Political Discourses of Trust: Stance-taking Acts in the Thai PM's Weekly TV Addresses

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate the Thai PM Gen Prayuth Chan-o-cha's use of stance expressions to construe trust, comprising attitudinal stance, epistemic stance and modality, in his weekly addresses broadcast on national television from March to December, 2017. The linguistic investigation incorporating Critical Discourse Analysis and trust frameworks shows that the three main aspects of trust are pursued. Integrity is however predominantly constructed through the use of a modal verb kʰɔ̌ː 'would like' and an attitudinal verb jàːk 'want'. Interestingly, a relatively small number of stance markers are found to project competency and benevolence. The results have led to the conclusion that the PM's trust-building strategies mainly involve the construal of integrity by asserting his moral values linked with national reform, reconciliation, and advancement. These characteristics of linguistic hegemony via the construction of trust-building are expected to raise more sociopolitical awareness in the Thai political context.

INTRODUCTION

To retain power and stability, politicians have sought ways to build trust through taking action to establish a sustainable approach to national development. Politicians' trustworthiness, however, is mainly manifested by discourse, a form of social practice in which societal power relations are embedded, produced and reproduced through the use of language. Trustworthiness has been evaluated as constructed from three main aspects: *competency*, *integrity*, and *benevolence* (Fuoli & Hart, 2018; Fuoli, 2016; Wang, 2016; Prevost, Brodeur, Onishi, Lepage & Gold, 2015; Simpson, Harrell & Willer, 2013). The person's competency is strongly linked with our impression that the person is able to deal with difficulties and take control of unexpected situations. It is also believed that we tend to mentally assess the person's integrity based on our sense that they are committed to moral beliefs and principles in addition to acting upon a promise. Finally, the trustworthy person tends to be one who has good intentions, as well as empathy towards others.

Recent research on the discursive construction of trust within the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis and Communication has incorporated the investigation of linguistic devices such as lexical choices, stance-taking expressions, metaphors, and discursive strategies in trust-building. For instance, Salvi, (2017)'s work focused analysis on how trust is discursively constructed in European political communication through the investigation of lexical choices linked with immigration issues. Fuoli (2017) examined the relationship between trustworthy corporate identity and the use of specific types of stance markers and constructions. Wang (2016), investigated how Chinese locals dealt with the 2015 Tianjin blasts. Wang found unsatisfactory crisis communication when officials merely focused on the construction of competency, whereas satisfactory officials constructed all three aspects of trust by providing information with credible evidence.

This present study focuses on a critical and linguistic analysis of the Thai PM Gen Prayuth Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses broadcast across Thai national television and radio stations from March 2017, when a 'reconciliation social contract' and the initial plans for a general election were approved, to December 2017. To shed light on how the PM's trustworthiness is discursively constructed, stance expressions comprising attitudinal stance, epistemic stance and modality (Conrad & Biber, 2000) collocated with the personal pronoun *pʰǒm* 'I' were examined, relying on Critical Discourse Analysis's theoretical framework, to explore (1) what Thai stance markers were used by the Thai PM as the military leader to mediate his personal quality of trustworthiness; (2) how those particular stance markers

were used across stance construction types; and (3) what plausible interpretations underlying the use of specific types of stance markers and constructions were in relation to the construction of trust. The linguistic investigation is the main focus of this study as it can be explained without overtly relying on personal interpretations (e.g. non-speech elements including facial expression, volume or gaze) (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017).

Since contextualization of discourse data is very important, this section investigates the social processes in the period the speeches were delivered to achieve better understanding of the contexts (De Saint-Georges, 2013; Bloommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). In 2014, General Prayuth Chan-o-cha launched a coup, dissolving the former Government. Since then, the Thai military government under him has claimed to attempt to heal political division and polarization between the movements which had fought against each other for more than a decade on the grounds of economic and social inequality. To achieve a peaceful and unified society, a 'reconciliation social contract' was approved in March 2017, with the primary focus on the Civil-State partnership model—inviting people, government and businesses to work closely together to pursue sustainable development, helping farmers, workers and communities secure their livelihoods. It aimed to strengthen the country's economy at the grassroots level, empowering local communities and enterprises towards development goals. Additionally, the national reconciliation process was regarded as part of the military government's plan to restore democracy, preparing for a general election of 2019, after which General Prayuth Chan-o-cha has returned as the PM.

