y càak mii kaan pl̄ǣ thán s̄o y r̄u p b̄ǣ p</p>	<p>47. Finally, during the period of the coup, an important issue was the translation of the name of the coup group into English./// That is, how could (they) translate the term “reform committee for the governing of the democratic system that has a monarch as the head of state” into English// owing to the fact that there were 2 translations: Council of Democratic</p>	<p>Finally, Marked Theme That is Condition</p>

	<p>wâa Council of democratic reform under the constitutional monarchy r̥h̥ Council of democratic reform under the king as its head of the state?//</p> <p>s̥h̥j nay prakaan ní Ø mây cam pen// ca t̥h̥j m̥äy th̥j</p> <p>wâa phrámahãakasàt nán mii suàn k̥iaw kh̥w̥j k̥ap kaanrátthaprahãan kh̥r̥j ní mâak n̥w̥j kh̥æ n̥y?//</p> <p>hàak t̥ææ pen r̥h̥j kh̥w̥j cintanakaan thaaj kaanm̥h̥j kh̥w̥j khaná? rátthaprahãan ?eey//</p> <p>thií l̥h̥ak ch̥áy kham wâa kaanpatir̥up kaanpòkkh̥w̥j nay rab̥w̥j prachaathíppatay//</p> <p>l̥æ? Ø l̥h̥ak ch̥áy kham wâa ?an mii phrámahãa kasàt soj pen pramúk //</p> <p>s̥h̥j, th̥a Ø kh̥r̥j kh̥rát nay kaanplææ khwaam//</p> <p>ciŋciŋ l̥ææw kaancháy kham wâa constitutional monarchy nay khwaam m̥äy s̥akon nán y̥w̥m m̥äy th̥j [[kaan thií phrámahãakasàt y̥u phaay tây rátthathammanuun [[thií sath̥w̥j c̥etcamnoŋ kh̥w̥j prachaachon]]].///</p> <p>daŋ nán kaanplææ khwaamm̥äy kh̥w̥j khwaampen pramúk kh̥w̥j phrámahãakasàt wâa Head of the State kh̥w̥j l̥äy l̥äy s̥amnák kh̥aw nán ?àat mii ŋh̥an r̥w̥j kh̥w̥j khwaamkh̥awcay nay cintanaakaan thaaj</p>	<p>Reform under the Constitutional Monarchy or Council of Democratic Reform under the King as its Head of State //</p> <p>which in this point (it) is not necessary// that it refers to whether the king had any role in the coup itself. //</p> <p>but rather (it) is a problem with the political imagery of the coup group itself //</p> <p>that chose to use the words ‘reform of government in the democratic system’// and chose to use the expression ‘that has a monarch as head’ //</p> <p>which if (they) are serious in translating accurately, really the use of the expression ‘constitutional monarchy’ in the universal (universally accepted) meaning refers to [[the fact that the king is under a constitution [[that reflects the will of the people]]]]//</p> <p>Therefore the translation of the meaning of khwaampen pramúk kh̥w̥j phrámahãakasàt as ‘Head of the State’ by many news agencies may have obscured the understanding of the political imagery [[that reflected the real</p>	<p>Adversative</p> <p>Interpersonal Theme</p> <p>Therefore</p>
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	<p>kaanmøaη [[thiī sathóɔŋ ʔòɔk sêŋ praakòtkaan thaan kaanmøaη [[thiī pen ciŋ]]]]// nay kaan thiī khaná? rátthaprahaän lómláaη rátthathammanuun chabàp prachaachon sĩa mâak kwàa³⁶//</p> <p>phrɔ? nay hûaη caŋwà? khɔɔŋ kaan rátthaprahään nán, rátthathammanuun thùuk yók lîək;// ʔoŋ phrámahãakasàt láe? sathãaban phrámahãakasàt nán yóom yùu phaay tây khamsàŋ khɔɔŋ khaná? rátthaprahään // láe? Ø dâyráp kaansathãapanaa khûn taam khamsàŋ khɔɔŋ hũanãa khaná? patiwát nay thãaná? pramúk khɔɔŋ prathêet // phaaylãŋ càak [[kaan thiī khaná? rátthaprahään yút ʔamnâat rát láe? yók lîək rátthathammanuun [[thiī rábù? wáy sêŋ ʔamnâat khɔɔŋ phrámahãakasàt taam rábòɔp kaan pòk khrcɔŋ bææp prachaathíppatay ʔan mii phrá mahãa kasàt pen pramúk]]]]//</p>	<p>political phenomenon]]// whereby the coup leaders had destroyed the people's constitution///</p> <p>Because at the time of the coup, the constitution was abolished,// the monarch and institution of monarchy were then under the coup group's orders,// and was appointed head of state by order of the revolutionary leader // after the coup group had seized the power of the state (state authority) // and abolished the constitution [[which specified a constitutional monarchy under a democratic system of government.]]///</p>	<p>Because... Marked Th</p>
48.	<p>Ø nãasõncay [[wãa kaankææ panhãa kaantiikhwaam láe? plææ khwaammãay nay rûaη khwaampen pramúk khɔɔŋ phrámahãakasàt nay kaan rátthaprahään láe? rábòɔp kaanmøaη phaay lãŋ kaanrátthaprahään]] nán klàp ʔòɔk maa nay rûup prakàat kɔɔŋ krasuaη kaantãaŋprathêet</p>	<p>It is interesting [[that the solution to the problem of the interpretation and translation of meaning of the king being the head of state in the coup and the political system after the coup]] has re- emerged in the announcement by the</p>	<p>Interpersonal metaphor</p>

	<p>thiî <u>hây tât</u> khôc khwaam nay suàn nán <u>ṽòk pay</u> càak chhê khôc khaná? râtthaprahãan nay phasãa ṽañkrít//</p> <p><u>hây lǎa</u> phian khææ kham wãa Council for Democratic Reform//</p> <p>tææ Ø <u>yan khon</u> chhê khaná? patirûup kaanpòkkhrôc nay rábòp prachaathíppatay ṽan mii phrá mahãa kasàt soṽ pen pramúk <u>ṽaw wáy</u> nay phasãa thay³⁷///</p>	<p>ministry of foreign affairs that has cut the text in that part out from the name of the coup group in English //</p> <p>to leave just the expression ‘Council for Democratic Reform’ //</p> <p>but the name is still Reform Committee for Democratic Government with the King as the Head of State in Thai. ///</p>	
49. Reiteration of thesis Section summary	<p>daṽ nán khwaamphisèet khôc kaanrâtthaprahãan 19 kanyaayon cṽ <u>pen</u> rûaṽ khôc kaanmṽaṽ bon cintanaakaan nay kaanpòkkhrôc phrây samăy mày khôc khaná? râtthaprahãan phaay tây kaankhúmkrôc khôc rát phàn rábòp kòtmăay nay mítì? khwaammânkhon lă? sèetthakìt mâak kwàa mítì? khôc khwaampen phonlamṽaṽ///</p>	<p>49. Therefore, the special feature of the coup of 19 September was thus an issue of political imagination in the governing of modern phrai by the coup group and the group of post-coup governors under the protection of the state through the legal system to the extent of security and the economy more than being citizens.///</p>	<p>Therefore Circums picking up threads from previous arguments</p>

Appendix B: Transitivity analysis

This appendix provides a selection of the transitivity analysis from each of the the texts as follows:

Khien: Paragraphs 1-14

- This selection covers the analytical exposition.

Chaiwat: Paragraphs 1-7, 10-15, 31-32, 37

- Paragraphs 1-7 provide a sample of the background stage.
- Paragraphs 10-15 provide a sample of the justification for using Aristotle and the first challenge stage
- Paragraphs 31-32 provide a sample of the resolution stage
- Paragraph 37 covers the conclusion stage

Pitch: Paragraphs 1, 8-22, 40-43, 49

- Paragraph 1 is the background stage of the text
- Paragraphs 8-22 provide the first argument stage up to the thesis
- Paragraphs 40-43 covers argument 4, the embedded position challenged and rebuttal stages
- Paragraph 49 covers the conclusion stage

Khien Theeravit

Khien Theeravit. (2006, 13 October). สิทธิในการทำรัฐประหาร [The right to stage the coup]. *Thai World*. Retrieved from http://www.thaiworld.org/th/thailand_monitor/answer.php?_id=578

1.1 ráttaphrahään [[....]] máæ Ø ca prasòp khwaamsămrèt coup [] even though (it) will meet success			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
Carrier		Process: Attrib.	Attribute
Medium			Range
1.2 [[thiî kàet khûn nay prathêet thay mâa wan thiî 19 kanyaayon 2006]] that occur in Thailand on date 19 September 2006			
Them e	Rheme		
Actor	Pro.Mat	Location: place	Location: time
Med		Location	Location
1.3 dooy mí? dâý sũun sĩa lûat nưá læy kô taam by not Asp. (Perf) lose blood at all whatever			
Th	Rheme		
	Pro: Material	Range	Manner: degree
		Range	
1.4 tææ khwaamsàpsôn dân khwaamkhít khwaamkhâawcay kìaawkàp panhăa [[....]] nán kô but confusion field idea understanding about problem [[...]] that		yaŋ mii yùu still have Asp Imp	mây nócy not small

Theme		rheme				
	Pro exist	existent				
		Medium				
1.12 Ø nam rót ton Ø take vehicle self						
Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal				
Agent		Medium				
1.13 Ø phûj khâu chon rótthăj [...] Ø run into tank [...]						
Th.	Rheme					
Actor	Pro. Mat.	Goal				
Agent		Medium				
1.14 [[thiî còt ráksăakaan yùu nay kruñthêep m̄a wan thiî 30 kanyaayon 2006]] [[that park be on duty Asp. (imp.) in Bangkok on date 30 September 2006]]						
Theme	Rheme					
Actor	Pro.: Material (vbl grp complex)	Loc: Place	Loc: time			
Medium		Location	Location			
1.15 phûu [[thiî ?òk maa tàkoon “Tháksĭn.... sŭu ... sŭu”]] kàp fàay tronkhâam [[thiî ?òk maa takoon “Tháksĭn ... ?òk pay”]]				kô	sŭunhăay pay	càak thóŋ thanŏn lăe? cò thoorathát lăæw

people [[that out come shout “Thaksin fight fight”]] with side opposite [[that out come shout Thaksin out go]] go			disappear	from road and television screens Perf.Asp
Theme			Rheme	
Actor			Pro.Mat.	Location: place
Medium				Location
1.16 [[thiī ?òk maa tàkoon “Tháksĭn.... sĭu ... sĭu”]] [[that out come shout “Thaksin fight fight”]]				
Theme	Rheme			
Sayer	Pro: Verbal	Verbiage		
Medium		Range		
1.17 [[thiī ?òk maa takoon “Tháksĭn ... ?òk pay”]] [[that out come shout Thaksin out go]]				
Theme	Rheme			
Sayer	Pro: Verbal	Verbiage		
Medium		Range		
1.18 ?iik thánj mii phŭukhon nam dòk máay ?aahāan lǎ? khŕŭaŋdŭum pay sadææŋ khwaamkhòpkhun thahāan [...]] also there are people				
theme		rheme		
	pro. exist	existent/		
		Medium /		
1.19 Ø nam dòk máay ?aahāan lǎ? khŕŭaŋdŭum Ø take flower food and drink				
Th	Rheme			

Act	Pro Mat	Range				
Med		Range				
1.20 Ø pay sadææŋ khwaamkhòp khun thahään [[...]] Ø go express gratitude/thanks soldiers						
Th	Rheme					
Actor	Pro. mat	Range	Recipient/Receiver			
Med		Range	Beneficiary			
1.21 [[thiĩ that	yuun ráksäakaan yuù stand on duty Asp (Imp)	kàp ròtthǎŋ with tank	taam cùt tàan tàan khǒŋ krunthêep along points different of Bangkok	talòt chûan weelaa 10 wan all time 10 days	lǎncàak rátthaprahään]] after coup	
Theme	Rheme					
Actor	Pro. Material	Accomp.: comitative	Location: place	Extent: duration	Location: time	
Medium		Accomp.	Location	Extent	Location	
1.22 (ròtthǎŋ klàp khuun sùu thiĩ tân dæm mǎa wanthiĩ 1 tulaakhom 2006) (tanks return to place original on date 1 October 2006)						
Theme	Rheme					
actor	Pro. Mat.	circum. Loc. place	Location: time.			
Medium		Location	Location			
1.23 nay nâa nǎŋ sǎp phim læ? nay mùu panyaachon in page newspapers and in group intellectual		mii there is	kaanthòk thiǎŋ kan disagreement	yàan khêm khôn strongly	rawàan phûak níyom prachaathíppatay [[1.24-28]] kàp ʔìk sùan nǎŋ [[1.29-31]]	

				between group prefer democracy [[....]] and another one [[....]]
theme	rheme			
Location: place	pro. Ex.	Existent	Manner: degree	Manner: comparison
Location		Medium	Manner	Manner
1.24 [[thií tòctâan “rábòɔp Tháksǐn” [[that oppose “regime Thaksin”				
Theme	Rheme			
∅ Actor	Pro Mat	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
1.25 læʔ tòctâan kaantham rátthaprahãan and oppose doing coup				
Theme	Rheme			
∅ Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
1.26 sêŋ hãn maa lên ɲaan KPK]] which turn to harrass KPK]]				
Theme	Rheme			
∅ Actor	Pro. Material	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
1.27 [[sêŋ pen phûak níyom prachaathíppatay hũakâawnâa [[.1.29]]]]				

which be group prefer democracy progressive			
Theme	Rheme		
Ø Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI	
Medium		Range	
1.28 [[thiī ʔɔk maa sadææŋ khwaamkhíthěn thamnɔŋ diaw kan [[that out come express opinion way same			
Theme	Rheme		
Ø Sayer	Pro. Verbal	Verbiage	Manner: comparative
Medium		Range	Manner
1.29wâa kaantham rátthaprahãan ʔaat ca nâakliàt that staging coup may be ugly			
theme		rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attrib	
	Medium		
1.30tææ “rábɔɔp Tháksĭn” nán nâakliàt kwàa]] but “system Thaksin” that be ugly more]]			
theme (marked)		rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attrib.	
	Medium		
1.31sũandusit phool læʔ mahãawíthhayaalay ráatchaphát suăn dusit dâý sãmruát khwaamkhíthěn khɔŋ prachaachon Suan Dusit Poll and University Rajabhat Suan Dusit Asp (perf) survey opinion of people			
Theme			Rheme

Sayer		Pro. Verbal	Target
Medium			Range
1.32 lǎəʔ Ø raay ɲaan and Ø report			
Theme		Rheme	
	Say	Pro. Verbal	
	Med		
1.33 wâa khon thay thǎŋ 83.89% hǎn chǎp [[thīi mii kaan patiwát]] that Thai people reach 83.89% agree [[that have revolution]]			
Theme		Rheme	
	Senser	Pro. Mental	Phenomenon
	Medium		Range
1.34[[thīi mii kaan patiwát]] [[that have revolution]]			
Them e	Rheme		
	Pro. Exist	Existent	
		Medium	
1.35 mii phiaŋ 16.02% thâwnán [[thīi mây hǎn dūay]] have just 16.02% only [[that not agree]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Pro.	Existent		

Exist			
	Medium		
1.36 [[thiĩ m̄ay h̄n d̄uay]] [[that not agree]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Senser	Pro. Mental		
Medium			
1.37 læ? ph̄u [[th̄uuk s̄mruàt]] 75.04% h̄y khwaamh̄n and people [[PASS. Survey]] 75.04% give opinion			
Theme		Rheme	
	Actor	Pro. Mat	Range
	Medium		Range
1.38 w̄a kaanm̄aŋ thay n̄a ca dii kh̄n that politics Thai be likely be good increase			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro:Attr.	
	Medium		
1.39 s̄uàn ph̄u khon læ? r̄atthabaan kh̄w̄n mít prath̄et Ø k̄t̄ t̄ok ȳu n̄y khwaams̄ps̄n thamn̄w̄n k̄p̄ khon thay d̄uay as for people and government of ally country Ø thus fall Asp (Imp) in confusion way with Thai people also			
Theme (marked) (Absolute)		Rheme	
Actor		Pro. Mat	Location:place (abstract) Manner: comparison
Medium			Location Manner

2.1 nay khanà? thiï while	fàay thiï hěn chōɔp lǎə? fàay tōɔtān kaantham rátthaprahǎan khōɔŋ thay khráŋ níi side that agree and side oppose staging coup of Thai time this	yaŋ khonj tōothiǎŋ kan yùu still probably debate AspPerf
Theme		Rheme
	Sayer	Pro. Verbal
	Medium	
2.2 dooy by	mây mii not have	khōɔ yúti? conclusion
Theme	Rheme	
Poss	Pro. Possessive	Possessed
Med		Range
2.3 tǎə khâaphacâw ʔeeŋ mii but I self have	khōɔ sarùp lǎəw conclusion Asp (perf)	
Theme		Rheme
	Carrier Poss'r	Pro.Rel. Poss. Attribute Poss'd ...cess
	Medium	Range
2.4 khǎə kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán mây mii ʔaray that is staging coup that not have anything right or wrong		thùuk rǎə phìt or wrong
Theme		Rheme
	Carrier Poss'r	Pro.Rel Attribute Poss'd

Th	Rheme			
	Pro.	Gl	...cess: Material (Passive)	
		Me		
2.10 hêet day Ø cəŋ tham dâ reason any Ø thus do can				
Theme		Rheme		
Cause	Act		Pro. Material	
Cause	Me			
2.11 læ? Ø tham dâ yàaŋray and (we) do can how				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Mat	Manner: quality	
	Me			
2.12 Ø khǎ? anuyâat ?athíbaay (I) beg permission explain				
Theme		Rheme		
Sayer			Pro. Verbal	
Med				
2.13 dooy by	?iŋ lean	phuumí?panyaa khǎ?ŋ pràat khǎ?ŋ lôok tawan?ǎk læ? tawantòk thaŋ thrútsadii ráttasàat sàk 4-5 thân intellect of philosopher of world east and west theory political science just 4-5 CLF	dooy sǎŋkhèep briefly	daŋ ní like this
Theme		Rheme		

Ø Carrier	Pro Circ	Attribute	Manner	Manner
Medium		Range	Manner	Manner

thrétsadii wâa dūay sīt nay kaan tham rátthaprahăan					
theory about right in staging coup					
3.1 nay prathêet ciin chūaŋ raaw sǝŋ phan pii sèt [[thiī phàn maa]] in China time about 2000 years ago	rátthăathípăt <<...>> nán the ruler <<...>> ThPart		dây thùuk khôn lóm pay PerfASP PASS overthrow go	náp mây thúan raay láæw uncountable times PerfASP	
Theme			Rheme		
Location :place	Location: time	Goal	Pro. : Material	Extent: frequency	..cess
Location	Location	Medium		Extent	
3.2 <<(rǝŋ thiī Ø rĭak khăan taam yúk samăy wâa ?oorót hææŋ sawăn/thiancùŋ, kasăt/luăŋ rǝŋ cằkaphandi?/hũaŋ)>> <<(or as Ø called according to time that son/prince of heaven, king/ royalty or great person)>>					
Theme		Rheme			
	VI	Pro: Id	Angle: source	Pro	Token
	Med				Range
3.3 khǝŋcùŋ (551–479 kòŋn khɔɔ. sǝŋ.) paramaacaan ciin [[phūu sàŋ sǝŋ hây khon nay sǝŋkhom Confucius (551–479 BCE) great teacher Chinese [[who teach that person in society have virtue]] mii khunnatham]]					dây klàaw wáy PerfASP state keep
Theme					Rheme
Sayer					Pro. Verbal
Medium					

3.4. wâa thúk khon nay sǎŋkhom (mây wâa ca pen “kasàt” “khǔnnaŋ” “biidaa” “bùt”) lúan that all people in society (whether CM be king, nobleman, father, son) all		mii sít- nâathiî –khwaamrápphitchôp tháŋsîn have rights – duties – responsibilities	
Theme		Rheme	
	Possessor	Pos	Possessed
	Medium		Range
3.5 “thâa kasàt mây dâu praphrút ton yùu nay khunnatham khǒŋ kasàt “if king not PerfASP behave self be-as in virtue of king			
Theme		Rheme	
	Behav	Pro. Behavioural	Ph Manner: quality
	Med		Rg Manner
3.6 bùkkhon phûu nán kô mí? chây kasàt individual CLF that thus not be king			
Theme		Rheme	
Carrier		Pro. Attr	Attribute
Medium			Range
3.7 phró? kasàt ca tŋ mii khunnatham because king CM must have virtue			
Theme		Rheme	
	Poss’r	Pro. Poss	Possessed
	Med		Range
3.8 Ø mii mêttaatham			

(they/he) have compassion					
Theme		Rheme			
Poss'r		Poss	Possessed		
Medium			Range		
3.9 láə? Ø mii khwaamkàttanyuu and (he) have gratitude					
Theme		Rheme			
	Pss'r	Poss	Possessed		
	Med		Range		
3.10 Ø síasalà? láə? ?ùun?ùun” (he) sacrifice etc.”					
Theme		Rheme			
Actor		Pro. Material			
Med					
3.11 sǎawók ?èek khǒŋ khǒŋcǎu khǎu mēŋcǎu (372–289 kǒŋ khǒŋ. sǒŋ.) kǒ sǒŋ disciple first of Confucius i.e. Mengjeu (372–289 BCE) also teach					
Theme				Rheme	
Sayer				Pro. Verb	
Medium					
3.12 wǎa thǎa “?oorót hǎæŋ sawǎn” mǎy tham taam nǎathiĭ khǒŋ thǎn láəw sáy that if “son of heaven” not do according to duty of him PerfASP emph.					
Theme			Rheme		
		Actor	Pro. Mat	Manner: means	..cess
		Medium		Manner	

3.13 prachaachon yɔɔm mii sít [[thíi ca patiwát]] dây people naturally have right that will revolt can				
Theme		Rheme		
Possesser		Poss	Possessed	
Medium			Range	
3.14 [[thíi ca patiwát]] [[that will revolt]]				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor		Pro. Material		
Medium				
3.15 m̄a Ø tham kaanpatiwát dây s̄mrèt when (they) do revolution PerfASP complete				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro Mat	Goal	...cess
	Agent		Medium	
3.16 Ø k̄o th̄aw k̄ap [[Ø dây “ʔaanáttiʔ hææŋ sawǎn” (“thian m̄iŋ”) h̄ay p̄òkkhr̄ɔŋ prachaachon th̄ææn khon d̄æm (this?) Cj be equal to [[Ø receive “heavenly mandate” (???) to rule people replace person former				
Theme		Rheme		
Id/Tk	Pro. Id	Idr/ Value		
Medium		Range		
3.17 [[Ø dây “ʔaanáttiʔ hææŋ sawǎn” (“thian m̄iŋ”) [[Ø receive “a heavenly mandate”				
Theme		Rheme		

Actor	Pro.Mat	Range
Med		Range
3.18 hây pòkkrɔŋ prachaachon thææn khon dæm]] to rule people replace person former]]		
Rheme		
Pro. Material	Goal	Accompaniment: additive
	Medium	Accompaniment

4.1 pràtyaa meethii tawantòk lăay thân kô dây klàaw thǎŋ rǎŋ ní wáy yàŋ yùtyaaw philosopher western many CLF Cj PerfASP talk about issue this keep long (time)					
Theme			Rheme		
Sayer		Pro.. Verbal	Matter	..cess	Manner: quality
Medium			Matter		Manner
4.2 ?aathí? Thomas Hobbes (Thomas Hobbes khɔɔ. sǎɔ. 1588–1679) dây klàaw wáy such as Thomas Hobbes (AD 1588–1679) PerfASP say keep					
Theme			Rheme		
	Sayer		Pro. Verbal		
	Medium				
4.3 wâa dæm phûu khon samăy dèkdamban [[thiî yùu kan taam thammachâat]] nán cháy “kòtmăay pàa” that formerly people age stone [[that be (locate) according to natural]] ThPart use “law of the jungle”					
Theme				Rheme	
	Conj. Adjunct	Actor		Pro. Mat	Range
		Medium			Range

4.4 tɔɔ maa phûak khǎw dâj khón phóp afterwards group they PerfASP find					
Theme			Rheme		
Cj Adj	Senser		Pro. Mental		
	Medium				
4.5 wâa phaaytây rábɔɔp nán Ø mâj ʔaat hǎa khwaamsaŋòp læʔ khwaamplɔɔtphay dâj that under system that (they) not may look for peace and safety can					
Theme			Rheme		
	Contingency: cond	Beh.	Pro. Behaviour.	Phenomenon	...cess
	Contingency	Med		Range	
4.6 phrɔʔ máæ tææ khon khǎŋrææŋ thií sùt because even though person strong most					
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier		Pro. Attributive.		
	Medium				
4.7 Ø kô yaŋ tɔŋ mii weelaa phláŋphlǎə Cj ImpAsp must have time careless					
Theme	Rheme				
Poss'r	Pro. Poss		Poss'd		
Med			Range		
4.8 (rǎɔ Ø tɔŋ nɔɔn làp) (or (they) must sleep)					
Theme			Rheme		
	Beh	Pro. Behavioural			

	Med				
4.9 Ø cəŋ tòkloŋ kan (they) thus agree together					
Theme		Rheme			
Senser		Pro. Ment	Manner		
Med			Manner		
4.10 thiĩ ca yɔɔmsalà? sít thammachâat hây kǽæ khon rǽ khana? bùkkhon to renounce natural rights for person or group individual					
Theme		Rheme			
ØSaye r	Pro. Verbal	Verbiage	..cess	Receiver	
ØMed		Range	+	Beneficiary	
4.11 dooy mii ɲǽnhǽy by have condition		wâa thúk khon nay “prachaakhom” that all people in “community”	ruamtháj phûu rápmɔɔp ʔamnâat including person accept power	ca tɔŋ tham CM must do	taam sǎnyaaprachaakhom [[thiĩ tòkloŋ kan wáy]] according to contract social [[that agreed keep]]
Theme				Rheme	
Contingency: condition		Actor	Accomp.: additive	Pro. Mat.	Angle: source
Contingency		Medium	Accompaniment		Angle
4.12 phûu ráp mɔɔp ʔamnâat læ? tham nâathiĩ thǽæn “prachaakhom” <<...>> nán thâa khǽw phûu ní lámêət sǎnyaa prachaakhom person accept power and do duty represent “community” <<...>> ThPart if person this violate social contract					
Theme (marked) (Absolute Theme)					Rheme
Actor					Pro. Goal

					Mat	
Agent						Medium
4.13 <<(Ø ca riäk Ø wâa kasàt rǎ̃ʰʰ ʔaray kô dây)>> <<(we) will call (him/her)that king or anything)>>						
Theme		Rheme				
Assigner	Pro.Id	Id/Tk	Idr/Value			
Agent		Med	Range			
4.14 khon ʔə̃ʰʰn ʔə̃ʰʰn kô mii sít person other Cj have right						
Theme		Rheme				
Possessor		Pro. Pss	Possessed			
Medium			Range			
4.15 thiĩ ca lámâət Ø dây chên kan to violate Ø can in same way						
Theme		Rheme				
ØActor	Pro.Mat	Gl	Pro	Manner: comparison		
Agent		Me		Manner		
4.16 thâa mii khon rǎ̃ʰʰ khanáʔ bùkkhon [[camkàt ráttǎ̃ʰʰathípàt]] if there are people or group individual [[abolish Crown/government]]						
Theme		Rheme				
	Pro. Exist.	Existent				
		Medium				

4.16 Ø [[camkàt rátthăathípàt]] Ø [[abolish Crown/government]]		
Th	Rheme	
Act.	Pro. Mat	Goal
Agent		Medium
4.17 rǎ̃ Ø phayayaam or (they) try		
Theme	Rheme	
	Act.	Pro. Material
	Med	
4.18 thiĩ ca khôn lóm rátthăathípàt to oust Crown/government		
Theme	Rheme	
Actor Ø	Pro.Mat	Goal
Agent		Range
4.19 Ø sadææŋ (this) show		
Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	
Medium		
4.20 [[wâa khăw rǎ̃ phûak khăw kamləŋ cháy “kòtmăay pàa” that he or group them ImpASP use “law of the jungle”		
Theme	Rheme	

	Actor	Pro. Mat	Range
	Medium		Range
4.20 ừ Ø cháý “sít thammachâat” dooy khwaamsiàṅphay khḥḥṅ ton ʔeeṅ]] or (they) use “natural rights” by risk of themselves			
Theme		Rheme	
	Act	Pro. Mat	Range
	Med		Range
			Manner: means
			Manner: means

5.1 John Locke (1631–1704) kḥ pen nákràtyaa ʔiik khon nḥṅ John Locke also be philosopher another CLF			
Theme		Rheme	
Id/Tk		Id	Idr/Value
Medium			Range
5.2 [[thií yḥḥráp sít khḥḥṅ khon nay “prachaakhom” [[thií tòḥtâan thḥrarâat]]]] [[that accept right of people in “community” [[that oppose tyrant]]]]			
Theme		Rheme	
ØSenser	Pro. Ment.	Phenomenon	
ØMed.		Range	
5.3 [[thií tòḥtâan thḥrarâat]] [[that oppose tyrant]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Actor	Pro.	Goal	

	Mat		
Agent		Medium	
5.4 khăw klàaw he say			
Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Pro. Verbal		
Medium			
5.5 wâa rátthabaan mii wáy that government have AspPerf/Purposive			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
	Existent	Pro. Existential	
	Medium		
5.6 phêa pòkpôn læ? bɔrikaan khon khǒn prachaakhom in order to protect and serve person of community			
Theme	Rheme		
∅Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	
∅Agent		Medium	
5.7 rátthabaan ca sîn saphâap pay government will exhaust condition go			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro.. Mat.	Range	...cess
Medium		Range	
5.8 mûa ∅ mây sãamâat ráksãa khwaamchûamân (trust) khǒn prachaachon ʔaw wáy dâ when (they) not able protect trust of people take keep can			

Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro... Material	Goal	...cess
	Ag.		Medium	

5.9 láə? Ø ?àat thùuk kabòt (revolt)
and (they) may PASS revolt

Theme		Rheme		
	Goal	Pro. Material. Passive		
	Med			

5.10 r̄u Ø m̄ay d̄ayr̄ap kaansan̄apsan̄un càak rátthasaphaa
or (they) not receive support from parliament

Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Mat.	Range	Location: place
	Med		Range	Agent

6.1 Aristotle (Aristotle 384(?)–322 kòcn khɔɔ. s̄ɔɔ.) k̄ô klàaw wáy
Aristotle also say keep

Theme		Rheme		
Sayer		Pro. Verbal		
Medium				

6.2 w̄aa rátth̄aathíp̄at [[thīi tham tua n̄h̄a kòtm̄ăay dooy ?aas̄y khon camnuan m̄aak]] nán pen “thɔɔrar̄âat kh̄ɔɔɔ khon kh̄h̄aɔ m̄aak”
that Crown [[that do self above law by depend people number many]] ThPart be “tyranny of majority”

Theme			Rheme	
	Id/Token		Id	Idr/Value
	Medium			Range

6.3 khăw ca tŋ thùuk khôn�óm dooy kaankabòt (revolt) they will must PASS overthrow by revolt					
Theme		Rheme			
Goal		Pro. Material Passive		Manner: means	
Med				Manner	
6.4 tàæ aristotle kŋ tŋ khŏsăŋkèet wáy dŭay but Aristotle also establish observation keep also					
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor	Pro: Mat	Range	Pro.	
	Medium		Range		
6.5 phrŏ? khăw mák pen [[khon mii lêe liam mâak]] because they likely be [[person have trick many]]					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Pro. Att	Attribute		
	Med		Range		
6.6 ?iik thŋ Ø ca pen náksadæŋ [[thiŋ chamnaan nay kaansâŋ phâap]] duây moreover (they) CM be actor [[that skilled in building picture]] also					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carr	Pro. Attr	Attribute		
	Med		Range		

7.1 klàaw dooy sarùp m̄a ph̄u khon d̄y k̄o t̄n “prachaakhom” kh̄n speak summarise when person PerfAsp establish “community” ascend					
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor	Pro...Mat.	Goal	...cess	
	Agent		Medium		
7.2 l̄e? Ø tham s̄nyaa prachaakhom kan l̄eæw and make social contract together Perf. Asp.					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act	Pro... Mat.	Goal	Manner	...cess
	Ag		Medium	Manner	
7.3 th̄uk khon ca t̄n tham taam k̄o tm̄ay l̄e? r̄atthathammanuun all people will must do follow law and constitution					
Theme		Rheme			
Behaver		Pro. Behavioural	Phenomenon		
Medium			Range		
7.4 ph̄u day [[th̄i tham ph̄it r̄m lam̄æt Ø]] r̄atth̄ath̄ip̄at ȳom mii ?amn̄at person any [[that do wrong or violate Ø]]Crown likely have power					
Theme (marked) Absolute			Rheme		
This is implied target in 7.6		Poss'r	Pro. Poss.	Poss'd	
		Medium		Range	
7.5 [[th̄i tham ph̄it r̄m lam̄æt Ø]] [[that do wrong or violate (law or constitution)]]					

Theme	Rheme				
Actor	Pro. Material		Goal		
Agent			Medium		
7.6 thí ca sàŋ loŋ thòt to order punish					
Theme	Rheme				
Sayer	Pro. Verbal				
Med					
7.7 thâa hàak Ø mây tham if not do					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act.	Pro. Mat.			
	Med				
7.8 rǔu Ø pen phũu lám̄æt kòtmăay-rátthathammanuun siă ʔeeŋ or be person violate law constitution Part. self					
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/ tk	Id	Idr./Value		
	Med		Range		
7.9 rǔu Ø tham tua yùu nǎa kòtmăay or do self be above law					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act	Pro Mat	GI	Pro	Location: place

	Ag		M		Location
7.10 Ø kê tŋ thũ (we?) thus must believe					
Theme		Rheme			
Sens.		Pro. Mental			
Med					
7.11 waa Ø pen “thɔɔrarâat” that (he/she) be “tyrant”					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carr	Attr	Attribute		
	Med		Range		
7.12 Ø tham hây saphâap “prachaarát” mót sîn pay Ø cause condition “people’s state” end finish go					
Theme		Rheme			
Initiator	Pro.... Mat.	Actor		...Pro. Material	
Agent		Medium			
7.13 phuû khon ca klâp pay yùu yàaŋ thammachâat (state of nature) people will return go be (loc) naturally					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Rel.Attributive	Attribute		
Medium			Attribute		
7.14 dooy cháy “kòtmăay pàa” by use “law jungle”					

Theme	Rheme	
	Pro. Mat	Range
		Range
7.15 kh h m h mii kòtmăay that is not there is law		
Theme	Rheme	
	Pro. Exist.	Existent
		Medium
7.16 kaan patiwát – rátthaprahăan nán pen kaan cháý “kòtmăay pàa” revolution – coup that be using “law jungle		
Theme	Rheme	
Identified/Token	Pro. Id.	Identifier/Value
Medium		Range
7.17 ph u [[thi i krathamØ]] pen ph u [[cháý “sìt thammachâat”]] person [[that do Ø]] be person use “right natural”		
Theme	Rheme	
Identified/Token	Pro. Id	Identifier/Value
Medium		Range
7.18 m h mii phìt–thùuk not there be wrong–right		

Theme		Rheme	
Pro. Existential		Existent	
		Medium	
7.19 dooy phûu [[loŋ m̩x kratham]] siəŋ phay ʔaw ʔeəŋ with person start out to do risk take self			
Theme		Rheme	
	Actor	Pro. Mat.	
	Medium		
7.20 thâa khǎw pen fàay chaná? if he/she be side win			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id.Tk	Id	Idr./VI
	Med		Range
7.21 Ø kô ca dâŋ pen phûu [[th̩x dâap ʔaayaasit kɔɔ tɔŋ prachaakhom kh̩n màŋ]] (he) thus will Asp Perf be person [[carry sword absolute power establish community up new]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Id./Tk.		Pro. Ident.	Idr./Value
Medium			Range
7.22 tææ thâa Ø pen fàay pháæ but if be side lose			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id. Tk	Id	Idr./VI
	Me		Range

7.23 Ø kô ?àat ca thùuk loŋ thòot nàk thěŋ prahăan chiiwít (it/ they) thus may suffer punish severe reach execution			
Theme		Rheme	
Goal		Pro. Mat. PASS	Extent
Med			Extent
7.24 rǎu hàak Ø pen samăy kòon or if (it) be time past			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id/ tk	Id	Idr/VI
	Me		Range
7.25 Ø kô ?àat ca thùuk prahăan lăay chûakhôot thii diaw (they) thus may will suffer execute many generation absolutely			
Theme		Rheme	
Goal	Pro. Pass. Material	...Goal	Manner: degree
Med		...Med	Manner

thahăan kàp kaan tham rátthaprahăan military and staging of coup			
8.1 thahăan pen kòonj kamlan tít ?aawút khòonj rát military be strength armed of state			
Theme		Rheme	
Id/Tk	Id	Idr/Value	
Medium		Range	

8.2 (Ø mí? chây khǎwng rátthabaan [[thií thamkaan dooy mûng wǎng phǎn prayòot khǎwng phák kaanm̄aŋ phák day phák n̄h]]) (It) not be of government [[that performs by hope for benefit party political party any party one]]					
Th	Rheme				
Pss'd	Pro. Poss.	Possessor			
Med		Range			
8.3 nay ráb̀̀wng prachaathíppatay nán in democratic system that		thahǎan military	thùuk khâatmǎay hây pen PASS expect to be	khrūaŋm̄u khǎwng phûunam fàay b̄wrihǎan tool of leader administrative	nay yaam [[thií k̄æt k̄wranii phíp̄hâat khàtyǎæŋ kàp t̄aŋ prathêet]] in occasion that occur case dispute conflict with foreign country
Theme		Rheme			
Location		Id/Tk	Pro.Id	Idr/VI	Contingency: condition
Location		Medium		Range	Contingency
8.4 [[thií k̄æt k̄wranii phíp̄hâat khàtyǎæŋ kàp t̄aŋ prathêet]] [[that occur case dispute conflict with foreign country]]					
Theme	Rheme				
	Pro Ex.	Existent		Accompaniment: comitative	
		Medium		Accompaniment	
8.5 (phr̄w̄ thahǎan mii n̄athíi (because military have duty					
Theme		Rheme			
	Poss'r	Poss	Poss'd		
	Med		Range		
8.6 Ø ráksǎa ?athíppatay khǎwng rát l̄æ? buuranaphâap hææŋ dindæen)					

Ø protect sovereignty of state and integrity of territory)						
Th	Rheme					
Act	Pro. Mat	Goal				
Ag		Medium				
8.7 tàæ nay kɔɔranii [[thíi kàet khwaamkhàtyáæŋ thaŋ kaanmœŋ phaaynay prathêet]] thahãan ca tŋ waŋ tua pen klaŋ but in case [[that occur conflict political within country]] military CM must place self be central						
Theme					Rheme	
	Contingency: condition				Carrier	Pro. Attributive
	Contingency				Med	Range
8.8 yàŋray kô taam however,	tâŋtàæ pii 1932 pen tôn maa follow since year 1932 until now	thahãan thay military Thai	dây lámêat PerfASP violate	làkkaan daŋ klàaw principle as mentioned	lăay khráj many times	dooy kaankhâw pay chûay (rǎu thùuk dœŋ khâw pay chûay) fàay day fàay nœŋ by going in to help (or Pass. pull in go help) side any side one
Theme		Rheme				
	Location: time	Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal	Extent: freq	Manner: means
	Location	Agent		Medium	Extent	Manner

9.1 rábɔɔp prachaathíppatay tŋŋkaan hây khon nay cháat kǎækhǎy khɔɔpíphâat kan duay kaancháy hêetphôn system democratic need make person in nation solve disputes together with use reason						
Theme		Rheme				
Initiator	Pro.... Caus.	Behaver	...cess	Phen	Manner: means	

				Beh.		
Agent		Medium			Range	Manner
9.2 Ø mây chây khùmkhùu Ø ?aw chaná? kan dūay kamləŋ Ø not be threaten Ø take win with force						
Th	Rheme					
Act	Pro... Material	Goal	...cess	Manner: means		
Ag		Med		Manner		
9.3 phró? dooy thūa pay lææw mūa sǎŋ pəŋŋ daŋ khŋn because generally PerfASP when sound gun be loud rise						
Theme				Rheme		
			Carrier	Pro. Attributive		
			Medium			
9.4 hēetphōn kō yōwm ɲiáp pay reason then inevitably be quiet go						
Theme		Rheme				
Carrier		Pro. Attributive				
Medium						
9.5 mūa pəŋŋ yūu kàp fàay day when gun be (locate) with side any						
Theme		Rheme				
	Carr	Pro.Circ.	Attribute: circumstantial			
	Med		Range			
9.6 fàay nán yōwm pen phūu chaná? side that likely be person win						

Theme		Rheme	
Id/Tk		Ident.	Idr/Value
Medium			Range
9.7 máæ wâa Ø ca pen phûu phît even though (they) CM be person wrong			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id/Tk	Pro Id	Idr/VI
	Med		Range
9.8 rǔu Ø pen fàay ?atham kô taam or (they) be side amoral whether			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI
	Med		Range

10.1 tàæ yàaŋray kô taam raw kô yâa khâwcaj phît but however, we also don't misunderstand				
Theme			Rheme	
		Sen		Pro. Mental
		Med		
10.2 wâa thahãan <<mûa thǔu ?aawút láæw>> that military when carry weapons Perf ASP				
Theme (marked)			Rheme	
	Actor		Pro Mat	Range ...cess

	Med		Range	
10.3 Ø ca tōŋ thùuk tàt sít khân phǔnthǎan nay thaaj kaanm̄əaj paj dūay (they) will must PASS cut right basic in political go also				
Theme	Rheme			
Client	Pro.. PASS. Material	Goal	Manner: quality	..Pro
Benefic.		Med	Manner	
10.4 phrǔ? phūak khǎw yaŋ mii “sít thammachâat” because group them still have “natural rights”				
Theme		Rheme		
	Poss’r	Pro. Poss.	Pss’d	
	Medium		Range	
10. 5 [[thī tít tua maa kàp khwaam pen manút]] [[that connected with being human]]				
Theme	Rheme			
Carrier	Pro. Attr	Attribute: circumstantial		
Medium		Range		
10.6 Ø yaŋ mii sít thaaj kaanm̄əaj (they) still have rights political				
Theme	Rheme			
Poss’r	Pro.Pos	Poss’d		
Medium		Range		
10.7 thī ca cháy dunlaphínít khǔwŋ ton ?eeŋ				

to use discretion of themselves			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Mat	Range	
Med		Range	
10.8 Ø phítcaaranaa Ø consider			
Th	Rheme		
Sens	Pro.: mental		
Med			
10.9 wâa ?aray phit that what be wrong			
Theme	Rheme		
	Carr	Pro. Attributive	
	Med		
10.10 ?aray thùuk what be right			
Theme	Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attributive		
Medium			
10.11 rǎw ráwàaŋ khûu phípâat nán khray phit or between disputants those who be wrong			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
	Accompaniment	Carr	Pro. Attributive

	Accompaniment		
10.12 khray thùuk who be right			
Theme	Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attributive		
Medium			
10.13 fàay day pen fàay thammá? side which be side moral			
Theme	Rheme		
Id./Token	Pro. Id	Idr./Value	
Medium		Range	
10.14 rǎu Ø pen fàay ?atham lǎe? ?ùn?ùn or (who) be side amoral etc.			
Theme	Rheme		
	Id/ Tk	Pro Id	Idr./ Value
	Me		Range
10.15 tǎæ phúak khǎw tǝŋ thùuk tət sit nay kaanphûut rǎu sadææŋ tua but group them must PASS cut rights in speech or express self			
Theme	Rheme		
	Client	Pro. Mat. PASS	Goal Matter
	Beneficiary		Medium Matter
10.16 phró? phúak khǎw yùu nay khrǝŋbææp			

because group that be (locate) in uniform			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attr	Circumstance: attribute
	Medium		Range
10.17 láe? Ø ?aat ca thùuk tii khwaam and (they/it) may CM PASS interpret			
Theme		Rheme	
	Phen	Pro. Mental	
	Med		
10.18 waa Ø sanàp sanŭn fàay day fàay n#ŋ that (they) support side any side one			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id/Tk	Pro. Id	Idr/Value
	Med		Range
10.19 s#ŋ th#w kàp [[d#ŋ sath#aban kh#w maa kiaw kh#ŋ d#ay]] that be equal to [[pull institution enter come be concerned also]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Id/Tk	Pro. Id.	Idr/VI	
Medium		Range	
10.20 [[Ø d#ŋ sath#aban kh#w maa kiaw kh#ŋ d#ay]] [[Ø pull institution enter come be concerned also]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro.. Mat	Goal	...cess

Agent		Med			
10.21 nay saphaawá? [...]Ø praakòt hây Ø hěn yàaŋ dènchát in situation [...] (this) appear make (us) see clearly					
Theme		Rheme			
Contingency	Inducer	Pro Caus	Sen	..cess Ment.	Manner: quality
Contingency	Ag.		Me		Manner
10.22 [[thií bânmaəŋ kəət khwaamkhàtyæəŋ kan yàaŋ runræəŋ [[that country occur conflict strongly					
Theme		Rheme			
Location: place	Pro. Ex	Existent		Manner: quality	
Location		Medium		Manner	
10.23 láə? mii fàay “phûu ráay” thaəŋ kaanmaəŋ]] and there is side “offender” political]]					
Theme		Rheme			
	Pro.Ex	Existent			
		Medium			
10.24 láə? “phûuráay [[thií mii ʔitthíphon” láə? mii ʔamnâat thaəŋ kaanmaəŋ]] t̄ŋkaan d̄əŋ phûak khăw khâw pay and “offender [[that have influence and have power political]] needs to pull group them enter go					
Theme			Rheme		
	Actor		Pro... Mat	Goal	...cess
	Agent			Medium	
10.25 sanàpsanŋn Ø nay kaantòcsûu kàp fàay tronkhâam nán support Ø in fight with the opposition that					

Theme	Rheme		
Id	Idr /VI	Cause: purpose	Accompaniment
	Rg	Cause	Accompaniment
10.26 thahään yōm ?ət?àtcay mâak nay r̄aη kaanwaan̄tua military likely frustrated a lot about attitude			
Theme	Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attrib.	Mann. deg	Matter
Medium		Mann	Matter
10.27 læ? Ø t̄η cháy khwaam?òtthon yàanyîη and (they) must use tolerance greatly			
Theme	Rheme		
	Actor	ProMat	Range Manner: degree
	Med		Range Manner

11.1 nay th̄i s̄ut kl̄um thahään phaayt̄ay kaannam kh̄ōη phon?èek sonthí? bunyarátklin [[...]]k̄ô d̄ay tàts̄ncay tham rátthaprahään in the end group soldier under leadership of General Sonthi Bunyaratklin [[]] thus asp.perf decide do coup			
Theme		Rheme	
	Actor		Pro.Material $\alpha + \beta$ Goal
	Agent		See Medium
11.2[[s̄η riák ton?eeη w̄a “khaná? patir̄up kaanpòkkhr̄ōη nay ráb̄ōp prachaathíppatay ?an mii phrámah̄akasàt soη pen pramùk”]] [[that call themselves that “council reform government in system democracy that have king roy. be head of state”			
Theme	Rheme		
ØAssgn	Pro	Id/Tk	Idr/Value (martin, mattheissen & painter, p. 124)

	Id.					
Agent		Rng		Medium?		
11.3 Ø khòon lóm ráttabaan tháksín loṅ Ø topple Thaksin govt down						
Theme		Rheme				
Actor	Pro..Ma t	Goal	...cess			
Agent		Medium				
11.4 phúak khăw chíicæṅ hêtphôn [[...]] nay thanæṅkaan chabàp thíi 1 group them point to reason [[...]] in official communiqué CLF first						
Theme		Rheme				
Sayer		Pro. Verb	Verbiage	Location: place		
Medium			Range	Location		
11.5 [[thíi Ø tṅ tham kaanpatirûp wáy]] [[that Ø must do revolution keep]]						
Theme		Rheme				
	Ac	Pro. Mat	Goal	..cess		
	Ag		Medium			
11.6 wâa that	rátthabaan tháksín government Thaksin	dây kòc hây kèet PerfASP build so that occur	khwaamtæækyææk disharmony	nay châat in nation	yàṅ thíi mây praakòt maa kòc like that not appear come before	nay prawàttisàat châat thay in history nation Thai
Theme		Rheme				
	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	Loc: Place	Manner: comparison	Location: time
	Agent		Medium	Location	Manner	Location
11.7 kaanbòríhăan ráatchakaan sòc pay nay thaṅ thútcarit praphrát mí? chòc administration public service show (neg) go in way corrupt behaviour not like						

Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Attrib.	Attribute: circumstantial	Manner: quality	
Medium			Range	Manner	
11.8 láə? Ø ?əâ prayòt tòc phúak phócŋ yàaŋkwâaŋkhwǎaŋ and (they) privilege to group similar widely					
Theme		Rheme			
	Sens	Pro. Ment	Cause: behalf	Manner: degree	
	Med		Cause	Manner	
11.9 ?iik tháj moreover	kaandamnəən kítcakam thaəŋ kaanməəŋ process political	baəŋ ?ookàat some occasions	mìnmèe be dangerously close	tòc kaanmìn phrá?baromdeechaanúphâap hǎəŋ ?oŋ phrá?mahăakasàt to lèse majesté	dúay also
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier	Extent: freq	Pro. Attrib.	Attribute: circ	
	Medium	Extent		Range	

12.1 nay thátsaná? khǒcŋ khâaphacâw hêtphǒn [[thiî KPK. ?aaŋ maa]] nán pen khwaam ciŋ thúk prakaan in viewpoint of I reason [[that KPK refer come]] that be truth all points					
Theme			Rheme		
Angle: viewpoint		Id./Tk	Id	Id/VI	Manner: degree
Angle		Medium		Range	Manner
12.2 mí? dáy mii kaanbítbuan rǎu tǎəŋ sǎəmtəəm tòc mǎn daŋ kaantham ráttaphahăan lǎay khráj [[thiî phàn maa]] not Asp.(perf) have distortion or embellish add same as staging coup many time [[that pass come]]					

Th		Rheme	
Pro. Existential		Existent	Manner: comparison
		Medium	Manner
12.3 yîŋ kwàa nán khâaphacâw chûa more that that I believe			
Theme		Rheme	
Manner:comp	Senser	Pro.: Mental	
Manner	Medium		
12.4 wâa rátthabaan tháksǐn mii phrúttikam [[sûŋ pen thiî sâap kan dii]] that government Thaksin have behaviour [[that be that know well]]			
Theme		Rheme	
	Possessor	Pro. Poss	Possessed
	Medium		Range
12.5 wâa Ø dâŋ tham kaankhâa tàttɔɔn prachaachon phûu bɔ́risùt maa lææw læay khráŋ that (it) Asp(perf) do murder censor people CLF innocent come Asp (perf) many times			
Theme	Rheme		