Immediately after the successful coup, the TV program "*Returning Happiness to the Nation's People*" was broadcast weekly between May 2014 and October 2016 across all national television and radio stations, on Fridays from 8:15-8:45 pm. This program was initially produced to seek the understanding of the Thai people after the coup, helping ensure the stability of the military government. In October 2016, the TV program title was changed to "*From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals*" to honor and pay tribute to the legacy of His Majesty the late King Rama IX by highlighting the King's philosophy, along with promoting the PM's 12 national core values, primarily concerned with upholding the three 'pillars': Nation, Religions, and Monarchy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Discourse Analysis

Political discourse is possibly the most widespread social domain topic that Critical Discourse Analysis practitioners have continuously worked on, attempting to find ways to raise people's awareness of manipulation, exploitation, power abuse, political ideology, and social inequalities (Chilton, 2004; Wodak, 2009; Fairclough & Mauranen, 1997; van Dijk, 2007; Fairclough, 1992). This study adopted Fairclough (2010, 2003)'s three-dimensional framework for formulating and analyzing discourse by initially looking into

linguistic features and organization of instances of discourse. Clearly, language and politics are intertwined in the way that wording and phrasing are related to political concepts and values. Chilton (2004) emphasizes that "political activity does not exist without the use of language" (p.6).

It is also noted that both the semantic and syntactic aspects of language play roles in shaping different conceptualizations of political ideology. For instance, when the agent is obscured and passive verb forms are used by politicians, this syntactic alternative can produce different impressions from when an active verb form is chosen (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Bloommaert & Bulcaen (2000) categorize the linguistic features and organization of instances of discourse into "choices and patterns in vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure" (p. 448). All these features of language need to be systematically analyzed in order to shed light on the relationship between the linguistic analysis and the social practices analyzed (Wodak, 2009).

Once a discourse-as-text dimension is accomplished, CDA practitioners attempt to link those linguistic features with the context by investigating how specific texts are produced, reproduced, distributed and consumed as well as incorporating macro conditions. The last CDA dimension proposed by Fairclough is discourse-as-social practice, which aims to draw on the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which a particular discourse is constituted, and, if possible, raise social awareness and resist hegemony (Fairclough & Mauranen, 1997).

Trust-building and Stance-taking Acts

Stance expressions comprise several linguistic devices to express speaker's attitudes, personal feelings, assessments, or moral judgments (Conrade & Biber, 2005; Biber, Conrad, & Cortes, 2004, Biber et al, 1999). Stance markers linked with the enactment of trust can be divided into three main semantic/functional classifications: (1) epistemic stance (2) attitudinal stance, and (3) modality (Fuoli & Hart, 2018). Epistemic stance markers express the knowledge status of information in a following proposition: certainty, uncertainty, or likelihood, which can be manifested in the following construction types: (1) *certainty verb + post-predicate complement clause* (e.g. anticipate, ascertain, conclude, confirm, establish, find, know, perceive, realize, show, understand, verify, etc.), (2) *likelihood verb + post-predicate complement clause* (e.g. appear, assume, believe, consider, doubt, expect, feel, gather, guess, imagine, indicate, infer, sense, suggest, suppose, suspect, think, etc.) , and (3) *likelihood noun + that-complement clause* (e.g. assumption, belief, claim, doubt, estimate, etc.) (see Fuoli, 2017).

Attitudinal stance markers are used to signal the speaker's attitudes towards actions, events, values, and concepts manifested in the following construction types: (1) *desire/ intention/decision verb + to-complement clause* (e.g. aim, commit, crave, dedicate, intend, look, mean, necessitate, need, plan, require, seek, strive, want, wish, would like, etc.), (2) *emotion/attitude adjective + post-predicate complement clause* (e.g. afraid, concerned, delighted, interested, pleased, sad, thankful, worried, etc.), and (3) *evaluation*

adjective + post-predicate complement clause (e.g. annoying, critical, embarrassing, important, necessary reasonable, etc.) (see Fuoli, 2017). The final category of stance expressions are in the form of modality, expressing (1) permission/possibility/ability (e.g. can, could, may, might, etc.), (2) necessity/obligation (e.g. must, should, etc.), and (3) volition/prediction (e.g. shall, will, would, etc.) (see Fuoli, 2017).

In Thai grammar, Thai stance markers exist in a similar categorization as classified by Fuoli (2017), though with more variations in terms of construction types and semantic functions of epistemic verbs. Kitikanan (2012) found 10 types of Thai verb complementation. Prasithrathsint (2009) further explained that the occurrence of each of the complementizers depends on the type of verb in the matrix clause. For instance, the complementizer *thîi* occurs with emotive verbs, whereas *wâ:* is found with communicative verbs. Similarly, *hây* occurs with directive verbs. Some epistemic verbs like *tɔ:ŋ.ka:n* 'want' can function as a manipulative verb if followed by *hây* as well as functioning as a modal verb when the subject in the main clause also serves to function as the subject of verb complement. Rangkupan (2005) investigated a system of epistemic modality in Thai and established four syntactic categories: (1) preverbal auxiliaries, (2) initial particles, (3) adverbs, and (4) final particles. Epistemic modality can also be classified into five semantic categories: (1) assumptive, (2) speculative, (3) deductive, (4) dubitative, and (5) certainty.