	Act	Pro... Mat.	Goal	...cess	Extent: frequency
	Ag		Medium		Extent
12.6 mii kaanchôw râatsadôn banlũaŋ yàŋ kwâan̄khwãŋ there was defraud population embezzle widely					
Theme		Rheme			
Pro. Exist.		Existent		Manner: degree	
		Medium		Manner	
12.7 lă? Ø chây ?itthíphon and (they) use influence					
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor	Pro Mat	Range		
	Med		Range		
12.8 Ø bìip ban̄kháp hây rábòp yútitham Ø force make judiciary					
Th		Rheme			
Actor		Pro... Mat.		Goal	

Agent		Medium		
12.9 Ø l�w�n kaanpatib�t n�ath�i (judiciary) refrain practice duty				
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
12.10 n��k c�ak n�n apart from that	kaankl�awh�a phantham�t prachaachon ph�� prachaath�ppatay [[.12.11-14.]] accusation ally people for democracy [...]]	pen be	kaankratham [[th�i l�m��t k�tm�ay l��? r�tthathammanuun (12.16)]] action [[that violate law and constitution]]	
Theme		Rheme		
	Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI	
	Medium		Range	
12.11 [[th�i ruam tua kan chumnum t��t�an r�tthabaan// [[that collect together gather oppose government				
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Pro. Mat (1+2?)	Goal		

Agent		Medium
12.12 wâa Ø pen phûak [[cháy “kòt mób”]]]] that (it) be group [[use “rule mob”]]]]		
Theme	Rheme	
	Id Tk	Id Idr/VI
	M	Range
12.13 læ? rátthabaan kô dây cháy konkay khǒŋ rát and government then Asp (perf) use mechanism of state		
Theme	Rheme	
	Actor	Pro. Material Range
	Medium	Range
12.14 Ø rádom phûu khon Ø mobilise people		
Theme	Rheme	
Actor	Pro... Mat	Goal
Agent		Medium

12.15 Ø maa khòmkhùu khúkkhaam fàay tòotâan yùu thææp thúk khráj [[thiî mii kaanchumnum]] nán (people) come threaten side oppose ImpAsp about every time [[that have gathering]] that				
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	...cess: Mat	Goal	...cess	Extent: frequency
Agent		Range		Extent
12.16 [[thiî lámêat kòtmăay lă? rátthathammanuun]] [[that violate law and constitution]]				
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
12.17 mææwâa rátthabaan Tháksĭn mák ca ?âaŋ khwaamchôpŋtham càak khánææn sĭaŋ lăâktâŋ mâak măay mahăasăan [...] even though government Thaksin tend to refer legitimacy from votes election a lot great [...]				
Theme		Rheme		
	Sayer	Pro. Verbal	Verbiage	Manner: degree
	Medium		Range	Manner
12.18 [[thiî ton dăyráp]]				

[[that self receive]]							
Theme		Rheme					
	Act	Pro. Material					
	Me						
12.19 maa lópláaŋ kaankratham [[thiî lámêət kòtmăay lăé? ráttháthammanuun]] nán come wipe out action [[that violate law and constitution]]] that							
Th	Rheme						
Ø Act	Pro. Material	Goal					
Ø Ag		Medium					
12.20 Ø kô faŋ mây khôn Ø thus unjustified							
Theme		Rheme					
Carrier		Pro. Attributive					
Med							
12.21 Adolf Hitler (Adolph Hitler) [[phûu nam Germany nay samăy sõŋkhraam lôok thiî 2]] nán	kô also	dâyrap receive	khánææn siăŋ sanàpsanŭn votes support	càak kaanlêaktâŋ from	maa come	yàaŋ thûamthón overwhelming	mây pháæ khǒŋ rátthabaan

Adolf Hitler [[person lead Germany in time war world 2 nd]] that				election			Tháksĩn not lose of government Thaksin
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Theme		Rheme					
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Actor		Pro. Mat	Range	Manner: means	... cess	Manner: degree	Manner: comparison
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Medium			Range	Manner		Manner	Manner
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12.22 tææ prawàttisàat kô dâý chíi hây Ø hěn lææw but history thus Asp (perf) point so that Ø see Asp (perf)							
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Theme		Rheme					
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	Inducer		Pro... Causative	Se	..cess Mental		
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	Agent			Me			
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12.23 wâa phadètkaan thɔɔrarâat dooy siǎŋ khâaŋ mâak nán that dictator tyrant by majority vote that	pen be	ʔantaraay dangerous	yĩŋ kwâa látthiʔphadètkaan dooy thahãan more than dictatorship by military	mâakmaay nák more emph.
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Theme		Rheme		
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Carrier	Pro. Attr	Attribute	Manner: comparison	Manner:
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				degree
Medium		Range	Manner	Manner

13.1 m̄a n̄ankh̄y t̄aŋ t̄aŋ daŋ kl̄aaw s̄aŋ kh̄n dooy ph̄unam r̄ab̄p “th̄ocr̄ar̄at dooy s̄iŋ kh̄aŋ m̄ak” when conditions various as mentioned build up by leader system “tyranny of the majority”				
Theme		Rheme		
Goal		Pro.: Mat	Actor	
Medium			Agent	
13.2 Ø c̄ŋ kh̄a n̄ankh̄y [[...]] (we) thus enter condition [[...]]				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor		Mat	Range	
Med			Range	
13.3 [[daŋ thī n̄akpr̄at chaaw ʔaŋkrit d̄y ʔathibaay w̄y]] as philosopher English PerfASP explain keep				
Theme		Rheme		
	Sayer	Pro.: Verbal		
	Medium			
13.4 w̄a m̄a s̄anyaa prachaakhom th̄uok thamlaay that when contract social PASS destroy				
Theme		Rheme		
	Goal	Pro. Material		
	Medium			
13.5 prachaarat k̄ l̄m sal̄ay people’s state also collapse				

Theme		Rheme	
Actor		Pro.: Material	
Medium			
13.6 thúk khon cəŋ mii sít taam thammachâat everybody thus have right natural			
Theme		Rheme	
Poss'r		Pss	Possessed
13.7 thiî ca klàp pay cháy “kòtmăay pàa” to revert go use “law of the jungle”			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Material	Range	
Med		Range	
13.8 læ? phûu [[thiî thǎ ʔaawút khâw lómláaŋ phûunam [[sǎŋ môt khwaamchôptham]]]] nán ca tǎŋ siàŋphay ʔaw ʔeeŋ and person [[that carry weapon enter destroy leader [[which finish legitimacy]]]] ThPart CM must risk take self			
Theme			Rheme
	Actor		Pro. Material
	Medium		
13.9 [[thiî thǎ ʔaawút khâw lómláaŋ phûunam [[sǎŋ môt khwaamchôptham]]]] [[that carry weapon enter destroy leader [[which finish legitimacy]]]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Initiator	Pro. Mat	Actor	...cess Goal
Agent		Agent	Medium
13.10 [[sǎŋ môt khwaamchôptham]]] [[which finish legitimacy]]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Carrier	Pro.	Attribute	

	Attr				
Medium		Range			
13.11 Ø chûa (I??) believe					
Theme	Rheme				
Senser	Pro. Mental				
Med					
13.12 wâa klùm phûu kòc kaan rátthaprahăan mûa wan thiî 19 kanyaayon 2006 yôm trănàk nay sâtcattham khôc níi dii that group people build coup on 19 th September 2006 likely realise in truth CLF this well					
Theme			Rheme		
	Senser		Pro. Ment	Phenomenon	Manner: quality
	Medium			Range	
13.13 læ? Ø dây kratham kaan danklăaw pay dūay khwaamrúusək phîthchôpchûadii [...] and (they) PerfASP do as mentioned go with feeling moral					
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor	Pro... Material	Goal	Pro.	Manner: quality
	Agent		Medium		Manner
13.14 [[wâa ton tham phûa khray]] that self do for who					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act	Pro Mat	Recipient		
	Me		Beneficiary		
14.1 khon thay suànyàay khon ca mây ráydiangsăa kəen pay Thai people largely probably CM not innocent so much					
Theme		Rheme			

Carrier	Pro.: Attributive		Manner	
Medium			Manner	
14.2 con thữj kàp Ø mây rúu until Ø not know				
Theme		Rheme		
	Se	Pro: Mental		
	Me			
14.3 wâa ráttabaan Tháksĩn dâj lám̄ət sǎnyaa prachaakhom sám lææw sám lâw that government Thaksin PerfASP violate contract social again and again				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal	Extent: frequency
	Agent		Medium	Extent
14.4 læ? Ø khonj mây lõj kon farəj r̄u phũak níyom farəj [[thiĩ phayaayaam khòtsanaa and (they) probably not be misled trick westerners or group preferring westerners [[that try advertise chuanch̄a propagandise				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro. Material	Goal	
	Agent		Medium	
14.5 [[thiĩ phayaayaam khòtsanaa chuanch̄a [[that try advertise propagandise				
Theme		Rheme		
Sayer		Pro. Verbal		
Medium				
14.6 wâa kaankhònlóm ráttabaan [[thiĩ maa càak kaanl̄əkt̄əj]] nán ca t̄əj tham dooy kaanl̄əkt̄əj thawnán that elimination government [[that come from election]] ThPart CM must do by election only				
Theme			Rheme	
	Goal		Pro. Mat	Manner: means Manner: degree

	Medium		Manner	Manner		
14.7 láe? Ø yàa phəə fǎn and Ø don't imagine						
Theme		Rheme				
	Se	Pro. Mental				
	Me					
14.8 wâa ráthhabaan thóorârâat [[thiî tháæ ciŋ]] nán ca yɔɔmlɔŋ càak weethii pay that government tyrannical [[that truly]] ThPart will surrender from stage go						
Theme		Rheme				
	Actor	Pro. Mat	Location: place	...cess		
	Medium		Location			
14.9 phiaŋ phrɔʔ mii mób camnuan mâak maa ruam tua kan tàkoon damthɔɔ Ø just because have mob number a lot come collect together shout rebuke						
Theme		Rheme				
	Pro. Exist	Existent	see patpong 2006 p. 552 re existential expansion			
		Medium				
14.10 ráthhabaan thóorârâat nán government tyrannical ThPart	phrɔʔm thiî together that	ca cháŋ use	muanchon láe? kamlaŋ tamrùat masses and strength police	pen khr̄aŋm̄ be-as tool	nay kaan ráksǎa ʔamnâat khǔɔŋ phûak khǎw in protection power of group them	yàaŋ temthiî fully
Theme		Rheme				
Actor		Pro. Mat	Goal	Role: guise	Cause: purpose	Manner :degree
Agent			Medium	Role	Cause	Manner
14.11 hèetphǒn láe? khwaam thùuktɔŋ kamcàt phûak níi ʔɔɔk pay mâŋ dǎy rationale and rightness limit group this out go not can						

Theme		Rheme		
Actor		Pro... Mat	Goal	...cess
Agent			Med	
14.12 Ø yàa ləəm Ø don't forget				
Theme		Rheme		
Senser		Pro. Mental		
Medium				
14.13 wâa yaŋ mây mii nâkpràat thaŋ thrətsadii râtthasàat khon day [...] that still not have philosopher political theory CLF any [...]				
Theme		Rheme		
Pro. Existential		Existent		
Medium		Medium		
14.14 [[thiī ʔòk maa næ? [[that out come suggest				
Theme		Rheme		
Sayer		Pro. Verbal		
Medium				
14.15 wâa râtthăathíppàt [[thiī pen thəɔrarâat dooy sĭaŋ khâaŋ mâak nay râtthasaphaa rĕ kaanyànsĭaŋ]] that the Crown that be tyrant of the majority in parliament or the opinion polls		mii has	sĭt [[thiī ca lámĕət râtthathammanuun rĕ sĭnyaa prachaakhom]] right to violate constitution or the social contract	dây [ləy]] can at all]]
Theme		Rheme		
Possessor		Pro. Poss	Possessed	...cess
Medium			Range	

14.16 [[thiî pen thɔɔrarâat dooy sǎŋ khâŋ mâak nay rátthasaphaa rǔ̄ kaanyàŋsǎŋ]] that be tyrant of the majority in parliament or the opinion polls			
Theme	Rheme		
Id/Tk	Pro. Id	Id/Value	Location
Medium		Range	Location
14.17 [[thiî ca lámêət rátthammanuun rǔ̄ sǎnyaa prachaakhom]] to violate constitution or the social contract			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Mat	Goal	
Agent		Medium	

Chaiwat Sathaa-Anand

Chaiwat Satha-Anand. (2550/2007). อริสโตเติลกับรัฐประหาร "19 กันยายน" [Aristotle and the "19th September" coup]. *ฟ้าเดียวกัน [Faa Diaw Kan - Same Sky], Special Edition*, 152-167.

1.1 ráttaphrahään “19 kanyaa” tàæk tàaŋ càak ráttaphrahään lăay khráŋ <<...1.4-5>> [[...1.2-3]]phiangray <i>coup 19 September differ from coup many times <<...1.4-5>>[[...1.2-3]]to what extent</i>			
Theme		Rheme	
Carrier		Pro.Att.	Extent: frequency
Medium		Range	Extent
1.2 [[thiî khəəy kəət khûn nay prathêet thay <i>that Asp.Perf (have ever) occur in Thailand</i>			
Theme		Rheme	
Actor		Process: material	Location:place
Med.		Location	
1.3 lăŋ Ø plianplææŋ kaanpòkkhrəŋ 2475]] <i>after Ø change government 1932</i>			
Theme		Rheme	
Act		Pro. Mat.	Goal
Ag		Medium	
1.4 <<(thăa Ø năp <i><<if Ø count</i>		chaphó? [[thiî mii kaankhlhânkamləŋ //phhâ kəŋ kaanpliànplææŋ tháj thiî sǎmrèt lăé? lóm lěw <i>kô ruam 17 khráŋ]])>> <i>especially that have deployment //in order to build change both that success and fail Cj together 17 times</i></i>	

Theme		Rheme	
	Se	Men	Phenomenon
	Me		Range
1.5 [[thī mii kaankhl̄ânkamlaŋ// that have deployment //			
Theme		Rheme	
	Exis	Existent	
		Medium	
1.6 phūa kòc kaanpliànplæəŋ tháŋ thī sǎmrèt læ? lóm lěw kô ruam 17 khráŋ]] in order build change both that be success and fail Cj altogether 17 times]]			
Theme		Rheme	
(Actor)	Mat	Goal	
(Agent)		Medium	
1.7 Ø pen praden wícay thaŋ wíchaakaan Ø be issue research way academic			
Th	Rheme		
Carr	Att	Attribute	
Med		Range	
1.8 [[thī Ø nâa ca nam maa sùksǎa dâŋ nay chəəŋ ráttaphrahǎan priaphîap nay sǎŋkhom thay]] [[that Ø likely take come study can in manner coup comparative in society Thai			
Theme		Rheme	
	Be	Pro. Behavioural	Angle: viewpoint Location
	Me		Angle Location
LIST of studies			

2.1 rátthaprahään “19 kanyaa” pen Coup 19 September be coup		rátthaprahään [[thiî tææk tàaj pen phísèet càak rátthaprahään khráŋ ʔùun ʔùun lăay prakaan]] that differ be special from coup time other other many points	
Theme		Rheme	
Id/Tok	Id	Idr/Value	
Medium		Range	
2.2 tææ [[thiî nâasõncay nay thiînií]] <<...>> ca yùu thiî [...]] but that interesting in here <<...>> will located at [...]]			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id. / Value	Pro. Id/Circ	Idr. / Token
	Range		Medium
2.3 <<∅ hěn >> <<∅ see>>			
Theme	Rheme		
Senser	Pro. Mental		
Medium			
2.4 [[∅ pen kaanrátthaprahään [...]] [[∅ be coup			
Theme	Rheme		
Carr	Att	Attribute	
Med		Range	
2.5 [[sêŋ mii phûu ʔòk maa wíphâak wícaan dûay khwaamhěn [[that have person out come comment/ criticise with opinion			

Theme		Rheme		
	Ex	Existent +verbal clause		
		Medium		
2.6 [[thîi tææktàŋ khàtyææŋ kan mâak thiî sùt pen prawàttikaan]]]]] [[that be different conflict each other most be history-making]]]]]				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Material	Manner	Manner	Role:resultative (see Patpong, p. 430)
Med		Manner	Manner	Role
2.7 Ø ?àat tâŋ kham thăam rææk dâŋ Ø may pose question first can				
Th	Rheme			
Say	Pro... verb	Verbiage	...cess	
Med		Range		
2.8 wâa [[thîi kàət khwaamkhàtyææŋ tææktàŋ kan chên níi]] pen phǎn khǒŋ ?aray? that [[that occur conflict differ each other like this]] be result of what?				
Theme			Rheme	
	Idr/ Value		Id	Id./ Token
	Range			Medium
3.1 Ø khon klàaw dâŋ Ø probably say can				
Th	Rheme			
Sayer	Pro.: verbal			
Med				

3.2 wâa kaanthòkthiãj làw ní thatdiscussion CLF this		pen be	phõn khõj tua kaan rátthaprahãan khráj ní ?eej result of form coup time this		
Theme		Rheme			
	Identified/ Token	Pr. Id	Identifier/Value		
	Medium		Range		
3.3 phasãan kàp phũn phuumí? khõj panyaachon[[thií ?òk maa wíphãak wícaan rátthaprahãan]] combine with background of intellectual who out come comment/criticise coup					
Rheme					
Pro. Id Circ.		Identifier/Token			
		Med.			
3.4 phró? khon làw ní mây nõj because people group this not few		phãan pass	sênthaaj hêtkaan pliãnlææj thaaj kaanmœaj sãmkan sãmkan yàaj 14 tulaakhom 2516- 6 tulaakhom 2519 - læ? phrútsaphaakhom 2535 route event change way politics important important like 14 October 1973 - 6 October 1976 - and May 1992		
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor	Pr.Mat	Range		
	Medium		Range		
3.5 khon tàaj rûn [[thií dænthaaaj phãan prasòpakaan làw ní]] people different age group [[that travel pass experience CLF this]]			yõm mii likely have	thãa thii attitude	tòc rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa yàajday yàajhèj towards coup 19 September any kind any one
Theme			Rheme		

Possessor		Pro.Poss	Poss'd	Matter
Medium			Range	Matter
3.6 chên thâa Ø for example if Ø	phíkhró? analyse	rêan ní issue this	nay chæŋ chûan ʔaayú? rǎ̃ rûnraaw khǒŋ phûu wíphâak wícaan (gerontology - way rǎ̃ “rûn” wíthayaa?) in manner age group or around the same age of people criticise (gerontology - age or generation science)	
Theme		Rheme		
	Sens	Pro. Ment	Phenom	Manner:means
	Med		Range	Manner
3.7 Ø nâasǒncay Ø interesting				
Th	Rheme			
Carr.	Pro. Attrib			
Med.				
3.8 thĩ ca phítcaaranaa				
Theme	Rheme			
	Pro. mental			
3.9 wâa khon [[thĩ phàn hêtkaan phrútsaphaakhom 2535 tææ yàŋ diaw]] that person [[that pass event May 1992 only]]	ca mii will have	thátsaná? mǎn rǎ̃ tànŋ viewpoint same or different	yàŋray how	càak khon [[thĩ phàn hêtkaan pliànplææŋ khránŋ yàŋ nay bânmaŋ maa thánŋ 3 khránŋ]] from person [[that pass event change time big in country come all 3 times]]
Theme		Rheme		

	Possessor	Pro. Poss	Possessed		Angle: viewpoint
	Medium		Range		Angle
3.10 rǎ̃ rátthaprahään “19 kanyaa” or coup 19 September	ca mii will have	khwaam mǎay meaning	yàanray how	kàp phûukhon [[thií ch̃âmyoonj ton ʔeej khâw kàp h̃etkaan 6 tulaa pen phísèet]] with people [[that connect self enter with event 6 October be special]]	
Theme	Rheme				
	Possessor	Pro Poss	Possessed		Angle: viewpoint
	Medium		Range		Angle
3.11 khwaammǎay làw níi mǎ̃n rǎ̃ tǎan yàanray càak khon [[thií lǒ̃l̃m rǎ̃ mây yàak ca còt cam “6 tulaa” pay lǎ̃æw]] meaning CLF this same or different how from person [[that forgetful or neg want remember 6 October go already]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Attributive		Manner: comparison	
Medium				Manner	
3.12 ñok càak nán apart from that	∅ yaŋ ʔaat pen ∅ Imp. Asp. may be	[[phróʔ prapheeni thaŋ wíchaakaan nǎæw wíphâak [[thií pliàn pay]] because custom way academic line criticise that change go		dooy chaphóʔ nǎæwkhít k̃aw kàp ʔamnâat thií sápsón nay nǎæwthaŋ lǎj samǎy mày]] especially concept about power that complex in postmodernism]]	
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/ Tk	Pro. Id	Idr/ Value		Contingency: condition
	Me		Range		Contingency
3.13 ∅ k̃ yóm mii phón t̃o thít thaŋ lǎʔ praden kaanthòkthiǎŋ thaŋ wíchaakaan làw níi					

Ø Cj may have result towards direction and point discussion academic CLF this				
Theme		Rheme		
Pos'r		Pro. Poss	Ps'd	Matter
Med			Rng	Matter
3.14 thī sǎmkhan banyaakàat thaaj théknoolooyii ?an pliànp lææj pay that important climate way technology CLF change go				
Theme			Rheme	
		Actor		Pro. Material
		Medium		
3.15 Ø tham hây bòt sǎnthanaa wípâak wícaan yàaj khêm khôn pay praakòt nay phũn thī lôok cyber Ø cause conversation criticise intensely go appear in cyberspace				
Th		Rheme		
Initiat	Pro...	Actor	...cess:Mat	Location
Agent		Medium		Location
3.16 s̄n̄j khon [[thī khâw th̄j̄j internet]] sǎmâat tháj ?àan læ? hây khwaamh̄n ruâm duây dây which person [[that enter internet]] be able both read and give opinion together also can				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro.: Material 1+2	Range	Manner ...cess
	Medium		Range	Manner
3.17 læ? prakaan sùttháay kh̄ū caŋwà? weelaa thaaj prawàtisàat [[thī k̄æt h̄et rátthaprahãan khráj ní]] (historical moment) and point final be rhythm time historical [[that create reason coup time this]]				
Theme		Rheme		
	Value	Id	Token	

	Range		Medium			
3.18 [[thiî kàət hèet rátthaprahăan khráŋ ní]] [[that arise reason coup time this]]						
Theme		Rheme				
	Ex	Existent				
		Medium				
3.19 [[kaan thiî kàət rátthaprahăan 19 kanyaa nay waará? phrá?câwýùuhŭa soŋ khrɔŋ rât naan 60 pii <<...(3.20)>>]] [[fact that there occurred coup 19 September in time king reign long 60 year <<...>>]]					mii have	[[sùan [(3.21)...]]]] [[a part [...]]]]
Theme					Rheme	
Possessor					Poss.	Possessed
Medium						Range
3.20 <<sŋ maa phɔŋ kàp waará? khróp rɔp 30 pii 6 tuulaa (nay pii 2549 ní)>> <<which come be alike with time complete 30 years 6 October (in year 2006 this)>>						
Theme		Rheme				
Carrier		Pro. Attrib.	Attribute: circumstantial			
Medium			Range			
3.21 [[∅ (that)]]	tham hây cause	bŋaŋnâ bŋaŋlăŋ khɔŋ rátthaprahăan background of coup	tháŋ nay ŋææ phalaŋ thaŋ kaanmŋaŋ láe? wâatthakam[... (3.22)] both in viewpoint power political and discourse[...]	klaay pen become	pom wíphâak wícaan complex criticism	mâak khên more PerfAsp.]
Theme		Rheme				
Assigner	Pro...	Identified/ Tok.	Angle: viewpoint	...cess: Id	Idr/ Value	Manner: deg.

Agent		Medium	Angle		Range	Manner
3.22 [[thiī thùuk nam maa cháy Ø nay khrāj ní]] [[that PASS. take come use Ø in time this]]						
Theme	Rheme					
Goal	Pro. Material	Ac	Location			
		Ag	Location			

4.0 thammay Ø cəŋ sāmâat (khuən) phûut thǎŋ ráttaphrahään 19 kanyaa kàp Aristotle? Why Ø Cj. able (should) speak about coup 19 September and Aristotle?						
Theme		Rheme				
	Say		Verbal		Matter	
	Me				Matter	
4.1 nay prawàt pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ, chœŋ khǒŋ Aristotle pen chœŋ nákràtyaa [...] in history philosopher politics, name of Aristotle is name philosopher						
Theme (marked)			Rheme			
Location: TimE			Id./ tk.	id	Id./ VL.	
			Medium		Range	
4.2 [[thiī sòn ʔitthiphol nay sākhaā wíchaā tàaŋ tàaŋ]]. [[who send influence in branch subject different]]						
Th	Rh					
Actor	Ma	Goal	location			
Agent		med				
4.3 tháj ní phró? all this	khǎw he	dây khiǎn wrote	ŋaan sāmkan sāmkan nay khanǎæŋ wíchaā làak lǎay tháj chiiwáwítthayaa láé? wâatthasĩn tháj ŋaan aphipràtyaa sāmkan pay con thǎŋ nǎŋsœŋ [...]]khœŋ Politics. important work in field subject various including biology and rhetoric, including			

Med		Manner
4.8 waa Ø määy thǎη Aristotle thawnán that (they) mean Aristotle only		
THEME	RHEME	
TK	ID	VL
MEDIUM		RANGE

5.1 kaansǔksǎa khwaamkhít khǒη Aristotle study idea of Aristotle	nay thǎná? khwaamkhít thaη pràtyaa [[thiî mii khwaammǎay nay sàttawát thiî yiîsìp rǔǔ yiîsìp?èt]] in position idea philosophical [[that has meaning in century 20 or 21]]	mây chây not be	rǔânη pralàat. matter strange
Theme		Rheme	
Carrier	Angle: viewpoint	Attrib	Attribute
Medium			Range
5.2 Ø ca hǎn dâη càak ηaan khǒη nákràtyaa khon sǎmkhan hǎæη yúk chên Alasdair McIntyre láe? Martha Nussbaum. We can see from work of philosopher CLF important of age such as Alasdair McIntyre and Martha Nussbaum.			
Th	Rheme		
Sen	Mental	Angle: viewpoint	
Me		Angle	
5.3 Ø kǎ ?aasǎy khwaamkhít khǒη Aristotle pen rǎakthǎan nay kaannam sanǎə khwaamkhít khǒη ton. They Cj depend on idea of Aristotle be root in presentation idea of self.			
Th	Rheme		
Id/ Tk	Id	Idr/VI	Role: product resultative (see Patpong, 2006, p. 592)

Med		Range	
5.4 thánmòt níi nâa ca mãaykhwaam [[...]] all this likely will mean			
Theme		Rheme	
Token	Id	Value	
Medium			
5.5 [[wâa khwaamkhít khǒŋ Aristotle mii khun tòŋ kaan?aphípraay panhãa pràtyaa maa con thúk wanníi]] that idea of Aristotle have value to debate problem philosophy until all today]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Poss'r		Poss	Ps'd Cause: purpose
Medium		Rng	Cause

6.1 tææ kaantân praden ?aphípraay panhãa "aristotle kàp rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa" but establishment point debate problem "Aristotle and coup 19 September		ca mây klay will not be far	kæŋ cintanaakaan pay ræŋ? over imagination go or?		
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro: Attributive	Manner	Attrib.	Pro
Attribute			Manner	Range	
6.2 Ø ?àat klàaw dây (we) might say can					
Th	Rheme				
Say.	Pro: Verbal				
Med					
6.3 wâa Ø khon mây chây chên nán					

that (it) probably not be like that		
Th	Rh	
Carrier	Att.	Att
Med		Range
6.4 dooy chaphó? thâa Ø phícaaranaa kaan?aasăy khwaamkhít khǒᵛᵛ Aristotle especially if (we) consider dependence idea of Aristotle		
Theme	Rheme	
Senser	Mental	Phenomenon
Medium		Range

7.1 ᵛᵛᵛ ᵛᵛᵛ ní sadææᵛᵛ work CLF this show				
Theme	Rheme			
Sayer	Verbal			
Medium				
7.2wâa mææ Aristotle <u>ca mij</u> chiiwít <u>yùu</u> mĕa sǒᵛᵛ phan pii kᵛᵛᵛ that even if Aristotle will have life ImpAsp when 2,000 year before				
Theme	Rheme			
Poss'r	Poss	Poss'd	Pro	Location: time
Medium		Range		Location
7.3 láe? lôok khǒᵛᵛ Aristotle <u>ca mij</u> nakhᵛᵛᵛ rát Greek <u>pen</u> bᵛᵛᵛribòt thaᵛᵛᵛ prawàtsàat kĕ taam and world of Aristotle will have city state Greek be context historical as well				
Theme	Rheme			
	Possessor	Poss	Possessed	Location:time
	Medium		Rng	

7.4 tææ khwaam khít khǒŋ Aristotle kô yaŋ mii khunkhâa but idea of Aristotle Cj still have value				
Theme			Rheme	
	Possessor		Poss'v	Possessed
	Medium			Range
7.5 khâam phón khòŋp khèet tháj kaan weelaa lée? praden [[thií kiàw khǒŋ]] cross pass boundary both time and relevance			nay sǎaytaa khǒŋ nák wíchaakaan mâak lǎay in view of academic many	
Theme		Rheme		
Pro: Id: Circ		Idr/VI		Angle: viewpoint
		Range		Angle

10.1 khwaamhén khǒŋ khâaphacâw tòŋ ráttaphrahǎan 19 kanyaa pen [[thií sâap kan thûa pay]] opinion of me towards coup 19 September be that know together all over				
Theme			Rheme	
Carrier		Matter		Pro Att.
Attribute				
Medium		Matter		Range
10.2 kranán kô yaŋ mii baŋ khon nevertheless Cj still there are some people				
Theme			Rheme	
Pro. Exist.		Existent		
		Medium		
10.3 [[∅ hén ∅ (who) think				

Theme	Rheme		
Senser	Mental		
Medium			
10.4 wâa khâaphacâw sanàp sanŭn rátthaprahãan19 kanyaa dûay hêt [[...]] that I support coup 19 september with reason			
Theme	Rheme		
	Id/Token	Pro.Id.Circ.	Idr./Value Cause
	Medium		Range Cause
10.5 [[thîi klàaw that say			
Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Pro.: verbal		
Medium			
10.6 wâa rátthaprahãan níi pen sãntìwíthii that coup this be peaceful method			
Theme	Rheme		
	Carrier	Att	Attribute
	Medium		Range
10.7 phró? mây mii phûu day [[bàat cèp lóm taay]]]]]] because Neg there is person any hurt die			
Theme	Rheme		
	Pro. Existent	Existent	
		Medium	
10.8 Ø [[bàat cèp lóm taay]]			

Th	Rheme					
Actor	1+2+3+4 Pro: Material					
Med						
10.9 thī ciŋ nay thaŋ thrútsadii Ø khon̄ tãŋ kham thãam kan dâŋ really in theoretically Ø probably pose question together can						
Theme		Rheme				
	Angle: viewpoint	Say	Pro...Verbal	Verbiage	Manner	...cess
	Angle	Med			Manner	
10.10 wãa ráttaphrahãan bææp sãntiwíthii kàet khũn dâŋ rũũ Ø mãy Ø that coup style peaceful means occur can or Neg						
Theme		Rheme				
	Actor	Pro: Material				
	Medium					
10.11 (thamncõŋ diaw kãp kaantãŋ khamthãam wãa kaanpatiwát dooy sãntiwíthii pen pay dâŋ rũũ Ø mãy) (manner same with posing question that revolution by peaceful means possible or Ø not						
Theme		Rheme				
Manner: comparison			Carrier		Pro.: Attrib.	
Manner			Medium			
10.12 rũũ nay thaŋ klãp kan kaancháy wíthiikaan [[...(10.13-10.14)]] Ø ca thũũ or in way opposite use method [[...]] will believe						
Theme (marked)				Rheme		
	Angle	Phenomenon		Sens	Pro.Mental	

	Angle	Range			Med	
10.13 [[thiĩ Ø thũũ kan [[that believe together						
Theme		Rheme				
	S	Ment	Manner			
	M		Manner			
10.14 wãa Ø pen sãntiwíthii dooytronj yàaŋ kaankhwâm bàat thaŋj sèetthakìt]] that (it) be peaceful means directly as economic sanctions						
Theme		Rheme				
	Ca	At.	Attribute	Manner quality	Manner: comparison	
	Me		Range	Manner	Manner	
10.15 wãa Ø pen kaancháy khwaamrunræaŋ dâj rũũ mâj Ø that Ø be use violence can or not Ø						
Theme		Rheme				
	Id/Tk	Pr.Id	Idr/Val.	..cess		
	Med		Range			
10.16 rãaŋ thãŋmòt ní kiawyoŋj kàp khwaamkhâwcay story all this connect with understanding						
Theme		Rheme				
Carrier		ProAtt	Circumstance: Attribute			
Medium			Range			
10.17 wãa ?aray khũũ sãntiwíthii yàaŋ sãmkan that what be peaceful means kind important						

Theme		Rheme			
	Id/Tk	Id	Id/VI	Manner: quality	
	Med.		Range	Manner	
10.18 thaa Ø cháy kròp khwaamkhít kiaw kàp khwaamrunræəŋ yàəŋ kwâəŋ if Ø use concept about violence kind broad					
Theme		Rheme			
	Ac	Mat	Range	Matter	Manner: degree
	Me		Range		Manner
10.19 láə? Ø khamnəŋ thǎŋ phôn [[thií thán praakòt láə? sôn yùu]] and Ø consider about result [[that both appear and secret IMP ASP.]]					
Theme		Rheme			
	Be	Pro.Beh	Matter		
	Me		Matter		
10.20 Ø kô ?àat læəhěn khwaamrunræəŋ [[súk yùu nay sòk lèup khǒŋ wíthiikaan [[thií nam maa chá y dâ y mâak]]] Ø thus may see violence [[conceal be in corner of method [[that take come use can a lot]]]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Senser		Pro.Mental	Phenomenon		
Med			Range		
10.21 tàə thaa Ø chá y kròp khwaamkhít kiaw kàp khwaamrunræəŋ yàəŋ khæəp but if Ø use concept about violence kind narrow					
Theme		Rheme			
	Ac	Mat	Range	Matter	Manner: degree
	Me		Range	Matter	Manner
10.22 láə? Ø khamnəŋ thǎŋ chaphó? phôn [[thií kəət khên hây hěn chát]] and Ø consider about particular result that arise for see clear					

Theme		Rheme			
	Be	Pro.Beh	Matter		
	Me		Matter		
10.23 (chên mii khon [[thùuk khâa]] rǎu mây Ø) for example there is person [[suffer kill]] or neg					
Theme		Rheme			
		Pro. Exist.	Existent		
			Medium		
10.24 Ø kô ?aat ca tâj kham thăam kàp rátthaprahăan khraŋ ní dây càak ?iik lăay mummɔŋ Ø thus may will pose question with coup time this can from more many viewpoints					
Theme		Rheme			
Sayer		Pro. Verb.	Verbiage	Matter	Pro. Angle: viewpoint
Med			Range	Matter	Angle

11.1 tàæ thánmòt ní mây kiàw kàp Aristotle But all this Neg concern about Aristotle			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attr.	Circumstance: Attribute
	Medium		Range

12.1 [[thiî kiàw]] khǎu bòt wícaan khǒŋ ?aacaa Sǒmbàt tòc “the moral enigma of a popular coup” khǒŋ khâaphacâw [[that concern]] is critique of A. Sombat towards “the moral enigma of a popular coup” of me			
Theme		Rheme	
Id/Token	Id	Idr/Value	Matter
Medium		Range	Matter

13.1 praden sǎmkhan khǒŋ bòtkhwaam nán khưư [[khâaphacâw khít Point important of article that be I think				
Theme		Rheme		
Identifier/Value		Id.	Identified/Token	
Range			Medium	
13.2 wâa Ø that Ø	khâwcaý understand	hèetphôn khǒŋ phâu kòc rǎttaphrahǎan lǎe? dooychaphó? phâu [[thií sanàpsanŭn rǎttaphrahǎan khraj níi]] reason of people initiate coup and especially person that support coup time this		dây]] can
Theme		Rheme		
	Sen	Pro.Ment	Phenomenon	...cess
	Med		Range	
13.3 tàæ khâaphacâw kô yaj hěn dŭay mây dŭay but I thus Asplmp agree Neg can				
Theme		Rheme		
	Senser		Pro.: mental	
	Medium			
13.4 phró? phôn [[thií kèet khên khǒŋ wíthiikaan [[13.5-13.6]]]] yưưnyan because result that arise of method confirm				
Theme			Rheme	
	Sayer		Pro.verbal	
	Medium			
13.5 [[thií Ø lǎak cháý tồ sǎŋkhom thay dooy ruam [[that Ø choose use towards society Thai by together				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor	Pro:	Cause: behalf		

	Mat			
Medium		Cause		
13.6 s̄h̄j th̄aw k̄ap t̄ok ȳám]] which equal with emphasise]]				
Theme	Rheme			
Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI		
Med		Range		
13.7 w̄a w̄ithiikaan k̄ǣ panh̄ãa thaaj kaanm̄ǣaj d̄uay kaans̄onthanaa ph̄utcaa l̄é? cháy h̄èetph̄on nán that method solve problem political with conversation speech and use reason that			mii have	kh̄ô̄ camk̄at limitation
Theme			Rheme	
Possessor			Poss.	Poss'd
Medium				Range
13.8 l̄é? th̄īs̄ut Ø k̄ô t̄h̄j ȳomr̄áp kaan kh̄u and finally Ø thus must accept threat				
Theme		Rheme		
	S	Pro.mental	Phenomenon	
	M		Range	
13.9 w̄a Ø ca cháy (r̄h̄ kaan cháy) kh̄waamrunr̄ǣaj that Ø will use (or the use of) violence				
Theme		Rheme		
	Ac	Pro. Mat	Scope	
	Me		Range	
13.10 Ø maa k̄ǣ panh̄ãa kh̄ȭj b̄aanm̄ǣaj Ø come solve problem of country				
Th	Rheme			

Beh	Pro. Beh	Phenomenon			
Med		Range			
13.11 saphâap chên ní situation like this	tham hây cause	khâaphacâw (r̄h̄ khon [[thī khít khláay khláay kàp khâaphacâw]]) me (or people [[that think similar with me]])	tòk yùu fall be	nay pom prisanãa thaaj sīnlatham in complex enigma way moral	
Theme		Rheme			
Initiator	Pro...	Actor	...cess Mat.	Location: place (abstract)	
Agent		Medium		Location	
13.12 s̄h̄ t̄aaj càak ph̄ukhon f̄ay ?̄h̄n ?̄h̄n [[thī s̄m̄khan ?̄iik s̄w̄j ph̄uk]] which differ from people side other [[that be important other two groups]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier	Pro.:Attr . (circ)	Attribute			
Medium		Range			
13.13 kh̄h̄ ph̄uk r̄ææk chátceen that is group first be clear					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Pro.Attrib			
	Medium				
13.14 w̄a ton m̄y h̄n d̄uay kàp kaanrátthaprah̄an that person Neg agree with coup					
Theme		Rheme			
	Sens	Pro.:mental	Matter		

	Med		Matter
13.15 láe? Ø hěn and Ø think			
Theme		Rheme	
	Sen	Pro.Mental	
	Med		
13.16 wâa hêtphôn tàang tàang [[thiî fàay sanàpsanŭn yók maa pen khôo?âang lúan]] faŋ mây khên thánán that reason different that side support raise come be justification complete unreasonable all			
Theme			Rheme
	Carrier		Pro. Attributive
	Medium		Manner
13.17 kàp phûak lăŋ [[sêŋ kô chátceen and group next [[which also be clear			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier		Pro.Attributive
	Medium		
13.18 wâa ton hëndûay kàp kaanrátthaprahăan that they agree with coup			
Theme		Rheme	
	Senser	P.Ment	Matter
	Med		Matter
13.19 láe? Ø ráp hêtphôn khôoŋ fàay kôo rátthaprahăan dâay yàang mây kaŋkhăa]] and Ø accept reason of side start coup can like Neg doubt]]			
Theme		Rheme	

	Se	Ment	Phenomenon		Pro	Manner
	Me		Range			Manner
13.20 [[thiī Ø wāa taaŋ]] kō [[that Ø say differ]] Cj			Ø [[phró? sāmrap phūkhon tháj sǒŋ klùm níi phūk khǎw lúan mây mii khwaam kaŋkhǎa thaŋ siīnlatham]] (be) [[because for people both two group this group they complete Neg have doubt way moral]]			
Theme			Rheme			
Id/ Tk			Id	Idr/ Value		
Medium				Range		
13.21 [[phró? [[because			sāmrap phūkhon tháj sǒŋ klùm níi for people both two group this	phūk khǎw lúan group they complete	mây mii Neg have	khwaam kaŋkhǎa thaŋ siīnlatham]] doubt way moral]]
Theme						
			Cause: behalf	Possessor		Pro.Poss Possessed
			Cause: behalf	Medium		Range
13.22 tææ khâaphacâw mii Ø but I have Ø						
Theme			Rheme			
	Poss'r	Pos	Possessed			
	Medium		Range			
14.1 khâaphacâw hěn I think						

Theme		Rheme			
Senser		Pro:mental			
Medium		Pro			
14.2 wâa rátthaprahăan 9/19 mii khunûupakaan tồ wíchaa rátthasàat that coup 9/19 have support of good deeds towards political science					
Theme		Rheme			
	Possessor	Poss	Possessed	Cause:behalf	
	Medium		Range	Cause	
14.3 phrǎ? Ø dây tham hây sǎnkhom thay læ? nák rátthasàat tǎn phachəən kàp pritsanăa thaən sǐnlatham yàən sǎnna because Ø PerfAsp caused Thai society and political scientists must confront with puzzle way moral openly					
Theme		Rheme			
	Att	Pro...	Carrier	...cess: Attr. Circ	Manner
	Ag		Medium	Range	Manner
14.4 mǎa kəət rátthaprahăan khǎn nay ?adiit when there occur coup in past					
Theme		Rheme			
	Pro.Exist	Existent	Pro	Location(time)	
		Medium		Loc	
14.5 thaən læk chəən sǐnlatham mây chây rǎn yâk nák way choose area moral Neg be issue difficult int.					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro.Attr	Attribute	Manner: degree	
Medium			Range	Manner	

14.6 phró? Ø because Ø	mák pen likely be	kaanlœák choice	rávàaŋ fàay thahään [[thiî yææŋ ʔamnâat kan ʔeeŋ]] between side army [that seize power itself]	rǝ rávàaŋ rátthabaan [[thiî ráy khwaamchôptham]] kàp kaanrátthaprahään dooy klùm khon [[thiî duumœän wâa ca “dii kwàa” khon thiî lóm ʔamnâat pay]] or between government that lack legitimacy with coup by group person [[that appear that will (be) “better than” person who lose power]]	
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/ Tk	Pro. Id	Idr/ VI	Manner: Comp	Manner: Comparison
	Med		Range	Manner	Manner
14.7 nay khráŋ nán nán panhăa cœŋ pen rœâŋ khǝŋ siŋ [[thiî Aristotle riák wâa “techne”]] in time that problem consequently be issue of thing [[that Aristotle call “techne”]]					
Theme			Rheme		
Loc:Time		Id/Tk		Id	Idr./Value
Location		Medium			Range
14.8 khœ panhăa [[wâa Ø ca hăa hǝn thaŋ that is problem [[that Ø will search for way					
Theme		Rheme			
	Actor			Pro.Mat.	Range
	Medium				Range
14.9 Ø tǝsûu kàp fàay [[thiî yút ʔamnâat yàaŋray (mây wâa ca nay kǝranii 14 tulaakhom 2516 rǝ phrútsaphaakhom 2535)]]] Ø fight with side [[that seize power how (whether in case 14 October 1973 or May 1992)]]]					
Th	Rheme				
Actor	Mat	Accompaniment			
Med		Accompaniment			
14.10 Ø phit càak nay khráŋ ní					

Ø differ from in time this				
Th	Rheme			
Carrier	Pro.Att	Loc.:Time		
Medium		Loc		
14. 11 phrố? rátthabaan [[thiĩ thùuk lóm pay]] because government [[that suffer fall go]]	pen be	rátthabaan [[sêṅ mii thiĩmaa yàṅ chốptham phaaytây rátthathammanuun [[thiĩ thừ kan wâa dii thiĩsút chabàp nừ]]]] government [[which have origin kind legitimate under constitution [[that believe that best CLF/document one]]		
Theme	Rheme			
Id/Token	Pro:Id	Idr/Value		
Medium		Range		
14.12 [[thiĩ thùuk lóm pay]]				
Th	Rheme			
Goal	Pro. Material			
Me				
14.13 tàæ daṅ thiĩ Ø dâṅ sadæṅṅ khwaamhẻn wáy but as Ø perf.asp. express opinion				
Theme	Rheme			
	Sa	Pro. verbal	Verbiage	...cess
	M		Range	
14.14 hẻtphỏn khốṅ fàay [[thiĩ kỏ rátthaprahản]] kỏ pen sṅṅ [[thiĩ khâwcay dâṅ]] reason of side that initiate coup thus be thing [[that understand can]]				
Theme				Rheme
Carrier		Att	Attribute	

Medium				Range
14.15 mǎæ Ø even if Ø		ca ráp will accept coup	kaanrátthaprahǎan mây dǎy Neg can	kô taam no matter
Theme		Rheme		
	Sen	Pro.Ment	Phenomenon	...cess
	Me		Range	
14.16 phǎn kô result thus be		khǎu pritsanǎa enigma	thaaŋ siǎnlatham way	moral
Theme		Rheme		
Idr/ Value		Id	Identified/ Token	
Range			Medium	
14.17 thiǐ tham hǎy sǎŋkhom thay tǎŋ khónhǎa ton?eeŋ that cause Thai society must search for self				
Theme		Rheme		
Initiator	Pro..	Actor	...cess Mat	Range
Agent		Medium		Range
14 18 lǎe? Ø and Ø (moral enigma makes Thai society)	khǎn khít think deeply	thǎŋ ?anaakhót thaaŋ sǎŋkhom kaanmǎaŋ about future way society politics	phróom phróom kan pay kàp kaan tâŋ kham thǎam rǎaŋ khwaamthùuk khwaamphít nay parimonthon thaaŋ kaanmǎaŋ together go with posing question about right wrong in surroundings way politics	
Theme		Rheme		
Sens	Pro.Mental	Matter	Accompaniment: Additive	
Med		Matter	Accompaniment	

15.1 praden sǎmkhan nay bòtwícaan khǒŋ ʔaacaan Sǒmbàt Cantharawoŋ khǒŋ [[praden ráæk ... Point important in critique of A. S. C be point first			
Theme		Rheme	
Identified/Token	Angle	Id	Identifier/Value
Medium			Range
15.2 ʔaacaan Sǒmbàt chí Prof. Sombat point (out)			
Theme		Rheme	
Sayer		Pro. Verbal	
Medium			
15.3 wâa rátthaprahǎan khráŋ ní that coup time this		mây châ Neg be	khwaamkhàtyǎæŋ rǔŋ kaanpàthá? kan rawàŋ phadètkaan kàp prachaathíppatay]] conflict or encounter between dictatorship and democracy]]
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attr.	Attribute
	Medium		Range
15.4 thiŋ ciŋ khâaphacâw hǎn really I think			
Theme		Rheme	
	Senser	Pro. Mental	
	Medium		
15.5 wâa rátthaprahǎan thǎæp thúk khráŋ kô that coup		mây châ Neg be	khwaamkhàtyǎæŋ rawàŋ fâay phadètkaan kàp prachaathíppatay samǎə pay conflict between side dictatorship and

almost all times Cj				democracy always go	
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Attr		Attribute	
Medium				Range	
15.6 sùan mâak Ø usually Ø		pen be	khwaam-khàtyáæŋ conflict	rawàan phadètkaan kàp phadètkaan between dictatorship and dictatorship	rawàan phûu kum ?amnâat rǎu chonchánnam tòosûu kan ?eeng between people seize power or class leader fight together themselves
Theme		Rheme			
Carr		Attr.	Attribute	Manner: comparison	Manner: comparison
Med			Range	Manner	Manner
15.7 tææ rátthaprahãan 19 kanyaa but coup 19 september		pen be	panhãa khwaamkhàtyáæŋ problem conflict	rawàan fàay nǎŋ [[sǎŋ mii thiî maa hææŋ ?amnâat phàn kaan dâyrap læâktâŋ maa dooy chǎp]] kàp ?iik fàay nǎŋ [[sǎŋ khâw pay yút ?amnâat]] between side one [[that have that come place power pass receive elect come by preference]] with another side [[that enter go seize power]]	
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/ Token	Id	Idr/Value	Manner: comparison	

	Medium		Range	Manner	
15.8 [[sûŋ mii thiĩmaa hææŋ ʔamnâat phaan kaandâyráp læâktâŋ maa dooy chõp]] [[that have origin of power through receipt vote come by preference]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Poss'r	Poss	Poss'd	Manner: means	..cess	Manner: quality
Medium		Range	Manner		Manner
15.9 [[sûŋ khâw pay yút ʔamnâat]] [[that enter go seize power]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Actor	Pro. Mat		Goal		
Agent			Medium		
31.1 mææ Ø ca thũu even if Ø will believe					
Theme		Rheme			
	Se	Pro. Mental			
	Me				
31.2 wâa rátthasàat pen sàat chæŋ pàtìbàt that political science be science practical					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Att	Attribute		
	Medium		Range		
31.3 tàæ nay thiĩ sùt lææw Ø yaŋ tōŋ tâŋ khamthãam but finally Ø still must pose question					

Theme			Rheme			
	Location	Sa	Pro. Verbal		Verbiage	
	Location	Me			Range	
31.4 wâa wíchaa ráttasàat pen sàat chəəŋ pàtìbàt sǎmràp khray? that discipline political science be science practical for who						
Theme			Rheme			
	Carrier		Att	Attribute	Cause: behalf	
	Medium			Range	Cause	
31.5 Khamtɔɔp khɔɔŋ khâaphacâw khɛɛ [[...]] answer of I be [[...]]						
Theme			Rheme			
Id/value			Id	Id/Token		
Medium				Range		
31.6 [[rátthasàat pen sàat chəəŋ pàtìbàt sǎmràp náknítibanyàt rɛɛ khon [[thií khâw pay lên kaanmɛaŋ]]] [[political science be science practical for legislator or person [[that enter go play politics]]]]						
Theme		Rheme				
Carrier		Att	Attribute		Cause: behalf	
Medium			Range		Cause	
31.7 tàæ sǎmràp nákrátthasàat ʔeeŋ nán Ø khuan ca pen sàat chəəŋpàtìbàt yàaŋ diaw rɛɛ mây Ø but for political scientists themselves that Ø should CM be science practical only or Neg Ø						
Theme (+Absolute Theme - Patpong p. 224-5)				Rheme		
	Cause: behalf			C a	Pro...Attrib	
	Cause			M e	Attribute	
					Manner	
					...cess	
					Range	
					Manner	

31.8 sǎmràp nákrátthasàat (lǎe? dooychaphó? nákràtyaa kaanmæaŋ) wíchaa rátthasàat khuan ca pen yàaŋray for political scientists (and especially political philosopher) discipline political science should CM be how				
Theme		Rheme		
Cause: behalf		Carrier	Pro. Attrib	Attrib
Cause		Medium		Range
31.9 rǎu Ø khuan ca pen		[[yàaŋ thiî aristotle khít yàaŋ thiî Plato tham yàaŋ thiî Socrates damnæen chiiwít yùu nay ?adiit]]		
Theme		Rheme		
	Carr	Pro. Attrib	Attribute	
	Med			
31.10 khæu Ø pen sàat chæaŋ thrútsadii that is Ø be science theoretical		nay khwaammǎay khǒŋ kaantâŋ khamthǎam in meaning of raising question		thǎŋ sîŋ [[thiî sũuŋ sùt ciŋ ciŋ]] about thing [[that highest really]]
Theme		Rheme		
	Carr	Att	Attribute	Location: abstract: place Matter
	Med		Range	Location
31.11 sũŋ ?àat yùu kæn læy càak parimonthon khǒŋ pàtcuban which may be (loc) beyond from boundary of present				
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier		Pro.Attrib	Attribute: circums.	
Medium			Range	
31.12 tàæ khamthǎam làw nán pen khamthǎam [[sũŋ pen ciŋ yùu samǎə maa]] but question group that be question [[which be real ImpAsp always come]]				
Theme		Rheme		
	Carrier	Att	Attribute	

	Medium		Range		
31.13 klàaw khṛṛ manút sāmâat tâṅ khamthām dâṅ thúk samăy that is human able raise question can every age					
Theme		Rheme			
	Sayer	Pro. Verbal	Verbiage	Pro	Extent: frequency
	Med		Range		Extent
31.14 wâa kaan pòkkhrṛṅ rṛṛ kòtmăay nán yútthitham rṛṛ mâṅ that governing or law that be just or Neg					
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier		Pro. Attributive		
	Medium				
31.15 Ø chṛṇptham rṛṛ mâṅ Ø be legitimate or not					
Theme	Rheme				
Carrier	Pro. Attributive				
Med					
31.16 nīṅ khṛṛ nâathīṅ khṛṅ nâkrâtyaa (lâe? nâkrâttasâat this be duty of philosopher (and political scientist			nay khwaamkhít khṛṅ prâtyaa meethii làw nīṅ) in opinion of philosopher group this)		mí chây rṛṛ not be Q
Theme	Rheme				
Idr/VI	Pro.. Id	Id/Token		Angle	Process
Range		Medium		Angle	

32.1 [[thiî nâasöncay yîñ]] khæx [[strauss sarúp [[what be interesting more]] be [[Strauss conclude					
Theme (Th Eq)			Rheme		
Id/Tk		Id	Idr/VI		
Medium			Range		
32.2 wâa phró? chên níi ñaan khǒñ Plato cǎñ pen bòt sǒnthanaa (dialogue) that because this work of Plato thus be dialogue					
Theme			Rheme		
	Cause	Carrier		Att	Attribute
	Cause	Medium			Range
32.3 láe? ñaan khǒñ Aristotle pen khwaam rian (treatise)]] and work of Aristotle be treatise					
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier	Att	Attribute		
	Medium		Range		
32.4 Ø mãay khwaam [...]] Ø mean					
Th	Rheme				
Id/Tk	Pro. Id	Idr/VI			
Med		Range			
32.5 wâa thâa Ø chûa nay khatì? láe? nææw thaañ chiiwít yàañ Socrates that if Ø believe in principle and way of life as Socrates					
Theme		Rheme			
	Se	Ment	Phenomenon	Manner: comp	
	Me		Range	Manner	

32.6 pràtyaa kaanm̄aṅ Philosophy politics	damroṅ yùu exist be	bon thǎan khǒṅ kaantâṅ khamthǎam [[thiī phǔnthǎan lǎe? mii khwaammǎy tòṅ sǎṅkhom kaanm̄aṅ]] on base of raising question [[that basic and have meaning towards society politics]]	
Theme	Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attrib	Circumstance: Attribute	
Medium		Range	
32.8 sṅ [[thiī khâaphacâw tham]] kô pen kaantâṅ khamthǎam [[thiī phǔnthǎan]] [...] thing [[that I do]] thus be raising question [[that basic]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Id/Value		Id	Id/Token
Medium		Range	
32.9 [[wâa rátthaprahǎan khráṅ níi chṓpṭham rǔm̄ mây]] that coup time this be legitimate or Neg			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attributive	
	Medium		
32.10 hàak Ø hǎn if Ø think			
Theme		Rheme	
	Se	Pro. Mental	
	Me		
32.11 wâa Ø mây chṓp that Ø Neg be legitimate			
Theme		Rheme	

	Ca	Pro. Attributive	
	Me		
32.12 Ø kô tŋ klâa bòk Ø Cj must dare say			
Theme		Rheme	
Sayer		Pro. Verbal	
Med			
32.12 wâa Ø mây thùuk tŋ that Ø Neg be correct			
Theme		Rheme	
	Ca	Pro. Attributive	
	Me		
32.13 nî tàaŋ hàak kh̄ū nâathī kh̄ōŋ pràtyaa kaanm̄aŋ lă? nâathī kh̄ōŋ rátthasàat nay khwaammăay [...] this separately be role of philosopher politics and role of political science in meaning [...]			
Theme		Rheme	
Id./Tk.	Id	Idr/Val	
Medium		Range	
32.14 [[thī thăŋ aristotle lă? Socrates sathăapanaa wáy nay ?adiit]] [[that both Aristotle and Socrates establish hold in past]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Goal??	Actor	Pro. Material	Location: time
Medium?	Agent		Location
32.15 hàak Ø klàaw chên ní if Ø say like this			
Theme		Rheme	

	Sa	Ver b	Verbiage			
	Me		Range			
32.16 wíthiikaan ráttasàat khǒṅ Aristotle kô method pol. Sci. of Aristotle Cj			mây dâý tææktàṅ NegPerf.Asp. differ	càak wíthiikaan ráttasàat khǒṅ Plato from method pol.sci. of Plato	nay cùt rêem tôn in point original	thâwday nák much greatly
Theme			Rheme			
Carrier			Pro. Attrib	Attribute: circumstantial	Location??	Manner
Medium				Range	Location	Manner
32.17 máæ Ø ca chîik ṛṛk càak kan even though (they) CM tear out from each other						
Theme		Rheme				
	Goal	Pro. Material	Manner: quality			
	Med		Manner.			
32.18 tææ kô mii baṅ yàṅ rûam kan but Cj there are some things together						
Theme		Rheme				
	Pro.Exis	Existent				
		Medium				
32.19 khâaphacâw yàak ca nén láksanà? rûam mâý chây suàn tææk tàṅ rawàṅ pràtyaa meethii thán sǒṅ ní I want CM stress feature together Neg be part different between philosopher both two this						

Theme		Rheme					
Sayer		Pro.Verbal	Verbiage				
Medium			Range				
32.20 láe? Ø		tham nâathii	nay thääná?	nákrátthasàat			
and (I want to) do		duty	in	position political scientist			
Theme		Rheme					
	Actor	Mat	Range	Role			
	Medium		Range	Role			
32.21 dūay kaanlæāk		nay hũakhōo aristotle kàp		Ø	maa nam sanəə	tōo nák	nay ?ookàat níi
sanəə ŋaan		rátthaprahään 19 kanyaa		(I)?	come take	rátthasàat thay	in occasion
with choice present		in topic Aristotle and coup 19			present	to political	this
work		September				scientist Thai	
Theme				Rheme			
Manner: means		Matter		Say	Pro. :Verbal	Cause: behalf	Location:time
Manner		Matter		Me		Cause	Location

37.1 kaanphikhró? thǎŋ panhǎa thaŋkaanmǎaŋ nay sǎŋkhom		?aat pen	wíthii nǎŋ	nay hǎn thaŋ damnǎen
thay yàaŋ rátthaprahään 19 kanyaa <<...>>		may be	method one	chiiwít
analysis about problem political in society				in way of life
Thai as coup 19 September <<...>>				
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier		Pro. Att	Attribute	Location
Medium			Range	Location
37.2 <<dooy Ø hǎy khwaamsǎmkhan kàp khwaammâylontua thaŋ siŋlatham>>				

<<by Ø give importance with imbalance morally>>							
Theme		Rheme					
	Ac	Mat	Goal	Recipient			
	Ag		Medium	Beneficiary			
37.3 thī sòŋ phǎn that send result							
Theme		Rheme					
Actor		Mat	Goal				
Agent			Medium				
37.4 Ø tɕan phūkhon Ø warn people		hây tranàk CAUS realize See iwasaki&Ingkaphirom p. 334-335 'inducive' hây		nay raakhaa khǒŋ kaantàtsĩncay thaaŋkaanmɕaŋ in price of decision political		yàaŋbètsètdètkhàat absolutely pràatsacàak khwaammâyloŋtua thaaŋ sǐilatham thúk chanít without behaviour moral all kinds	
Th	Rheme						
Sayer	Pro.. Verb	Receiver	Pro...Mental	Matter	Manner	Accompaniment	
Med		Benefic		Matter	Manner	Accompaniment	

Pitch Pongsawat

Pitch Pongsawat (2550/2007b). "การรัฐประหาร 19 กันยายน 2549 คือการทำให้พลเมืองกลายเป็นไพร่" [The Coup of 19 September 2549 turned citizens into subjects]. ฟ้าเดียวกัน [*Faa Diaw Kan - Same Sky*], *Special Edition*, 58-88.

1.1 “phrây (n.): Ø chaaw m̄aṅ, phonlam̄aṅs̄āaman; khon leew” phrai = civilian, commoner, bad/ low person		
Theme	Rheme	
Id. /Tk	Pro Rel Id.	Idr./VI
Medium		Range
1.2 “phrâyfāa (n.): Ø r̄aatsadw̄on, kh̄aa ph̄æændin” Citizens (n.): Ø citizen, inhabitant		
Theme	Rheme	
Id. /Token	Pro Rel Id.	Idr./Value
Medium		Range
1.3 “phonlam̄aṅ (n.): Ø prachaachon, r̄aatsadw̄on, chaaw prathêet” Citizen (n) : Ø residents, citizens, country person		
Theme	Rheme	
Id./Token	Pro Rel Id.	Idr/Value
Medium		Range

1.4 “wátthanatham kaanmuaṅ bææp phrâyfáa: Ø kɔɔranii [[.....]] Political culture style citizen: (be) case			
Theme		Rheme	
Id./Token		Pro Rel Id.	Idr./Value
Medium			Range
1.5 [[thíi khon nay sǎṅkhom mii khwaamnóomṅiaṅ thaṅ kaanmuaṅ nay láksana [...]] [[that person in society have tendency way politics in characteristic [...]]			
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier: Poss	Pro Rel poss	Attribute: Possessed Role: Guise
	Medium		Range Role
1.6 [[thíi yɔɔmráp ṅamnâat rát [[that accept power state			
Them e	Rheme		
Sens	Pr.Ment	Phenom.	
Med.		Range	
1.7 Ø chûa faṅ pàttibàt taam kòtmăay]]]] Ø believe listen behave follow law]]]]			
Th	Rheme		
Beh.	Pro. Behavioural	Phenomenon	
Med		Range	
1.8 sṅ pen phǎn khɔɔṅ kaantàtsĩncay thaṅ kaanmuaṅ yàṅ diaw that be result of decision way politics only			
Th	Rheme		

Id/Tk	Pro Id	Idr./ Value		Manner: Quality	
Med		Range		Manner	
1.9 Ø mii khwaamrúu khwaamkhâwcaj kiawkàp rabòp kaanm̄aŋ dooy thûa thûa pay Ø have knowledge understanding about system politics by normally					
Th	Rheme				
Car Pos	Pro Poss	Attribute: Possessed	Matter		Manner
Med		Range	Matter		Manner
1.10 tææ Ø m̄y s̄ncay but Ø not be interested					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Pro. Attrib.			
	Medium				
1.11 thī ca khâw pay mii s̄anr̄uam nay kaant̄ats̄in panh̄aa thaŋ kaanm̄aŋ that will enter go have part in decision problem way politics					
Th	Rheme				
ØPoss 'r	Pro. Poss.		Poss'd	Cause: purpose	
Med		Range	Cause		
1.12 læ? Ø m̄y mii khwaamr̄uus̄k and Ø not have feeling					
Th.	Rheme				
	Poss.	Pro Poss	Possessed		
	Med		Range		
1.13 w̄a ton?eŋ ȳu nay th̄aaná? that self be (loc.) in position					

Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Pro. Ascript Cum	Attribute Circumstance (see Patpong p. 508)		
	Medium		Range		
1.14 [[thī ca mii khwaammăay mii ʔitthiphon tɔ̄ kaanmɕaŋ [[that will have meaning have influence towards politics					
Theme		Rheme			
∅ Possessor	Pro Rel Poss	Poss'd	... Pro.	Poss'd	Matter
Medium		Range		Range	Matter
1.15 dooy ∅ mii thátsanakhati? by ∅ have attitude					
Theme		Rheme			
	Pos s	Pro Poss	Possessed		
	Me		Range		
1.16 wâa ton kàp kaanmɕaŋ yùu khonlalôok that self with politics be at different world					
Theme		Rheme			
	Carrier	Pro Ascr Circ.	Attribute		
	Medium		Range		
1.17 ∅ mây kiawkhôn̄ kan ∅ not concerned together					
Them		Rheme			

e			
Carrier	Pro. Ascriptive: Circum.	Attribute	
Med		Range	
1.18 læ? Ø mây phayaayaam pay yûŋ kiaw kàp kaanmuaŋ and Ø not try go bother about politics			
Theme		Rheme	
	Act	Pro. Material	Matter
	Me		Matter
1.19 Ø mii tææ nâathiî Ø have just duty			
Theme		Rheme	
Poss.	Pro. Poss	Possessed	
Med		Range	
1.20 khæ Ø khooŋ khâwróp kòtmăay læ? khooŋ banŋháp tàŋ tàŋ khooŋ ráttabaan thâwnán that is Ø wait respect law and regulation different of government only			
Theme		Rheme	
	Beh	Pro. Behav.	Phenomenon
	Med		Range
1.21 nay kooŋranii chên ní Ø rîak in case like this Ø call			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
Contingency		Say	Pro. Verbal
Location		Med	
1.22 wâa raw mii wátthanatham thaŋ kaanmuaŋ bææp phrâyfáa” that we have culture way politics style phraifaa			
Theme		Rheme	

	Pos s	Pro Poss	Possessed
	Me		Range

8.0 “kaan thamhây phonlamuəŋ klaay pen phrây” nay thǎaná? hǔacay khǒŋ kaan thamrátthaprahǎan 19 kanyaa				
8.1 kaantham rátthaprahǎan mǎa 19 kanyaa [[thiî phaan maa]] nán Staging coup when 19 september [[that pass come]] that	∅ ∅	mây sääamâat ?athíbaay not able explain	ŋǎay ŋǎay easy	dúay krǒp khwaamkhâwcaay rǎaŋ phadètkaan/ prachaathípatay læ? saphaawá? thammachâat/ sǎnyaa prachaakhom with framework understanding issue dictatorship/ democracy and state natural/ social contract
Theme (marked) (+Th.part)		Rheme		
Verbiage	Say	Pro. Verbal	Manner:qual	Role: Guise
Range	Me		Manner	Role

9.1 klàaw khuu mǎa kǎət kaan rátthaprahǎan khǎn nán that is when occur coup up particle				
Theme		Rheme		
		Pro. Actor	... cess	
		Mat		
		Medium		
9.2 [[kaan thiî mây mii khon ?ǒk maa tân kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán]] thùuk ∅ hây khwaammǎay [...] the fact that not have person out come oppose staging coup Th.Part. Pass. ∅ give meaning				
Theme (marked)			Rheme	
Beneficiary?Recipient?			Pro. Ac	Pro Goal
			Mat. Pass.	
Beneficiary			Ag	Medium

9.3 [[wâa Ø pen kaan “sadææŋ kaanyɔɔmráp” læ? “hëndûay”]] [[that Ø be “expression acceptance” and “agreement”]]			
Theme		Rheme	
	Ca	Pr. Att	Attribute
	Me		Range
9.4 danthiî bandaa khaná? ráttaphrahãan læ? phûu [[thiî sanàpsanũn ráttaphrahãan]] dâý klàaw ʔaw wáy as all committee coup and people [[that support coup]] Asp.Perf. speak take Asp. Perf.			
Theme			Rheme
	Sayer		Pro. Verbal
	Medium		

10.1 míʔnãmsám Moreover	kaanthamrátthaphrahãan læ? kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ dūay khaná? rátthaphrahãan phaay tây chûɕ “khanáʔpàtirûup kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ nay rábɔɔp prachaathípatay ʔan mii phrámahãakasàt soŋ pen pramúk” nán staging coup and governing with committee coup under name “committee reform governing in system democratic it have king roy. be head of state” that	mææ wâa even though	dâan nèŋ side one	Ø (CDR)	ca dâý yóklâək CM past asp. annul	rátthathammanuun chabàp 2540 [[(thiî riäk kan wâa rátthathammanuun chabàp prachaachon)]] constitution CLF 1997 [[((that call together that constitution CLF people)]]
Theme (marked) Absolute Theme?					Rheme	
	Actor			(Act.)	Pro. Material	Goal
	Agent			(Ag)		Medium
10.2 Ø hãam kaanchumnum						

∅ forbid gathering				
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Pr... Mat	Goal		
Agent		Medium		
10.3 lǎe? mii kaansakàtkân “khlǎn tây nám” tàan caŋwàt and there is cutting off “undercurrent” different province				
Theme		Rheme		
	Exist.	Existent	Location: Place	
		Medium	Location	
10.4 tàæ ʔiik dân nǎŋ ∅ kǎ yɔɔm hây mii kaanprathúan khǎɔŋ khon klùm léklék nay mǎan lǎe? nay mahǎawítthayaalay but another side one ∅ Cj accept let there be protest of people group small in town and in university				
Theme		Rheme		
		Cr	Pro. Existential	Existent
		Ag		Medium
10.5 trǎapthâwthiī khon làw nán mây dây kiàw khǎŋ thaan tron kàp “khlǎn tây nám” as long as people group that not perf asp. concerned way straight with “undercurrent”				
Theme		Rheme		
	Carrier	Pro.Circum:Attrib.	Manner	Attribute: Circumstantial
	Medium		Manner	Range
10.6 sǎŋ which	nâa ca mǎaythǎŋ likely will mean	bandaa phá k kaaanmǎan lǎe? hǎa khaanǎen khǎɔŋ phá k kaaanmǎan [nay tàan caŋwàt] all party politics and election canvasser of party political [in different province]		ruam pay thǎŋ ʔonkɔɔn pòkkhrɔɔŋ thǎɔŋthiin [nay radàp tambon] together go reach organisation govern local [in level subdistrict]

Th.	Rheme		
Id/Tk	Pro.Id	Idr./Vl.	Accompaniment
Med		Range	Accompaniment

11.1 nõɔknǎa càak kaanʔaaŋʔiŋ [[...11.2-11.7...]]raw ca klâa yɛɛnyan dâŋ yàaŋray (11.8)					
In addition to claim we will dare assure can how					
Theme					
Accompaniment: additive			Say	Pro. Verbal	
Accompaniment			Me		
11.2 [[wâa kaankratham rátthaprahãan nán mâŋ dâŋ lewráay]]					
[[that staging coup that not Perf.Asp be bad					
Theme			Rheme		
Carrier			Pro.:Attributive		
Medium					
11.3 phrɔʔ sɛeriiphâap nay kaansadææŋ khwaamkhihên nán			yaŋ mii hây Ø hên yù		càak thîi [[...11.4-5]] nay khanàʔ
because freedom in expression opinion that			still there is benefit Ø see		diaw kàp kaanthîi [[...11.6-7]]
			ImpAsp		
Theme (marked)			Rheme		
Existent			Pro.Existential	Cli	...cess Manner: means
Medium				Be	Manner
11.4 thîi [[mii kaanprathúŋ yàŋ sǎntiʔ klùm léklék					
(fact) that [[there are protest kind peace group small					
Theme			Rheme		
Pro.Exist.			Existent	Manner:quality	
			Medium	Manner	
11.5 [[thîi khàt kàp kòtʔayakaansɔk léʔ prakàat khanáʔ rátthaprahãan]]]]					
[[that conflict with martial law and announcement committee coup]]]]					

Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Mat.	Manner: comparison	
Medium		Manner	
11.6 kaanthiï [[khaná? rátthaprahään sòŋ kamləŋ thahään pay pracamkaan taam sǎmnákŋaan khǎwŋ sə̀muanchon fact that [[committee coup send force military go stationed along office of mass media			
Theme		Rheme	
Initiator	Pro Mat	Actor	...cess Material
Agent		Medium	Location
11.7 láe? mii kaankhǎw khwaamrúammə̀n phään pàakkrabòk pə̀n chên níi]] and there is asking cooperation by gunpoint like this]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Pro.:Existential	Existent	Manner:Means	
	Medium	Manner	
11.8 wǎa kaanrátthaprahään nán pen kaansǎaŋ sǎnyaaprachaakhom phään kaanyinywəm phrǎwəmcaŋ khǎwŋ prachaachon? that coup that be building social contract through consent unite of people?			
Theme		Rheme	
	Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI
	Medium		Range
		Manner: means	
		Manner	
12.1 wíthii kaansanàpsanŋn kaantham rátthaprahään [[thiï phään maa]] yaŋ ǎwək maa càak thátsaná? nay sǎŋkhom method support staging coup [[that passed]] Asp.Imp. out come from viewpoint in society			
Theme		Rheme	
Actor		Pro. Material	Angle
Medium			Location
12.2 thiï wǎa kaan rátthaprahään nán pen sŋŋ campen that say coup Th.Part. be thing necessary			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	

	Carrier	Pro Att	Attribute	
	Medium		Range	
12.3 phró? hàak Ø mây tham rátthaprahãan láæw because if Ø not do coup Perf.Asp.				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Mat.	Goal	...cess
	Ag		Medium	
12.4 khwaamrunrææŋ [[thiî ca nam pay sùu kaannɔɔŋlɛ̀at]] nán ca tɔŋ kèət khêŋ violence [[that will lead go towards bloodshed]] Th.part. will must occur up				
Theme (marked)			Rheme	
Actor			Pro. Material	
Medium			Range	
12.5 daŋnán khwaam sǎmrèt khɔ́ŋ kaantham rátthaprahãan nán cɛŋ yùu thiî [[kaanmâymiî khwaamrunrææŋ nɔɔŋ lɛ̀at kèət khêŋ]] thus success of doing coup Th.Part. thus be at [[not having violence bloodshed occur]]				
Theme (marked)			Rheme	
	Carrier		Pro. Ascrip Circ.	Attribute: circumstantial
	Medium			Range
12.6 tháj thiî kaan rátthaprahãan kô pen khwaam runrææŋ thaŋŋ kaanmɛaŋ yàŋ nɛ̀ŋ chây rǔu mây? although coup thus be violence way politics kind one true or not?				
Theme		Rheme		
	Carrier		Attr	Attribute
	Medium			Range

13.1 kaan?athíbaay thǎŋ “khwaamsǎmrèt khǒŋ kaantham rátthaprahǎan” phàan kaanpǒŋkan mây hây kàət kaannǒŋlǎat nán Explanation about “success of staging coup” pass protection not allow occur bloodshed that		pen be	rǎŋ [[thíi nâa tâŋ khǒ sǒŋsǎy pen yàaŋyíŋ]] matter [[that likely set up doubt be very much]]
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
Carrier		Pro.Attr	Attribute
Medium			Range
13.2 [[thíi nâa tâŋ khǒsǒŋsǎy pen yàaŋyíŋ]] [[that likely set up doubt be very much]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Act.	Pro.Mat.	Goal	Manner:Quality
Agent		Medium	Manner
13.3 phró? khaná? rátthaprahǎan nán pen suàn nǎŋ khǒŋ konkay rát [...] because committee coup Th.Part. be part one of mechanism state			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro Att	Attribute
	Medium		Range
13.4 [[thíi mii nâathií [[nây kaanpǒŋkan mây hây khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannǒŋlǎat kàətkhǎn yùu lææw]]]] [[that have duty [[in protection not allow violence and bloodshed occur Asp.Imp. already]]]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Poss'r	Pro Poss	Possessed	
Medium		Range	
13.5 Ø mây campen Ø not be necessary			
Th	Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attrib.		

Med					
13.6 t̄ŋ p̄ŋkan khwaamrunr̄æŋ d̄uay kaanȳt̄ ?amn̄at rát must protect violence by seizing power state					
Rheme					
ØAc	Pro. Mat	Goal	Manner		
ØAg		Medium	Manner		
13.7 hàak t̄ææ Ø kuan t̄ŋ p̄ŋkan khwaamrunr̄æŋ ph̄aan kaancháy ?amn̄at rát taam thī ton?eeŋ mii n̄athii siã mãak kwàa if just Ø should must protect violence through use power state follow that self have duty more					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act.	Pro. Material	Goal	Manner: Means	Manner: comparison
	Ag		Medium	Manner	Manner
13.8 kaan mây p̄atib̄at taam kham s̄aŋ [[thīi mây pen tham]] nán k̄ô s̄am̄aat k̄æt̄kh̄un d̄ay not acting follow order [[that not be just]] Th.Part. thus able occur can					
Theme (marked)				Rheme	
Actor				Pro. Material	
Medium					
13.9 r̄h̄ kaan sak̄atk̄an mây h̄ay k̄æt̄ kaanp̄athá? kan kh̄ōŋ kh̄u kh̄atȳæŋ th̄aŋ s̄ōŋ f̄aay k̄ô s̄am̄aat k̄æt̄kh̄un d̄ay or cutting off not allow occur conflict together of pair oppose both 2 sides thus able occur can					
Theme					Rheme
Actor					Pro. Material
Medium					
13.10 Ø mây campen Ø not necessary					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Attributive			
Med.					
13.11 ca t̄ŋ ch̄ay wíthii kaan rátthaprah̄aan					

will must use method coup		
Th	Rheme	
Actor	Pro. Mat	Range
Med		Range

14.1 mínämsám khaná? rátthaprahãan yaŋ nam ʔaw khûu khàtyææŋ læ? khuûkɔranii khǒŋ rábɔɔp kaanmœaŋ kàw khâw sùu woŋ ʔamnâat Moreover group coup still take pair oppose and disputant of system politics old enter to circle power				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro. Mat.	Goal	Location:place
	Agent		Medium	Location
14.2 raaw kàp khaná? rátthaprahãan ʔeeŋ nán kó pen khûu khàtyææŋ khǒŋ rábɔɔp kaanmœaŋ kàw as if committee coup itself that thus be pair oppose of system politics old				
Theme		Rheme		
	Id/Tk		Id	Idr/VI
	Medium			Range
14.3 sŋ tææktàŋ càak làkkaan kaansææksææŋ thaŋ kaanmœaŋ dŋay ʔoŋkɔɔn phaaynɔk [...] which differ from principle intervention way politics with organisation outside [...]				
Theme	Rheme			
Carrier	Pro:Att	Attribute: circumstantial		Manner:means
Medium		Range		
14.4 [[thiŋ [[that	pen be	klaŋ thaŋ kaanmœaŋ]] politically neutral	nay thãaná? sùn nŋ khǒŋ kitcakaan dân kaanchûaylŋa dân manútsayatham ráwàŋ prathêet (international humanitarian intervention) as part one of activity area aid humanitarian between country (....)	nay kɔranii [[thiŋ kèət saphaawá? “rát [[thiŋ lómlěew” (failed state))]]] in case of occur condition “state that fail” (...)
Theme	Rheme			

Carrier	Att	Attribute	Role: Guise	Contingency: condition
Medium		Range	Role	Contingency

15.1 [[kaanhâ kaansanàpsanŭn kaanrátthaprahãan phàan kaan?athíbaay wâa kaan rátthaprahãan khráŋ níi prasòp khwaam sãmrèt dooy mây mii kaannawŋlúat]] nán giving support coup through explanation that coup time this meet success by not have bloodshed Th.Part.				sathóŋn hây Ø hěn reflect let Ø see (Christie&Cléirigh2008p.14) *(also Patpong = rel. p.509)	
Theme (marked)				Rheme	
Inducer				Pro.: Mental	Sens ..cess
Agent					Med.
15.2 wâa thææ ciŋ lææw that really	cintanaakaan nay rûaŋ khǒŋ khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannawŋlúat imagination in matter of violence and bloodshed	mii have	ŋitthíphon pen yàaŋ mâak influence a lot	nay kaankamnòt thítthaarŋ kaanpliànplææŋ thaarŋ kaanmæarŋ in limiting direction change way politics	
Theme				Rheme	
	Possessor	Pro. Poss	Possessed	Cause: purpose	
	Medium		Range	Cause	
15.3 klàaw khæ khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannawŋlúat pen tháŋ “thíi maa” khǒŋ kaantham rátthaprahãan that is violence and bloodshed be both “source” of staging coup					
Theme				Rheme	
	Identified/ Token	Id	Identifier / Value		
	Medium		Range		
15.4 (phûa mây hây kàet khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannawŋlúat) (in order to not allow occur violence and bloodshed)					
Theme				Rheme	

(Ø? Initiator	Pro. Material caus. α xβ	Actor		
(Ø Agent)		Medium		
15.5 láə? Ø pen “tua chí wát khwaam sǎmrèt” and Ø be “pointer measure success”				
Theme		Rheme		
	Id Tk	Pr Id	Idr. Value	
	Me		Range	
15.6 s̄h̄ tham h̄y Ø khít pay d̄y Which cause Ø think go can				
theme	rheme			
Inducer	Pro... Mental	Sen	...Pro	
Agent		Med		
15.7 w̄a th̄a Ø m̄y h̄n d̄yay k̄ap kaan rátthaprah̄aan c̄iŋc̄iŋ that if Ø not agree with coup really				
Theme		Rheme		
	Sen	Pro. Mental	Matter??	circumstance: Manner: quality
	Me		Matter	Manner
15.8 láəæw Ø k̄s̄ khuan t̄ŋ ʔɔk maa s̄iəŋ chíiwít and Ø also should must out come risk life				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act		Pro. Material	Range
	Me			Range
15.9 ph̄a h̄y k̄əət khwaamrunr̄æəŋ láə? kaann̄ɔŋl̄əət in order to let occur violence and bloodshed				
Theme		Rheme		

(Ø Initiator)	Pro. Mat caus.	Actor		
(Agent)		Medium		
15.10 daŋnán m̄a raw “mây hěn” khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannɔŋl̄at nay kaantâan kaanrátthaprahään therefore when we “not see” violence and bloodshed in opposing coup				
Theme		Rheme		
	Sen	Pro. Mental	Phenomenon	Role: guise
	Med		Range	Role
15.11 kaan rátthaprahään khr̄aŋ ní Ø k̄ th̄h̄ coup time this Ø thus believe				
Theme (Marked)			Rheme	
Phenomenon		Sen	Pro. Mental	
Range		Me		
15.12 w̄a Ø prasòp khwaam s̄amrèt that Ø meet success				
Theme		Rheme		
	Car	Pro Att	Attribute	
	Me		Range	

16.1 kaan?athíbaay khwaams̄amrèt kh̄ɔŋ kaantham rátthaprahään c̄aŋ Explanation success of staging coup thus		wonwian læ? s̄eəptit be circlular and be fixated	k̄ap khwaamrunrææŋ læ? nɔŋl̄at with violence and bloodshed	ȳaŋ mây mii [thī s̄ínsùt] like not have end
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier		Pro. Attributive 1 + 2	Accompaniment	Manner: Quality
Medium			Accompaniment	Manner

16.2 phró? thään khǒŋ khwaamkhít tháŋmòt nay r̄əŋ nán phùuk tít kàp khwaamkhâatwǎŋ [...] because basis of idea all in matter that attached with expectation					
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier		Matter		Pro. Att
	Medium		Matter		Attribute: circumstantial
16.3 [[wâa khwaamrunrææŋ læ? kaannɔŋl̄əat [[that violence and bloodshed			pen be	l̄ək base	nay kaanphítcaaranaa khwaamsămrèt r̄əŋ lóml̄əw khǒŋ kaansææksææŋ thaŋŋ kaanm̄əŋ]] in consideration success or failure of intervention political]]
Theme			Rheme		
	Identified/ Token		Id	Idr Val	Cause: purpose
	Medium			Rng	Cause
16.4 danthī Ø h̄ən d̄ây chát càak khwaam phayaayaam nay kaan?athíbaay khwaamcampen nay kaankhoŋwáy s̄əŋ kòt?ayakaans̄ək as Ø see can clear from attempt in explanation necessity in existence which martial law					
Theme		Rheme			
	Sen	Pro. Ment/	Man Qua	Manner means	Cause: purpose
	Me		Man	Manner	Cause
16.5 phró? sathäänakaan “yaŋ mây n̄iŋ” because situation “still not calm”					
Theme			Rheme		
	Carrier		Pro. Attributive		
	Medium				
16.6 læ? phró? kh̄l̄əŋ t̄ây n̄ám yaŋ mii ȳuu and because undercurrent still have Asp. Imp.					
Theme (marked)			Rheme		
	Existent		Pro. Existential		

	Medium				
17.1 kaan ʔathíbaay khwaamrunræəŋ nay láksanàʔ khǒŋ kítcakam [[17.2...]] ní Explanation violence in characteristic of activity [[.....]] this	tham hây cause	khanáʔ rátthaprahãan committee coup	klaay tua pen become (turn into)	khuû khàtyæəŋ kàp rábòŋ kàw opposition with system old	mâak kwàa kaanpen khonklaəŋ [[17.3+4...]] more than being person middle [[.....]]
Theme	Rheme				
Assigner	Pro... Causative	Id./Token	...cess: Id.	Idr.Value	Manner: comparison
Agent		Medium		Range	Manner
17.2 [[thií mii khuû khàtyæəŋ ráwàəŋ fàay rátthaprahãan láəʔ fàay khlûn tây náam]] that have opposition between side coup and side undercurrent					
Theme	Rheme				
(Poss.)	Pos	Pss'r	Manner: comparison		
Medium		Range	Manner		
17.3 [[thií khâw maa kæəkhăy panhãa khwaamkhàtyæəŋ runræəŋ khǒŋ tháj sǒŋ fàay]] [[that enter come solve problem opposition violence of both sides]]					
Theme	Rheme				
Actor	Pro.: Material	Goal			
Agent		Medium			
17.4 daŋ thií khanáʔ rátthaprahãan phayaayaam ʔəyʔaəŋ ʔaw wáy tæə tôn ruam tháj talòt weelaa [...17.5]] as committee coup try claim keep from beginning]] including all time					
Theme		Rheme			
	Sayer	Verbal group complex Pro: Verbal	Extent	Extent	
	Medium		Extent	Extent	

17.5 [[thiī Ø yaŋ khoŋ ʔamnâat yùu phaay tây rábòɔp kaanm̄əŋ phaaylǎŋ kaanrátthaprahǎan]] [[that Ø ImpAsp remain power ImpAsp. under system politics after coup]]						
Theme		Rheme				
	Id/ Tk	Pro....Id.	Idr/Val	...cess	Contingency??	Location: time
	Me		Range?		Contingency	Location

18.1 n̄ɔk càak niī lǎəw Apart from this already	m̄ɔránákam kh̄ɔŋ luŋ nuamth̄ɔŋ phraywan death of Uncle Nuamthong Phraywan	d̄uay c̄èetcamnoŋ kh̄ɔŋ “kaan phliich̄iip ph̄əa prachaathípatay” with intention of “sacrificing life for democracy”	k̄ɔ pen thus be	sìŋ [[thiī sath̄ɔɔn h̄ay h̄ěn thing that reflect so that see
Theme			Rheme	
	Carrier	Cause: Purpose	Attr	Attribute
	Medium	Purpose		Range

18.2 [[thiī sath̄ɔɔn h̄ay Ø h̄ěn [[that reflect benefit Ø see					
Theme		Rheme			
Inducer	Pro.Mental	Se	...cess		
Agent		Me			
18.3 w̄aa that	kaantham rátthaprahǎan lǎə? kaanh̄ay khwaamch̄ɔp̄tham k̄əə kaanrátthaprahǎan [[18.4...]] nán staging coup and giving legitimacy to coup [[.....]] that	m̄ay s̄am̄at phísùut not able prove	khwaamch̄ɔp̄tham lǎə? khwaams̄amr̄èt kh̄ɔŋ kaanrátthaprahǎan legitimacy and success of coup	d̄ay Imp Asp	l̄əy at all
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/Tk	Pro... Id	Idr/VI	...cess	Mann: Qual.
	Medium		Range		Mann.
18.4	yaŋ mòkm̄un woŋwian	k̄ap tàkkà? kh̄ɔŋ kaan?aw khwaamrunr̄æŋ	maa pen thán̄ thiīmaa nay		

[[thiī that	Imp.Asp. be absorbed be circular	thǎŋ chiiwít with logic of taking violence towards life	kaanrátthaprahǎan láe? tua chiiwát khǎŋ khwaamsǎmrèt]] come be-as both source in coup and measure of success
Carrie r	Pro. Attributive	Attribute: circumstantial	Role
Mediu m		Range	Role
18.5 láe? Ø tham háy kàet khwaamsǔunsǎ khǎŋ chiiwít phuûkhon chênkan and Ø cause arise loss of life person also			
Theme		Rheme	
	In.	Pro. Material	Actor
	Ag		Medium
			Manner: comparison
			Manner

19.1 khwaamŋiáp láe? khwaamyinyɔɔm khǎŋ prachaachon camnuan mây nɔɔy Silence and acceptance of people number not few	tɔɔ kaantham rátthaprahǎan nán towards staging coup Th.Part.	yɔɔm ca tɔŋ dâyráp likely will must receive	kaan?athíbaay explanation
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
Actor	Circ: Matter	Pro. Material	Range
Medium	Matter		Range
19.2 tàæ kham ?athíbaay bææp dæem nay kaanwíkhɔ́? kaanmɛaŋ thay nay míti? khǎŋ wátthanátham kaanmɛaŋ/ phrútikam thaŋ	mây dây tham háy not perf asp. Cause	raw we	khâwcay understand
		kaanmɛaŋ thay politics Thai	nay pàtcùban in present
			dây can
			mâak nák very much

kaanmɛaŋ nán but explanation like former in analysis politics Thai in dimension of culture political/ behaviour way political Th.Part							
Theme	Rheme						
Inducer	Pro.... Mental	Sens	Pr.Men	Phenomenon	Loc: Time	Pro	Manner
Agent		Med		Range			Manner
19.3 klàaw khɛ̃ tææ dæm sǎŋkhom thay dâyráp kaan ʔathíbaay that is from former society Thai receive explanation							
Theme		Rheme					
	Loc: Time	Actor	Pro. Mat	Range			
	Location	Medium?		Range			
19.4 wâa Ø mii wátthanátham kaanmɛaŋ bææp “phrây fáa” that Ø have culture political style “royal subject”							
Theme		Rheme					
	Pos	Pro. Pos	Possessed				
	Me		Range				
19.5 Ø tham hây pen ʔùppasàk sǎmkhan tò kaanphátthanaa kaanmɛaŋ thay pay sùu kaanmɛaŋ bææp prachaathíppatay Ø cause/create obstacle important towards development politics Thai go towards politics style democratic							
Th.	Rheme						
Attrib'r	Pro. Attrib+ Causative	Attribute	Cause: purpose				Manner
Agent		Medium	Cause				Manner

20.1 tææ ʔaw khâw ciŋ hàak Ø cháy tàkkàʔ khǒŋ khanáʔ rátthaprahǎan [[thiî ʔâaŋ ton]] But really if we? use logic of group coup [[that cite self]]					
Theme		Rheme			
	Act	Pro Mat	Range		
	Me		Range		
20.2 [[thiî Ø ʔâaŋ ton]]					
Theme		Rheme			
	Say	Ver			
	Me				
like this]]					
20.3 wâa Ø that Ø	dây kratham past asp. do reform	kaan patirûup kaanpòkkhrǒŋ governing		nay rábǒŋ prachaathíppatay [[ʔan mii phrámaháakasàt pen pramúk]] in system democracy [[it have king be head of state]]	chên ní]]
Theme		Rheme			
	Act	Pro. Material	Goal	Circumstance: Role: Guise	Manner
	Ag		Medium	Role	Manner
20.4 khwaampen “phrây (fáa)” chên ní chây rǎm mây [[thiî mǝʔsǝm tǝ kaanpatirûup kaanmǝaŋ thay]] Being “phray faa” like this true or not [[that suitable towards reform politics Thai]]					
Theme		Rheme			
Carrier		Pro. Attributive	Attrib.	Cause: Purpose	
Medium			Range	Purpose	
20.5 [[thiî mǝʔsǝm tǝ kaanpatirûup kaanmǝaŋ thay]] [[that suitable towards reform politics Thai]]?					
Theme		Rheme			

Carrier	Pro Attrib	circumstance: Cause: Purpose
Medium		Purpose

21.1 phûukhïan sanəə Writer propose			
Theme		Rheme	
Sayer		Pro. Verbal	
Medium			
21.2 wâa panhăa khǝŋ kaanmœaŋ thay nán mây dâu yùu that problem of politics Thai ThPart not past asp. be		thiï wátthanatham lăə? phrítikam thaaŋ kaanmœaŋ khǝŋ bùkkhon nay rábòp kaanmœaŋ [[...]] at culture and behaviour way politics of people in system politics [[...]]	
Theme		Rheme	
	Carrier	Pro. Attr. Circum.	Attribute: circumstantial
	Medium		Range
21.3 [[thiï pen phrây fáa dooy tua khǝŋ phûak khăw ʔeeŋ càak phátthanaakaan thaaŋ prawàtsàat lăə? wátthanátham [[thiï yaaw naan]]]] [[that be phrai faa by body of group they self from development way historical and culture that long]]			
Theme		Rheme	
Carrier	Att	Attrib	Cause: Reason
Medium		Range	Cause
			Manner: Quality
			Manner
21.4 hàak tàæ Ø pen rœaŋ khǝŋ [[kaan thiï bùkkhon làw nán “thùuk tham hây pen phrây (fáa)” ná hûaŋ caŋwà? nay pàtcuban sía]] if but Ø be issue of [[fact that people group that “suffer cause be phrai faa” at period rhythm in presentPart.]] mâak kwàa more than			
Theme		Rheme	

	Id/ Tk	Id	Idr./Value				Manner: comp.
	Me		Range				Manner
21.5 [[kaan thiî bùkkhon làw nán “thùuk tham hây pen phrây (fáa)” ná hûaŋ caŋwà? nay pàtcuban]] [[fact that people group that “suffer cause be phrai faa” at period rhythm in present]]							
Theme			Rheme				
	Carrier		Process: Passive: Causative: Attrib.	Attrib.	Location: Time	Location: Time	
	Medium			Range	Location	Location	
21.6 daŋ thiî Ø hěn yùu càak kaankratham ráttaphrahään nay khráŋ ní as Ø see Imp. Asp. from doing coup in time this							
Theme		Rheme					
	Se	Pro. Mental	Manner:means		Location: Time		
	Me		Manner		Location		
21.7 thiî that	tham hây kèet cause occur		kaanpliàn sathääná? thaŋkaanmœaŋ khǝŋ bùkkhon nay rábòp kaanmœaŋ change situation political of people in system politics		càak “phonlamœaŋ” from “citizen”	maa sùu khwaampen “phrây” come towards being “phrai”	yàaŋ chátcœen lǎe? còŋcǎæŋ clearly and obviously
Theme		Rheme					
Actor	Pro. Material		Goal		Role: guise??	Role: Product	Manner: degree
Agent			Medium		Role?	Role	Manner
21.8 rǝ Ø klàaw dâ or Ø say can							
Theme		Rheme					
	Say	Pro. Verbal					
	Me						

21.9 waa rát ʔeej tàaŋ hàak thíi tham hây phonlamœaŋ pen phrây that state itself separately that cause citizens be phrai						
Theme (marked)			Rheme			
	Assigner	Manner	Pro. Id	Token	Pro	Value
	Agent			Medium		Range
21.10 phœa tham hây kaan phâtthanaa thaaŋ kaanmœaŋ pay sùu prachaathíppatay nán mây kœat khên rew pay nák in order to cause development political go towards democracy Th.Part. not occur fast very						
Theme		Rheme (thematic particle nán at end of this nominal group, so theme?)				
∅ = initiator	Pro.Mat	Actor			...cess: Mat	Manner: Quality
Agent		Medium				Manner

22.1 kaanʔathíbaay kaanrátthaprahãan nay pàtcuban [[waa “tham hây phonlamœaŋ klaay pen phrây”]] nán Explanation coup in present that “cause citizens become phrai” Th.part.	pen be	thaaŋlœâk choice	càak kaanʔathíbaay lée? sâaŋ khwaamchôp̄tham hây kàp kaanrátthaprahãan from explanation and build legitimacy benefit for coup	phàan nææw khít pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ through viewpoint philosopher politics	dooy chaphóʔ nay săakhãa waa dûay rêaŋ sãnyaa prachaakhom especially in branch about issue social contract	
Theme (marked)		Rheme				
Identified/ Token		Pro. Id.	Idr. / Value	Matter	Angle:viewpoint	Angle: source
Medium			Range	Matter	Angle	Angle
22.2 sêŋ mák ca thùuk lóclian which likely will Pass. mock						
Theme		Rheme				
Verbiage		Pro. Verbal + Passive				
Medium						
22.3 waa nææw khít pràtyaa kaanmœaŋ nán lálœy míti? thaaŋ prawàttisàat						

that viewpoint philosopher politics Th.Part. neglect dimension way history			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
	Carrier/Possessor	Pro. Poss. Attrib.	Attribute/ Possessed
	Medium		Range
22.4 phró? mây mii làkthään because not have basis			
Theme		Rheme	
	Pro. Exist.	Existent	
		Medium	
22.5 Ø yuunyan dâ Ø confirm can			
Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Pro. Verbal		
Medium			
22.6 wâ “saphaawá? taam thammachâat” lăe? “sít nay thammachâat” <<...>> nán mii yùu ciŋ that “condition follow natural” and “right in natural” <<...>> Th.part. have Asp. Imp. really			
Theme (marked)		Rheme	
	existent	Pro. Exist.	Manner degree
	Medium		Manner
22.7 <<kòŋ thiî manút ca ruam tua kan pen sǎŋkhom kaanmæŋ >> before human will collect together be-as society political			
Theme		Rheme	
	Actor	Pro. Material	Role: guise
	Med		Role
22.8 rǎu mii Ø yùu nay chûaŋ nǎy khǒŋ prawàttisàat			

or have Ø Imp.Asp in period which of history				
Theme		Rheme		
	Pro Exist	Ex	Pro	Location: Time
		Me		Location
22.9 sūŋ mii suàn sǎmkhan tǎo khwaamkhonjsênkhonjwaa khǎwŋ khǎwsanǎe ʔeeŋ which have part important towards stability of proposal itself				
Theme		Rheme		
Possessor Ø	Pro. Poss	Possessed	Role: Guise	
Medium		Range	Role	
22.10 khanàʔ thiŋ khǎw wíphâak wícaan [[thiŋ sǎmkhan]] kǎ khæx [[...]] while criticism [[that important]] thus be				
Theme			Rheme	
	Identified/ Token		Pro Id.	Idr./ Value
	Medium			Range
22.11 [[nææw khít daŋ klàaw nán nén ʔathíbaay thǎŋ kamnǎet læʔ khwaamchǎwɔptham khǎwŋ sathǎaban thaan kaanpòkkhrǎwŋ [[viewpoint previously mentioned that stress explain about origin and legitimacy of institution way governing				
Theme		Rheme		
Øsayer		Pro. Verbal	Matter	
Medium			Matter	
22.12 thiŋ mii láksanàʔ ruam sǔun that have characteristic central				
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier: Poss'r	Pro. Attr.	Attribute: Possessed		

	Poss		
Medium		Range	
22.13 láə? chá? khǝ̀bãŋkháp nay kaanpòkkhrɔŋ and use order in governing			
Theme	Rheme		
∅ Actor	Pro Mat	Goal	Cause: Purpose
Agent		Medium	Cause
22.14 [[thií ʔòk maa dooy rátthabaan]]]] [[that out come by government]]]]			
Theme	Rheme		
Goal	Pro. Mat.	Actor	
Medium		Agent	

23.1 nay ʔiik dāan nèŋ In another area one	kaanʔathíbaay kaanrátthaprahāan nay pàtcuban [[wāa “tham hāy phonlaməŋ klaay pen phrāy”]] nán Explanation coup in present that “cause citizens become phrai” Th.part.	pen be	thaaŋlɛ̀ák choice	nay kaanʔathíbaay kaanmɛəŋ thay in explanation politics Thai	càak nææwkhít khǝ̀ŋ kaanmɛəŋ priəphtiəp nay bæəp dāŋdəəm from viewpoint of politics comparative in style primitive
Theme (marked)		Rheme			
Identified/ Token		Pro. Id.	Idr. / Value	Matter	Angle: viewpoint
Medium			Range	Matter	Angle
23.2 thií hāy khwaam sāmkan kàp kaan priəphtiəp khwaampen phadèkkan rǝ̀ prachaathíppatay khǝ̀ŋ sǎŋkhom tàŋtəŋ that give importance with comparison dictatorship or democracy of society different					
Theme	Rheme				

Actor	Pro Mat	Range	Matter	
Med		Range	Matter	
23.3 dooy liikliarj m̄y d̄y by avoid not can				
Theme		Rheme		
	∅ Act	Pro Material	Range	
	M		Range	
23.4 thī ca mii ph̄ap s̄nkhom ?an ph̄eŋ pr̄atthan̄a that will have picture society it desire				
Theme		Rheme		
??	Pro. Exist	Existent		
		Medium		
23.5 thī m̄ay th̄ŋj [[s̄nkhom tawant̄ok pen m̄ut m̄ay nay kaanprīapthīap læ? ?ɔ̄kb̄æp kaanph̄atthanaa kaanm̄eŋ that mean [[society west be-as knot mean in comparison and design development politics				
Theme		Rheme		
∅ Id./Tk	Pro. Id.	Idr/ Value	Role: guise	Matter
Meduim		Range	Role	Matter
23.6 h̄y ∅ pay th̄ŋj s̄nkhom kaanm̄eŋ b̄æp tawant̄ok h̄y d̄y (ethno-centric)] so as ∅ go reach society politics style west let can				
Theme		Rheme		
Pro..	Act.	Pro..Mat	Range	... cess
	Med		Range	

24.1 w̄athan̄atham thaŋ kaanm̄eŋ b̄æp phr̄y	c̄eŋ pen th̄ŋj cintanaakaan læ? kaanphayaayaam tham h̄y k̄æt kh̄n ciŋ kh̄ɔ̄ŋ bandaa chonch̄an p̄okkhr̄ɔ̄ŋ
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Culture political style phrai		thus be both imagination and attempt		cause	occur	real of	all	class
governing								
Theme		Rheme						
Carrier			Pro Att	Attribute				
Medium				Range				
24.2 phũa hây “khwaampen phrây” nán pen sathãaná? [...] in order to make “essence of being phrai” Th. Part. be condition that								
Theme		Rheme						
	Pro	Carrier		...cess Attrib.	Attribute			
		Medium			Range			
24.3 [[thiî phøj praätthanãa thaaj kaanpòkkhrõj khõj sãjkhom thay tææ booraan nay ɲææ khõj kaan?athíbaay rábòp phrây [...]] that be desired way governing of society Thai since ancient in perspective of explanation system phrai								
Theme		Rheme						
Senser	Pro. Mental	Phenomenon			Loc: time	Angle: viewpoint		
Medium		Range			Location	Angle		
24.4 [[thiî kæt khên nay thãaná? pen rábòp kaan pòkkhrõj that originate in level be system governing								
Theme		Rheme						
∅ Actor	Pro. Mat	Role: Guise						
Medium		Role						
24.5 [[thiî troj káp ?ùppanísãy khõj chonchãat thay that be straight with habit of nationality thai								
Theme		Rheme						
∅ Carrier	Pro. Rel	Attribute: circumstantial						

	Attrib.			
Medium		Range		
24.6 tráp thâw thí khwaamconṛákpḥákdii khṵṵ phrây nán khûn yùu kàp muunnaay pen lamdàp khân]]]]] as long as loyalty of phrai Th. Part. depend on master be-as procedure				
Theme		Rheme		
	Identified/Token	Pro. Circum. Causal:cond ition	Idr./ Value	Manner
	Medium		Range	Manner

40.1 nṵṵknḥa càak kaantham khwaamkhâwcaay láksanà? kaansâaṅ mày khṵṵ rábṵṵp kaanmḥaṅ lăṅ kaanrátthaprahăan [[40.2]] [40.3]] [[40.4]] Over and above making understanding characteristic building new of system political after coup				
Theme...				
Accompaniment: additive				
Accompaniment				
40.2 [[phḥa pṵṵkhrṵṵ phrây samăy mày]] in order to govern phrai modern				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Mat.	Goal		
Agent		Range		
40.3 dooy ṽiṅ rábṵṵp sombuuranaayaasitthirât bææp ṽudomkhati? by lean on system absolutism style ideal				
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Circ.	Attribute		
Medium		Range		
40.4 thí mây khḥaay khûn ciṅ lăæw				

that not ever up true Perf.Asp.			
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Pro. Mat	Manner	...cess
Med		Manner	

40.1 rûppatham [[thiî sǎmkhan]] ?iik prakaan n̄əŋ nay kaantham khwaamkhâwcaj r̄əŋ kh̄ɔŋ phrây samăy màj k̄ɔ form [[that be important]] another point one in making understanding matter of phrai modern Cj	kh̄ə be	kaantham khwaamkhâwcaj creation understanding	nay r̄əŋ khwaamsǎmphan ráwàŋ thahǎan kàp kaanm̄əŋ about importance between military and politics	phàan kaanphítcaaranaa khwaamkhâwcaj kh̄ɔŋ thahǎan [[thiî mii t̄ɔ “phonlar̄əŋ” through consideration understanding that military has towards “civilians”
Theme	Rheme			
Identified/Token	Ident.	Identifier/ Value	Matter	Manner: means
Medium		Range	Matter	Manner
40.5 thiî pen kaanplææ khwaammăay that be translation meaning	maa càak kham w̄a civil–military relationship r̄əŋ khwaam sǎmphan ráwàŋ thahǎan (military) kàp phonlar̄əŋ (civilian) come from word that civil–military relationship or relationship between military and civilian			
Theme	Rheme			
Id/Tk		Identifier/ value	Matter??	
Med		Range	Matter	
40.6 s̄əŋ t̄æktàŋ pay càak khwaamsǎmphan ráwàŋ thahǎan kàp phonlam̄əŋ (citizen) which differ go from relationship between military and citizens				
Theme	Rheme			
Carrier	Pro. Attrib	Attribute: circumstantial		

Mediu m		Range			
40.7 læ? dûay khwaamkhâwcay khwaamsămphan ráwàaŋ thahăan kàp kaanmœaŋ thay niĩ and by understanding relationship between military and politics Thai this coup 19 september that]]		thiĩ tham hây that cause	kaan ráttaphrahăan 19 kanyaa nán 19 September coup	pen be	siŋ [[thiĩ “khít dâŷ læ? kəət khên dây”]] thing that “think can and occur can” (conceivable?)
Theme				Rheme	
Attributor			Carrier	Attr	Attribute
Agent			Medium		Range
40.8 phrɔʔ thahăan thay nán mɔɔŋ because military Thai that think					
Theme		Rheme			
	Senser	Pro. Mental			
	Medium				
40.9 wâa prachaachon pen phonlarœan that people be civilians					
Theme		Rheme			
	Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI		
	Medium		Range		
40.10 Ø pen râatsadɔɔn læ? phrây mâak kwàa phonlamœaŋ (they) be subjects and phrai more than citizens					
Them e	Rheme				
Id/Tk	Id	Idr/VI		Manner: comparison	
Med		Range		Manner	

41.1 nǎəw khít wâa dūay rǎŋ thahǎan kàp kaanmǎaŋ thay nán mii khôw sanǎə sǎmkhan yùu sǎwŋ láksanà? idea about matter military and politics thai Th.Part. have proposal important Asp.Imp two CLF						
Theme (marked)				Rheme		
Possessor				Pro... Poss	Possessed	...cess ...Poss'd
Medium					Range	
41.2 nay láksanà? rǎæk Ø khǎu kaan mǎwŋ [[...]] in CLF first Ø be view						
Theme			Rheme			
	Val	Pro Id	Token			
	Rg		Medium			
41.3 [[wâa thahǎan nán pen phalaŋ phadètkaan]] [[that military Th.Part. be power dictatorship						
Theme (marked)			Rheme			
	Identified/ Token	Pr Id	Identifier/ Value			
	Medium		Range			
41.4 Ø cam tǎŋ ʔǎk càak kaanmǎaŋ Ø must out from politics						
Th	Rheme					
Act	Pro. Material	Location (abstract? Or Range?)				
Med		Location				
41.5 daŋ thǐi dǎy mii kaanphūut thǎŋ kan nay sǎŋkhom maa dooy talǎwt nay thúk khrǎŋ [[...]] as AspPerf. there was (exist.) talk about in society come always in all time [[...]]						
Theme			Rheme			
	Pro... Existential	Existent	Loc: Place	... cess	Extent: freq.	Extent: frequency

		Medium	Location		Extent	Extent	
41.6 [[thiī mii kaan khàp lâp phûu nam thaaj kaanm̄aaj [[thiī pen thahãan]]] [[that there is expulsion leader way political [[that be military]]]]							
Theme		Rheme					
	Pro Exist.	Existent					
		Medium					
41.7 nay lãksanà? thiī sǝŋ Ø pen kaan m̄aaj [...] in CLF second Ø be view							
Theme		Rheme					
		Val	Pro Id	Token			
		Rg		Medium			
41.8 [[wãa thaaj ʔǝk thiī sãmkhan that way out that important		kǝ Cj	kh̄ be	kaancàt khwaamsãmphãn managing relationship	rãwãaj thahãan kãp kaan m̄aaj between military and politics	phãan kaancàt khwaamsãmphãn through managing relationship	rãwãaj thahãan kãp phonlar̄ãan]] between military and civilian
Theme		Rheme					
	Identified/ Token		Id.	Identifier/ Value	Manner: comp	Manner: means	Manner: comp
	Medium			Range	Manner	Manner	Manner
41.9 s̄h̄ mǝaj th̄j kaankh̄apkhum thahãan phãan nayoobaay ɣǝppramaan which means control military through policy budget							
Them e	Rheme						
Id./T k	Pro. Id.	Identifier/ Value		Manner: Means			
Medi		Range		Manner			

um				
41.10 kaancàt kamlaŋ khon thiî thahãan ʔeeŋ camtôŋ mii ʔitsaràʔ nay kaanthamŋaan khǒŋ ton mobilising people that military self must have freedom in work of self				
Theme		Rheme		
Possessor		Pro.Poss.	Poss.d	Cause: Purpose
Medium			Range	Cause
41.11 tææ Ø kô ca tŋ mây khâu maa kiaw khôŋ kàp kaanmæaŋ dooy tron but Ø thus will must not enter concerned with politics directly				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Material	Goal	Manner: degree
	Ag		Med	Manner
41.12 nân kô khæu kaansâaŋ khwaampenʔaachiîp hây kàp thahãan (professionalism) that thus be building professionalism for military				
Theme marked?		Rheme		
Id/Tk		Id	Idr/VI	
Medium			Range	

42.1 Ø duu mæån [[...]] Ø seems						
Th.		Rheme				
Carr.		Pro. Attrib.		Attribute		
Med				Range		
42.2 wâa nææwkhít rûaŋ kaanpen thahãan ʔaachiîp nán that idea issue being soldier professional		yîŋ tham hây more cause	thahãan military	yûŋ meddle	kiaw kàp kaanmæaŋ with politics	mâak khên more daŋ khôŋ thòkthiãŋ sãmphan nay rûaŋ khwaam sãmphan rawàaŋ thahãan kàp kaanmæaŋ as debate important in matter relationship between

Th. Part.						military + politics
Theme	Rheme					
Initiator	Pro... Material	Act.	..cess	Matter	Extent: deg	Manner: comparison
Agent		Med		Matter	Extent	Manner
42.3 thí nạy dân nờn Ø chũa that in one side Ø believe						
Theme		Rheme				
	Sen	Pro. Mental				
	Med					
42.4 wũa thahãan nán tởn pen thahãan ʔaachiíp that military Th.Part. must be soldier professional						
Theme		Rheme				
	Carrier	Pro. Att	Attribute			
	Medium		Range			
42.5 Ø cởn mây yủn kiàw thaon kaanmởn]] Ø thus not meddle politically						
Theme		Rheme				
Actor		Pro. Mat	Manner: means			
Med			Manner			
42.6 nạy khanà? thí nák wíchaakaan ʔiik klùm nờn klàp hẻn while academics another group one reverse think						
Theme				Rheme		
	Senser		Pro. Mental			
	Medium					
42.7 wũa mủaday kỏ taam thí thahãan nán sadæon ʔỏk sỏn thátsaná? that whenever that soldier Th. Part. express which viewpoint						
Theme (marked)				Rheme		

		Sayer	Pro.Verbal	Verbiage
		Medium		Range
42.8 waa ton nán pen thahãan ʔaachiip that they Th. Part. be soldier professional				
Theme (marked)		Rheme		
	Id/Tk	Id	Id/VI	
	Medium		Range	
42.9 m̄a nán læʔ ca pen h̄uəŋ caŋwàʔ [[...]] when that emph. will be time				
Theme (marked)		Rheme		
Identified/ Token		Id.	Identifier/ Value	
Range			Medium	
42.10 [[thī thahãan s̄aŋ khwaamch̄ɔp̄tham nay kaan kh̄aw s̄æaksæəŋ thaəŋ kaan m̄əŋ dooy troŋ]] that military build legitimacy in intervention political by direct				
Theme		Rheme		
	Actor	Pro Mat	Goal	Cause: purpose
	Ag.		Medium	Cause
42.11 phr̄ɔʔ “khwaampenʔaachiip” kh̄ɔŋ thahãan nán pen khwaamch̄ɔp̄tham làk because “professionalism” of military Th.Part be legitimacy basis				
Theme (marked)			Rheme	
	Identified/ Token		Id	Identifier/ Value
	Medium			Range
42.12 thī ca s̄am̄aat s̄æaksæəŋ thaəŋ kaanm̄əŋ d̄ay d̄uay khwaampenʔaachiip kh̄ɔŋ thahãan pen kh̄ɔʔ ʔãəŋ [[...]]] to be able intervene way politics can with professionalism of military be-as justification				
Theme		Rheme		
∅ Actor	Pro. Material		Manner	Pro. Cause: reason
				Role: guise

Ø Medium		Manner		Cause	Role
42.13 [[thiī thamhây sǎŋkhom hěn [[that cause society see					
Theme	Rheme				
Inducer	Pro...	Senser	...cess Mental		
Agent		Medium			
42.14 wâa ton nán mây dây mii phõn prayòot kàp kaanm̄aŋ [[thiī damn̄aŋ yùu]]]] that self Th.Part. not PerfAsp have result benefit with politics [[that process AspImp.]]]]					
Theme (marked)		Rheme			
	Poss.	Pro. Possessive	Possessed	Cause: purpose	
	Medium		Range	Cause	
42.15 læ? Ø tham hây Ø hěn and Ø cause Ø see					
Theme		Rheme			
	In	Pro. Ment.	Sen	...cess. Mental	
	Ag		Med		
42.16 wâa nay prawàttisàat kaanm̄aŋ thay samăy mà y nán that in history politics Thai present Th		kaantham ráttháprahãan dooy thahãan doing coup by military	klaay pen become	suàn n̄eŋ khǒŋ phaarakit khǒŋ thahãan thay part one of obligation of soldier Thai	pay sǎ lææw Asp. Perf.
Theme			Rheme		
	Id. Token		Pro... Id	Idr. Value	...cess
	Medium			Range	
42.17 rǎu Ø pen nâathîi khǒŋ s̄umuanchon or Ø be duty of media					

Theme		Rheme	
	Id Tok	Id	Idr. /Value
	Med		Range

42.18 thí ca tōŋ pay sǎmpĥāt thahǎan [...]
 to must go interview military

Theme		Rheme	
Sayer	Pro. Verbal	Receiver	
Medium		Beneficiary	

42.19 wǎa Ø mii khwaam khít
 that Ø have idea

Theme		Rheme	
	Poss	Pos	Possessed
	Med		Range

42.20 wǎa Ø ca patìwát rǎm mây
 that Ø will revolt or not

Theme		Rheme	
	Act	Pro. Material	
	Med		

42.21 sĥŋ ná hūaŋ caŋwà? thí Ø tōp
 which in time that Ø answer

Theme		Rheme	
	Location: time	Say	Pro. Verbal
	Loc.	Med	

42.22 wǎa Ø “mây mii Ø” nán ʔeeŋ
 that Ø “not have Ø” emph

Theme		Rheme	
	Pos	Poss	Poss'd

	Med		Range	
--	-----	--	-------	--

42.23 khwaam pen thahãan ?aachiíp kô ca kàet khên being soldier professional thus will occur				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor		Pro. Material		
Medium				
42.24 lée? Ø klaay pen khwaamchôphtam nay kaan khâw sææksææŋ thaŋ kaanmœaŋ phaan kaanhây thátsaná? [...] and Ø become legitimacy in intervention political through giving viewpoint				
Theme		Rheme		
	Car	Attrib	Attribute	Cause: purpose
	Me		Range	Cause
42.25 [[thiî tem pay dûay khwaamwãŋ nay kaanpen thaŋlœák khõŋ chât bãanmœaŋ nay yaam wíkrùt that be full go with hope in being way choose of nation in time crisis				
Theme		Rheme		
Carrier	Pro. Attrib.	Manner	Role: guise	Location
Medium		Manner	Role	Location
42.26 daŋ thiî Ø hên yùu]] as Ø see Asplmp.				
Theme		Rheme		
	S	Pro. mental		
	M			
thus importance of giving interview that soldier professional will revolt or not Th.P. not perf asp be at lie				
42.27 daŋ nán	khwaamsãmkan khõŋ kaanhây sãmphâat waa thahãan ?aachiíp ca patiwát rœu mây nán	mây dây yùu thiî	kaankoohòk	
Theme		Rheme		
	Carrier	Pro. Circum.	Attribute	
	Medium		Range	

42.28 wâa Ø mây tham râtthaprahăan that Ø not stage coup				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Mat.	Goal	
	Ag		Medium	
42.29 rǎu Ø mây khít or (they) not think				
Theme		Rheme		
	Sen	Pro.: Mental		
	Me			
42.30 Ø ca tham râtthaprahăan (they) will stage coup				
Theme		Rheme		
Actor		Pro. Mat	Goal	
Agent			Medium	
42.31 tǎæ Ø yùu thiĩ kaansâaŋ khwaamchôwptham thaaŋ kaanmuaŋ khǒŋ thahăan phaan kaan tồp [...] but Ø be at building legitimacy political of military through answer				
Theme		Rheme		
	Car	Pro.Circ	Attribute	Manner: means
	Med		Range	Manner
42.32 wâa Ø mây patiwát that Ø not revolt				
Theme		Rheme		
	Act	Pro. Material		
	Med			
42.33 phró? ton pen thahăan ?aachiíp taaŋ hàak because self be soldier professional on the contrary				

Appendix C Representation of social actors

Summary of social actor representations

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
Government	Generic		
	<i>rátthabaan – the government, governments</i>		<i>rátthabaan – the government, governments</i> <i>“rátthabaan phonlaruan” – “civilian government”</i>
	Specific differentiated		
	<i>rátthabaan Tháksĭn - the Thaksin government</i> <i>rátthabaan thǎrarâat - the tyrannical government</i>	<i>rátthabaan [[thiĭ thùuk lóm pay]] – government [[that was toppled]]</i> <i>rátthabaan [[sĭh mĭ thiĭmaa yàaŋ chǎpŋtham...]] – government [[that was legitimately elected...]]</i>	
State	Generic		
			<i>rát ʔeeŋ tàaŋ hàak – the state itself</i>
	Classified		
	<i>“prachaaarát” – “people’s state”</i>	<i>nakhǎon rát Greek – Greek city state</i>	<i>rát sǎmbuuranaayaasĭthi-râat – absolutist state</i> <i>rát ʔĭppathăm – patronage state</i> <i>rát thun níyom ruamsĭun – centralised capitalist state</i>
As modifier, possessivated			
<i>konkay khǎŋŋ rát – mechanism of the state</i>		<i>konkay khǎŋŋ rát - mechanism of the state</i> <i>ʔamnâat rát – power of the state</i> <i>ʔoŋprakǎŋŋ khǎŋŋ rát – element of the state</i>	

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
Military	Generic		
	<i>thahãan – the military</i>		<i>thahãan – the military</i> <i>thahãan ?aachiip – professional soldiers</i>
	Specific		
	<i>klùm phûu kòo kaan rátthaprahãan – group who staged the coup</i>	<i>kòo thahãan [[sûn cháy...]] – military force [[that was used...]]</i> <i>phûu kòo rátthaprahãan – people [[who staged the coup]]</i>	<i>khaná? rátthaprahãan - coup group</i>
	Specified, Named		
	<i>klùm thahãan phaaytây kaannam khòo phon?èek sonthí? bunyaratklin [[sûn riák ton?eeη wãa “khaná? patirûup kaanpòkkhròoη nay rábòoη prachaathíppatay ?an mii phrámahãakasât soη pen pramùk”]] – military group under General Sondhi Bunyaratklin [[that called itself Council of Democratic Reform with the King as Head of State]]</i>		<i>khaná? rátthaprahãan phaay tây chûu “khaná?pàtirûup kaanpòkkhròoη nay rábòoη prachaathípatay ?an mii phrámahãakasât soη pen pramùk” – coup group under the name “Council of Democratic Reform with the King as Head of State”</i>
	Instrumentalised		
	<i>rótthãη – tanks</i>		
	Possessivated		
		<i>khwaampen?aachiip khòoη thahãan – professionalism of the military</i>	
Utterance			
		<i>prakàat khaná? rátthaprahãan – announcement of the coup group kaan?athíbaay thûη “khwaamsãmrèt khòoη kaan tham rátthaprahãan” – the explanation about the “success of the staging of the coup”</i>	

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
	Impersonal – Abstract		
	<i>khri̯aŋm̄m̄ khɔ̄ɔŋ phūunam f̄aay b̄r̄ihāan – tool of the administrative leader</i>		<i>phalaŋ phadètkaan – power of dictatorship kòtʔayakaans̄uk – martial law khwaam pen thahāan ʔaachi̯p – military professionalism</i>
Groups/People	Generic		
	<i>f̄aay chanáʔ - winning side f̄aay ph̄c̄æ – losing side f̄aay ʔatham - amoral side prachaachon – population muanchon – masses</i>	<i>manút - humans</i>	<i>r̄aatsadɔ̄n – people, subjects prachaachon – people, populace</i>
	Specific differentiated		
	<i>phúak [[thi̯i n̄iyom “r̄ábɔ̄ɔp Tháks̄in” yàaŋ khl̄âŋkhl̄áy]] – group [[who crazily follows “Thaksinism”]] f̄aay tron̄kh̄aam [[thi̯i ʔɔ̄ɔk maa takoon “Tháks̄in ... ʔɔ̄ɔk pay”]] – the opposition [[that came out and shouted “Thaksin... get out”]]</i>	<i>khon [[thi̯i ph̄aan h̄eetkaan phr̄útsaphaakhom 2535 t̄èc̄e yàaŋ diaw]] – people [[who only experienced May 1992]] ph̄úukhon [[thi̯i chūâmyooŋ ton ʔeey kh̄aw k̄ap h̄eetkaan 6 tulaa pen ph̄is̄èet]] – people [[who are especially connected to the events of 6 October]] ph̄úu [[thi̯i san̄apsan̄n rátthaprahāan kh̄ráŋ ni̯i]] – people [[who support this coup]]</i>	<i>khon [[ʔɔ̄ɔk maa t̄aan kaantham rátthaprahāan n̄án]] – people [[coming out to protest the staging of the coup]] ph̄úu [[thi̯i san̄apsan̄n rátthaprahāan]] – people who supported the coup</i>
	Functionalised, appraised		
	<i>paramaacaan thaŋ thr̄útsadii rátthas̄aat – great scholars of political theory nákpr̄àtyaa – philosophers</i>	<i>panyaachon – intellectuals nákpr̄àthas̄aat - political scientists nákpr̄àtyaa – philosophers</i>	<i>nák w̄ichaakaan ʔiik kl̄um n̄uŋ – another group of academics</i>
Generic classified			
<i>khon yáakcon – poor people</i>	<i>s̄ãŋkhom thay – Thai society</i>	<i>phr̄ây – phrai</i>	

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
	<i>chonchán klaaη – middle class</i>		<i>râatsadōon – people, subjects phonlamuaη – citizens chonchán pòkkhrōη – governing class</i>
	Indeterminate		
		<i>baaη khon – some people</i>	
	Abstract		
			<i>“undercurrents”</i>
	Utterance autonomisation		
			<i>khwaamηiap lé? khwaamyinyōom khōη prachaachon camnuan mây nōy – the silence and acceptance of not just a few people</i>
	Overdetermined- deviant		
			<i>phrai-citizen</i>
Individuals	Specified		
	<i>khâaphacâw - I</i>	<i>khâaphacâw - I</i>	<i>phûukhiän – writer (I)</i>
	Named		
	<i>Confucius Mensius Thomas Hobbes John Locke Aristotle Hitler</i>	<i>Aristotle Socrates Plato Sombat Chantarnvong Leo Strauss Eric Voegelin William Styron Sophie Tzvetan Todorov Martha Nussbaum</i>	<i>khōη ph.l.ō.ō. chalít phúkphāsùk phòp. thō. lé? rōη prathaan K.M.C. - Air Chief Marshal Chalit Phukpasuk, Commander-in-chief of the air force and deputy of the Council of National Security</i>
	Appraised		
<i>khōηcûu (551-479 kōon khō. sō.) paramaacaan ciin – Confucius (551-479 BCE) great Chinese scholar</i>	<i>khon sāmkan khōη prathêet khûu sàatraacaan Sōmbàt Cantharawōη – an important person in the</i>		

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
	<i>“phûuráay [[thiî mii ðitthíphon” lée? mii ðamnâat thaay kaanmuaay]] – “criminal [[that has influence” and political power]]</i>	<i>country that is Professot Sombat Chantaravong thây Eric Voegelin lée? Leo Strauss pen nákràtyaa kaanmuaay khon sámkhan thiîsùt sǎwkhon nay sàttawát thiî 20 – both Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss are two of the most important political philosophers of the 20th century</i>	
	Overdetermined-deviant		
	<i>Criminal (Thaksin)</i>		
	Functionalised		
	<i>phûunam nay duaycay khǎwkhǎw phûak khǎw – their beloved leader (Thaksin implied)</i>		
	Utterance autonomisation		
		<i>khǎw-sarùp khǎw ðaacaan sǎmbàt – Ajarn Sombat’s conclusion khǎw-thàkthiây – dispute (between Chaiwat and Sombat) khwaamkhít khǎw Aristotle – Aristotle’s ideas</i>	
	Objectivated		
	<i>khon khàp téksiî raay nùay – the case of a taxi driver</i>		<i>mǎránákam khǎw luay nuamthǎw phraywan – the death of Uncle Nuamthong Phraiwan</i>
Monarchy/King	Specified		
		<i>phrá?câw Alexander mahāarâat – King Alexander the Great</i>	<i>phrábàatsǎmdèt-phrácâwyiuhûa – His Majesty the King phrárâatchaa – the King phrámahāakasàt – the (great) King</i>

	Khien	Chaiwat	Pitch
	Generic/functionalised		
	<i>rátthāathípāt – king, the Crown, ruler kasāt - king</i>		<i>sathāaban phrámahākasāt – the monarchy</i>
	Abstract		
	<i>kaanmìn phráḃbaromdeechaanúphâap hàæŋ ḃoŋ phráḃmahākasāt – the committing of lèse majesté on the king</i>	<i>waaráḃ phráḃcāwyùuhūa soŋ khræŋ rāat naan 60 pii – the time of 60th anniversary of the king's reign</i>	<i>kòtmāay mìn phrábarom-deechaanúphâap – the lèse majesté law</i>

Appendix D: Cline of dynamism

Khien

Transitivity choices for different social actors in Khien's text

	People (groups) n=142	People (indiv) n=35	People (I) n=3	People (we, you) n=23	Military n=36	Coup group n=21	Gov., ruler n=87	State n=3	Monarchy n=9
Initiator etc. (human)		2.9%		8.7%	2.7%		3.4%		
Actor (+ GI) (Hum.)	9.9%	11.4%	25%	4.4%	2.7%	9.5%	12.6%		
Circ (Ag)							2.3%		
Actor (+ GI) (n-hum)	13.4%	5.7%		17.4%	16.7%	38%	20.7%		
Actor (- GI; +/- Scope)	8.5%	5.7%		4.4%	13.9%	9.5%	13.8%	66.7%	
Senser	5.6%	5.7%	25%	47.8%	5.6%	9.5%	3.4%		
Sayer	1.4%	22.9%	25%	13%	2.7%	9.5%	2.3%		
Behaver	3.5%								22.2%
Token	7%	8.6%			8.3%		4.6%		
Value	7%	11.4%			2.7%	4.8%	3.4%		33.3%

	People (groups) n=142	People (indiv) n=35	People (I) n=3	People (we, you) n=23	Military n=36	Coup group n=21	Gov., ruler n=87	State n=3	Monarchy n=9
Carrier	4.2%	5.7%			5.6%		3.4%		
Attribute	0.7%	5.7%					1.1%		
Possessor	6.3%		25%	4.4%	8.3%		3.4%		33.3%
Beneficiary	4.2%				2.7%	4.8%	1.1%	33.3%	
Existent	1.1%	5.7%					2.3%		
Verbiage	0.7%	5.7%					1.1%		
Phenom.	0.7%				5.6%		3.4%		
Scope									
Goal	5.6%	2.9%			16.7%	14.2%	13.8%		11.1%
Circ (n-Ag)	9.9%				5.6%		3.4%		

Pitch

Transitivity choices in Pitch's text

BAND		People (groups) n = 157	People (indiv) n = 5	People (I) n = 6	People (we, you) n = 24	Military n = 52	Coup group n = 29	Gov., Rul.class n = 31	State n = 36	Monarch y/King n = 17
1	Ini'r Ind'r Att'r Ass'r						6.9%		5.6%	
2	Actor (+ Gl) (Hum)	0.6%	20%			3.8%	10.3%		2.8%	
2	Circ (Ag)	0.6%				1.9%	3.5%	16.1%	2.8%	5.9%
3	Actor (+ Gl) (n.hum)	6.4%			8.3%	23.1%	24.1%	9.6%	5.6%	
4	Actor (- Gl; +/- Range)	7.6%				11.5%	3.5%	3.2%	2.8%	11.8%
4	Senser	4.5%	80%	20%	62.5%	1.9%				
4	Sayer	3.2%		80%	16.7%		10.3%			
4	Behaver	2.8%			4.2%					
5	Token	8.9%				5.8%	10.3%		8.3%	
5	Value	14%				9.6%		16.1%	11.1%	
5	Carrier	6.4%			4.2%	9.6%	3.5%		11.1%	23.5%
5	Attribute	7%				5.8%		3.2%	11.1%	
5	Possessor	10.2%			4.2%	9.6%	6.9%		11.1%	5.9%

BAND	People (groups) n = 157	People (indiv) n = 5	People (I) n = 6	People (we, you) n = 24	Military n = 52	Coup group n = 29	Gov., Rul.class n = 31	State n = 36	Monarch y/King n = 17
6	Beneficiary							2.8%	
6	Existent	1.4%							
6	Verbiage								5.9%
6	Phenom.	0.6%							
6	Target				1.9%				
6	Scope	0.6%							
7	Goal	4.5%					9.6%	2.8%	5.9%
8	Circ (n.Ag)	20.4%			15.4%	20.7%	41.9%	22.2%	41.2%%

BAND		People (groups) n = 100	People (indiv) n = 125	People (I) n = 34	People (we, you) n = 53	Military n = 13	Coup group n = 3	Governme nt, ruler n = 16	State n = 1	Monarch y n = 0
5	Possessor	1%	4%	8.8%	1.9%			25%	100%	
6	Beneficiary	6%	4.8%	3.1%		7.7%				
6	Existent	6%								
6	Verbiage		0.8%							
6	Phenom.		0.8%							
6	Target			3.1%						
6	Range	1%								
7	Goal	3%	3.2%			15.4%		12.5%		
9	Circ (n.Ag)	17%	10.4%		3.8%	7.7%		31.3%		

Appendix E: Information statement for participants and consent form

English

Research Project: Academic writing in Thai

I wish to invite you to participate in my research on academic writing in Thai. The details of the study follow and I hope you will consider being involved. I am conducting this research project for my PhD at the University of New England. My supervisors are **Associate Professor Mary Macken-Horarik** and **Professor Len Unsworth** of University of New England. A/Prof Mary Macken-Horarik can be contacted by email at mmackenh@une.edu.au or by phone on 0011 61 2 6773 3562. Prof. Len Unsworth can be contacted by email at hosedu@une.edu.au or by phone on 0011 61 2 6773 2677 and I can be contacted by email at iwijeyew@une.edu.au or phone on 0011 61 2 6773 5189. While in Thailand, I can be contacted by phone on 0859 071 896.

Aim of the Study:

This project aims to investigate the generic and rhetorical structure of the Thai research article and to account for the linguistic features found within these texts and relate these features to their social functions. An initial analysis will be made of a selection of research articles in Thai. A number of Thai academics and editors of academic journals will then be interviewed regarding their own writing practices, the features of academic texts they value or avoid in writing, and to seek relevant explanations for the specific linguistic or rhetorical features found in the texts. Ultimately, this study will contribute to our understanding of academic writing in Thai.

Time Requirements:

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be provided with a research article in your discipline to read before the interview. The interview will be arranged at a time that suits you, and will last for approximately one hour. The interview will be transcribed soon after and you will be given the opportunity to read and make any changes to the transcript if you wish.

Methodology:

The study comprises two parts. The first involves a linguistic analysis of research articles in Thai. The second part will be qualitative in nature. Thai academics and editors will be interviewed about any linguistic features found in the articles and their values, beliefs and practices regarding academic writing in the Thai context.

The interview will last for approximately 60 minutes. There will be a series of open-ended questions that allow you to explore your views and practices related to your writing. These interviews will be recorded. Following the interview, a transcript will be provided to you if you wish to see one. You will be free to withdraw at any time throughout the process.

Participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the project at any time and there will be no disadvantage if you decide not to participate.

The recordings will be kept on the researcher's password protected computer until they are transcribed and then they will be destroyed. The transcriptions will be kept in a locked cabinet for five years following thesis submission and then will be destroyed.

Research Process:

It is anticipated that this research will be completed by the end of **2014**. The results may be presented at conferences and published as journal articles without any identifying information.

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No. HE09/105, Valid to 1/11/2010)

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, in Australia, please contact the Research Ethics Officer at the following address:

Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351.
Tel: 0011 61 2 6773 3449
Fax: 0011 61 2 6773 3543
Email: ethics@une.edu.au

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contact with you.

Regards

Thai

ข้อมูลสำหรับผู้สนใจเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยเรื่อง การเขียนบทความทางวิชาการเป็นภาษาไทย

ผู้วิจัย Ms Ingrid Wijeyewardene

ผู้วิจัยขอเรียนเชิญผู้สนใจเข้ามามีส่วนร่วมในโครงการวิจัยเรื่อง การเขียนบทความทางวิชาการเป็นภาษาไทย

การวิจัยนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก ณ มหาวิทยาลัยนิวอิงแลนด์ (University of New England /UNE) ประเทศออสเตรเลียของผู้วิจัย โดยมีอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา ๒ ท่านคือ รองศาสตราจารย์แมรี แมคเคน โฮราริก (Mary Macken Horarik) ซึ่งท่านสามารถติดต่อทางอีเมลได้ที่ mmackenh@une.edu.au หรือทางโทรศัพท์หมายเลข 0011 61 2 6773 3562 และศาสตราจารย์เลน อันซเวิร์ธ (Len Unsworth) ซึ่งท่านสามารถติดต่อทางอีเมลได้ที่ hosedu@une.edu.au หรือทางโทรศัพท์หมายเลข 0011 61 2 6773 2677 ส่วนผู้วิจัย ท่านสามารถติดต่อทางอีเมลได้ที่ iwijeyew@une.edu.au หรือทางโทรศัพท์หมายเลข 0011 61 2 6773 5189 หากท่านมีความประสงค์จะติดต่อกับผู้วิจัยในช่วงที่ผู้วิจัยมาทำการวิจัยในประเทศไทย โปรดติดต่อทางโทรศัพท์หมายเลข 896 071 0859

จุดมุ่งหมายของโครงการวิจัย

โครงการวิจัยนี้มีจุดมุ่งหมายเพื่อพิจารณาโครงสร้างของรูปแบบ (Genre) และโครงสร้างของวาทศิลป์ (rhetoric) ของบทความทางวิชาการที่เขียนเป็นภาษาไทย และเพื่ออธิบายลักษณะเด่นของภาษาที่ใช้ในบทความ รวมทั้งการหาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างลักษณะเด่นที่พบกับบทบาของบทความทางวิชาการที่มีต่อสังคมเป็นสำคัญ (?) โดยในขั้นต้น ผู้วิจัยจะวิเคราะห์บทความทางวิชาการที่ได้คัดเลือกมาจากหลายสาขาวิชา ต่อจากนั้นผู้วิจัยจะทำการสัมภาษณ์นักวิชาการ และบรรณาธิการหรือผู้ตรวจบทความวิจัยก่อนตีพิมพ์บทความดังกล่าว เพื่อสอบถามเกี่ยวกับลักษณะเด่นของการใช้ภาษาที่มีคุณภาพหรือที่ควรละเว้นในการเขียนบทความทางวิชาการ และเพื่อหาคำอธิบายที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการใช้ภาษาเฉพาะหรือวาทศิลป์ที่พบในบทความ และท้ายที่สุด ผู้วิจัยหวังว่า โครงการวิจัยนี้จะมีส่วนช่วยเพิ่มความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับโครงสร้างของบทความทางวิชาการที่เขียนเป็นภาษาไทยให้มากยิ่งขึ้น

การใช้เวลาในการมีส่วนร่วม

ถ้าท่านตัดสินใจที่จะมีส่วนร่วมในโครงการวิจัยนี้ ท่านจะได้รับบทความที่เกี่ยวข้องกับสาขาวิชาที่ท่านมีความชำนาญ เพื่อให้ท่านได้ศึกษาก่อนให้สัมภาษณ์ ซึ่งคาดว่าจะใช้เวลาประมาณ ๑ ชั่วโมง โดยท่านสามารถเลือกวันและเวลาที่จะให้สัมภาษณ์เองได้ และเพื่อมิให้มีความคลาดเคลื่อนในการรวบรวมข้อมูล ผู้วิจัยใคร่ขออนุญาตบันทึกเสียงและจดบันทึกคำให้สัมภาษณ์ของท่านเป็นลายลักษณ์อักษร ซึ่งท่านสามารถตรวจสอบหรือแก้ไขตามที่ท่านต้องการได้ทุกเมื่อ

วิธีการวิจัย

โครงการวิจัยนี้แบ่งเป็นสองส่วน ส่วนที่หนึ่งประกอบด้วยการวิเคราะห์ทางด้านภาษาศาสตร์ของบทความทางวิชาการที่เขียนเป็นภาษาไทยในสองหรือสามวิชา ส่วนที่สองจะเป็นการศึกษาเชิงคุณภาพ (Qualitative) โดยจะทำการสัมภาษณ์นักวิชาการและบรรณาธิการหรือผู้ตรวจบทความ เพื่อสอบถามเกี่ยวกับลักษณะเด่นของการใช้ภาษาในบทความ รวมทั้งคุณค่า ความน่าเชื่อถือ และการประยุกต์ใช้คุณลักษณะดังกล่าวในการเขียนบทความทางวิชาการเป็นภาษาไทย

ชั่วโมง โดยจะมีการบันทึกเสียงและจดบันทึกการให้สัมภาษณ์ ๑ การสัมภาษณ์จะใช้เวลาประมาณของท่านเป็นลายลักษณ์อักษร ส่วนคำถามจะประกอบด้วยคำถามปลายเปิด(open-ended question) ซึ่งท่านสามารถแสดงความคิดเห็นและข้อเท็จจริงที่เกี่ยวข้องกับงานเขียนของท่านได้

การเข้าร่วมในโครงการวิจัยนี้เป็นไปโดยความสมัครใจ และหากท่านไม่ประสงค์จะเข้าร่วมในโครงการวิจัยนี้อีกต่อไป ท่านก็สามารถถอนตัวได้ทุกเมื่อ และจะไม่มีผลกระทบใด ๆ ต่อท่าน

ผู้วิจัยจะเก็บแถบบันทึกเสียงคำสัมภาษณ์ของท่านไว้ในคอมพิวเตอร์ของผู้วิจัย ซึ่งมีระบบการรักษาความปลอดภัยที่มีประสิทธิภาพ หลังจากมีการถ่ายถอดข้อมูลดังกล่าวเป็นลายลักษณ์อักษรแล้ว ผู้วิจัยจะทำลายข้อมูลที่บันทึกเสียงไว้ ส่วนข้อมูลที่บันทึกไว้เป็นลายลักษณ์อักษรนั้น ก็จะมีการเก็บข้อมูลดังกล่าวไว้ในตู้นิรภัยเป็นเวลา ๕ ปี ต่อจากนั้นข้อมูลดังกล่าวก็จะถูกทำลายเช่นกัน

การนำเสนอผลการวิจัย

และอาจจะมีการนำเสนอผล ๒๕๕๗ ผู้วิจัยคาดว่า โครงการวิจัยนี้จะสามารถบรรลุผลสำเร็จในปีการศึกษาต่อที่ประชุมทางด้านภาษาศาสตร์และตีพิมพ์เป็นบทความทางวิชาการ โดยไม่อ้างอิงแหล่งที่มาของข้อมูลต่อไป

อนึ่ง โครงการวิจัยนี้ได้รับอนุมัติจากคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมในการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับมนุษย์ของUNE (เลขที่ HE09/105 ซึ่งมีผลบังคับตั้งแต่วันที่ ๑ พฤศจิกายน ๒๕๕๔) ถ้าท่านมีข้อร้องเรียนใด ๆ เกี่ยวกับ (การดำเนินการของโครงการวิจัยนี้โปรดติดต่อกับเจ้าหน้าที่ผู้รับผิดชอบด้านจริยธรรมในการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับมนุษย์ทั้งในประเทศออสเตรเลียและประเทศไทยได้ตามที่อยู่ต่อไปนี้

ประเทศออสเตรเลีย

Research Ethics Officer

Research Services

University of New England

Armidale, NSW 2351

Tel: 0011 61 2 6773 3449

Fax: 0011 61 2 6773 3543

Email: ethics@une.edu.au

ใบแสดงความยินยอมสำหรับผู้ประสงค์จะมีส่วนร่วมในโครงการวิจัย

เรื่อง การเขียนบทความทางวิชาการเป็นภาษาไทย

Consent Form for Participants

I,, have read the information contained in the Information Sheet for Participants and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. Yes/No

I agree to participate in this activity, realising that I may withdraw at any time. Yes/No

I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published using a pseudonym Yes/No

I agree to the interview being audiotape recorded and transcribed. Yes/No

.....
Participant Date

.....
Researcher Date

ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านข้อมูลสำหรับผู้สนใจ.....

เข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยดังกล่าวแล้ว และยอมรับคำอธิบายของผู้วิจัย ใช่ ไม่ใช่

ข้าพเจ้ามีความประสงค์จะมีส่วนร่วมในโครงการวิจัยดังกล่าว และเข้าใจว่า ข้าพเจ้าสามารถถอนตัว
ออกจากการมีส่วนร่วมในโครงการวิจัยนี้ได้ทุกเมื่อ ใช่ ไม่ใช่

ข้าพเจ้ายอมรับว่า อาจจะมีการนำเสนอผลการวิจัยต่อที่ประชุมทางด้านภาษาศาสตร์และตีพิมพ์เป็น
บทความทางวิชาการ

โดยไม่อ้างอิงแหล่งที่มาของข้อมูล ใช่ ไม่ใช่

ข้าพเจ้ายอมรับว่า จะมีการบันทึกเสียงและจดบันทึกคำสัมภาษณ์เป็นลายลักษณ์อักษร ใช่ ไม่ใช่

.....
(ผู้มีส่วนร่วม) (วัน/ปี/เดือน/

.....
(ผู้วิจัย) (วัน/เดือน/

ปี

Appendix F: Interview questions

Academic language background

1. How often do you publish research articles in Thai? When? Where?

อาจารย์ตีพิมพ์ เคยตีพิมพ์บทความภาษาไทยใหม่? เมื่อไร? ที่ไหน?

2. Do you publish/ Have you ever published in another/other language(s)? Which language(s)?

อาจารย์ตีพิมพ์ เคยตีพิมพ์เอกสารในวารสารต่างประเทศใหม่? ภาษาอะไรบ้าง?

Institutional requirements / constraints

3. What position does your university take on the writing/publishing of articles in Thai/ in English?

มหาวิทยาลัยของอาจารย์มีนโยบายอะไรเกี่ยวกับการสนับสนุนการเผยแพร่เอกสารทางวิชาการ? กรุณาให้รายละเอียดด้วยได้ไหม?

4. Does the National Research Council have any policy regarding the writing/publishing of research articles? How does this affect your decision to write in Thai or another language?

คณะกรรมการวิจัยแห่งชาติ หรือคณะกรรมการ ส.ก.ว. มีนโยบายอะไรต่อเรื่องการเขียนการพิมพ์บทความเป็นภาษาไทย ภาษาอังกฤษใหม่? นโยบายนี้จะมีผลอะไรต่อการตัดสินใจว่าจะเขียนเป็นภาษาไทยหรือภาษาอื่นๆ?

5. Do you collaborate with others in your field? Do you publish with other researchers in your field?

อาจารย์ทำการวิจัย/ เขียนพิมพ์บทความร่วมกับผู้อื่นไหม?

6. Is funding support tied to research writing in Thai/ in English? Is research funding easier to access when you collaborate with others in your field?

การขอและได้รับทุนวิจัยยากไหม? อาจารย์คิดว่าการมีส่วนร่วมหรือการไม่มีส่วนร่วมกับอาจารย์ผู้วิจัยคนอื่นมีผลกระทบต่อการได้รับทุนไหม? มีการเลือกปฏิบัติไหม?

การไม่วิจัยร่วมกับผู้อื่นจะมีผลกระทบต่อการได้รับทุนไหม?

7. Does promotion in your institution depend on your publication record?

การเลื่อนขั้นในมหาวิทยาลัยของอาจารย์ ขึ้นอยู่กับการคุณภาพผลงานทางวิจัยมากน้อยแค่ไหน? ภาษาอะไรบ้าง?

Discourse community

8. Who are you in regular contact with in terms of your research?

ปรกติในเรื่องการวิจัย อาจารย์ติดต่อกับใคร หรือกับหน่วยงานใดบ้างไหม?

9. Who would be most likely to read your work?

ปรกติมักจะมียุุ่มผู้อ่านกลุ่มไหนที่เป็นกลุ่มเป้าหมายของอาจารย์? อาจารย์คาดว่าจะมีใครบ้างที่จะอ่านบทความ?

10. Have you ever published anything that may be considered controversial/ influential or that somehow shaped the thinking in your field? What kind of response did you get from others in your field? Can you give me an example?
อาจารย์เคยตีพิมพ์ผลงานทางวิชาการอะไรที่ทำให้เกิดความขัดแย้งหรือเปลี่ยนความคิดของคนอื่นไหม?

ผู้อ่านเคยแสดงความคิดเห็นอย่างไรเกี่ยวกับบทความการวิจัยไหม? อาจารย์จะอย่างไรต่อไปหลังจากได้รับฟัง/ ทราบความคิดเห็นแล้ว? อาจารย์ได้รับการตอบรับจากผู้อ่านอย่างไร? ช่วยยกตัวอย่างให้หน่อยได้ไหม?

11. Did anyone mentor you or help you learn how to write an academic article (in Thai/ another language)?

อาจารย์ได้รับการฝึกอบรมจากใครผู้ใด หรือสถาบันใดในการเขียนบทความทางวิชาการในภาษาไทยหรือภาษาอื่นๆไหม?

12. Who edits and approves the texts that are published by you?

ใครเป็นผู้ตรวจและแก้ไขคุณภาพของผลงานทางวิชาการของอาจารย์ก่อนส่งไปตีพิมพ์?

13. What is the status of research articles written in Thai in your discipline for you/ for your university?

อาจารย์คิดว่าบทความทางวิชาการภาษาไทยมีความสำคัญในวงการทางวิชาการมากน้อยแค่ไหน?

14. What is the status of journals written in Thai in your discipline for you/ for your university?

โปรดเรียงลำดับความสำคัญวารสารภาษาไทยที่คิดว่ามีความสำคัญในวงการทางวิชาการ

ในความคิดของอาจารย์ มีวารสารที่เป็นลำดับสำคัญที่สุดไหม?

15. Do you feel any commitment to writing in Thai in your discipline in Thailand?

อาจารย์นิยมเขียนเป็นภาษาไทยไหม? ทำไม?

16. Is there any pressure for you to publish in Thai/English/other languages?

อาจารย์รู้สึกว่ามีแรงกดดันว่าต้องเขียนบทความ/เอกสารเป็นภาษาไทย/ภาษาอังกฤษ/ภาษาอื่นๆไหม?

17. Do you ever have your work translated into English? In what situations would you do this?

อาจารย์เคยแปลบทความเป็นภาษาอังกฤษไหม? ทำไม? เมื่อไร?

Genre

18. What are some of the purposes of the research article in your profession?

อาจารย์คิดว่าวัตถุประสงค์ของ(การเขียน)บทความวิชาการคืออะไร?

19. What do you think makes a good research article? What are the distinguishing features of a research article in your discipline?

ในความคิดของอาจารย์ บทความวิชาการควรมีลักษณะอย่างไรบ้าง?

20. Is the article that you read before this interview a good example of the research article in your discipline? How so?

อาจารย์คิดว่าบทความวิจัยที่ส่งให้อาจารย์อ่านก่อนเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีในวิชาของอาจารย์ได้ไหม?

21. What did you think about the style of writing in that article?

อาจารย์คิดอย่างไรบ้างเกี่ยวกับวิธีการเขียนในบทความวิจัยฉบับนั้น?

22. Can you comment on the way the information was organised in that text? Why was the information organised in this way in the article (e.g.)?

กรุณาวิจารณ์ต่อโครงสร้างของงานวิชาการฉบับนั้นได้ไหม?

23. Can you name an article from your discipline that you think is a good example of a research article? What impressed you about it?

มีบทความวิจัยในวิชาของอาจารย์ไหม ที่อาจารย์ถือว่าเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดี? ทำไม?

อาจารย์ยกผลงานวิจัยของใครมากที่สุด? มีอะไรบ้างที่ประทับใจ?

Rhetoric

24. Where do you think the main point of the article should come?

แนวคิดของบทความวิจัยควรจะปรากฏในส่วนไหนของผลงานทางวิชาการ?

25. How do you refer to yourself/ to others in your writing?

คำสรรพนามที่อาจารย์มักนิยมใช้แทนตัวเองในการเขียนบทความวิจัยคืออะไร?

คำสรรพนามที่อาจารย์มักนิยมใช้แทนบุคคลอื่นในการเขียนบทความวิจัยคืออะไร?

26. What makes a persuasive argument?

การถกเถียงทางวิชาการในเชิงสร้างสรรค์เป็นอย่างไร?

27. What method of citation do you use? Is this the same across your discipline?

อาจารย์ใช้รูปแบบการอ้างอิงแบบไหน? ในสาขาวิชาของอาจารย์เหมือนกันไหม?

28. How important do you think the following are?

อาจารย์คิดว่าสิ่งต่อไปนี้สำคัญอย่างไร/แค่ไหน?

Evidence? Citation? Flagging of points?

หลักฐาน? การอ้างอิง? เมื่อจะเปลี่ยนหัวข้อ เริ่มประเด็นใหม่ ใช้อ่อนหน้าอะไรที่จะบอกกับผู้อ่านบ้าง

Linguistic features

29. Why do you think the writer used [FEATURE] in this way?

อาจารย์คิดว่าผู้เขียนใช้ [ไวยากรณ์แบบนี้] อย่างนี้ทำไม?

30. What do you use X for?

เวลาอาจารย์เขียน อาจารย์จะใช้ [ไวยากรณ์แบบนี้] ทำไม?

31. What is the purpose of X?

อาจารย์คิดว่าวัตถุประสงค์ [ไวยากรณ์แบบนี้] เป็นอะไร?

For editors

What do you look for in an article when you review an article for publication in your journal?

เวลาอาจารย์ตรวจดูบทความวิจัยที่จะตีพิมพ์ในวารสาร อาจารย์หาลักษณะเด่นทางภาษาอะไรบ้าง?

What features will lead you to accept an article for publication?

อาจารย์จะยอมรับบทความวิจัยที่มีลักษณะทางภาษาอะไรบ้าง?

What features will lead you to reject an article?

บทความวิจัยที่อาจารย์จะไม่ยอมรับมีลักษณะทางภาษาอะไรบ้าง?

What kind of advice/comments would you give a writer of an article to help improve his/her chances for publication?

อาจารย์จะให้คำแนะนำอะไรบ้างให้แก่อาจารย์ผู้เขียนบทความวิจัยเพื่อจะได้แก้ไขและตีพิมพ์บทความวิจัยฉบับนั้น?