METHODOLOGY

This present study examined the Thai PM's use of specific stance-act markers in manifesting his personal quality of trustworthiness by analyzing a total of 44 weekly addresses in the TV program *From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals*, from March 3, 2017 to December 29, 2017, aired on national television and radio stations on Fridays between 8:15 and 8:45 pm. The addresses were retrieved from the website of the Royal Thai Government at http://www.thaigov.go.th both as YouTube video clips and verbatim transcriptions. The total number of words in the 44 weekly addresses is 554,896 and the total number of the personal pronoun *pʰŏm* 'I' is 1,329. Table 1 summarizes the details of each TV address.

At the micro level, the procedure to identify and quantify first personal pronoun use was achieved with MSWord's advanced find function prior to proceeding with careful manual word and utterance semantic/functional analysis, taking into account the context from which the data were drawn. As discussed previously, stance markers which could not be identified as belonging to the PM's personal identity, like 'government', were excluded. The present study aims to analyze stance markers collocating with the personal pronoun *pʰŏm* 'I' only. The framework for analyzing stance-taking acts proposed by Fuoli (2017) and for analyzing Thai verb complements and modality in the system of Thai grammar by Kitikanan (2012) were incorporated into the manual

Table 1. Summary of information of the weekly addresses

Tv weekly addresses	Words	I	Tv weekly address	Words	I
March 3, 2017	11,305	39	August 4, 2017	15,149	20
March 10, 2017	10,344	27	August 11, 2017	14,022	25
March 17, 2017	15,793	50	August 18, 2017	9,893	24
March 24, 2017	18,913	32	August 25, 2017	9,202	21
March 31, 2017	11,731	25	September 1, 2017	11,457	21
April 7, 2017	12,173	21	September 8, 2017	11,092	25
April 14, 2017	11,737	24	September 15, 2017	11,920	29
April 21, 2017	12,871	33	September 22, 2017	15,829	42
April 28, 2017	11,183	19	September 29, 2017	9,945	38
May 5, 2017	11,754	26	October 6, 2017	5,908	24
May 12, 2017	15,427	40	October 13, 2017	5,371	4
May 19, 2017	13,667	30	October 20, 2017	14,263	21
May 26, 2017	18,643	47	October 27, 2017	3,212	5
June 2, 2017	13,517	25	November 3, 2017	13,480	28
June 9, 2017	9,823	14	November 10, 2017	7,897	26
June 16, 2017	20,615	82	November 17, 2017	13,141	36
June 23, 2017	16,574	25	November 24, 2017	11,189	18
June 30, 2017	10,960	17	December 1, 2017	18,590	118
July 7, 2017	16,052	28	December 8, 2017	8,641	10
July 14, 2017	12,893	21	December 15, 2017	9,003	16
July 21, 2017	17,116	43	December 22, 2017	16,288	46
July 28, 2017	13,211	23	December 29, 2017	13,102	41
Total	Words= 554,896	I = 1,329			

analysis by identifying lexical choices that can be categorized as stance markers (epistemic stance, attitudinal stance, and modality) and then categorizing each identified stance marker collocating with the personal pronoun *pʰŏm* 'I' into the sub-categories of trust components: benevolence, competency, and integrity.

As the present study relied on Fairclough (1992, 2003)'s Critical Discourse Analysis framework, the macro-level analysis of discourse was carried out after the linguistic investigation to explore the conditions of production of the identified stance markers. More specifically, it intended to explain why particular types of stance markers were employed by the PM and why certain aspect of trust were paid more particular attention than others, with the hope to raise sociopolitical awareness of linguistic hegemony via the construction of trust-building.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overall Distribution of Stance Markers

This section focuses on the analysis of the stance markers used by the Thai PM in his weekly addresses to enact his identity as a trustworthy politician. The overall distribution of Thai stance markers projecting the three main aspects of trust-building strategies—benevolence, integrity, and competency—is illustrated in Table 2. The specific construction types of stance markers categorized into 'benevolence', 'integrity', and 'competency' is then discussed.

Table 2 illustrates that the majority of stance markers used represent the PM's personal stance in terms of trust-building categorized as language used to enact integrity, whereas around 23 and 6 percent of all the stance markers found in the data were linguistic devices projecting competency and benevolence, respectively. The examples of stance markers used to signal integrity are *kʰɔ̌ː* 'would like', *jà:k* 'want', *hěn* 'think' which were found to express the PM's moral beliefs. The remaining stance markers are those connected with the construal of competency (e.g. *dâj* 'be able to', *càʔ* 'will') and benevolence (e.g. *hěn* 'see', *kʰâwcaj* 'understand'), which were found to express the PM's ability to deal with specific issues, and inter-subjectivity or the interchange of thoughts and feelings between the speaker and audience, respectively. The detailed analysis underlying the use of stance markers is given in the next sections.

Stance Markers and Constructions Projecting Benevolence

Based on the findings in Table 2, the PM's weekly addresses were scarcely concerned to emphasize inter-subjectively

Table 2. Overall frequency of stance markers constructed from the three components of trust

Components	Frequency of stance markers	Percentage
Benevolence	54	6.05%
Integrity	633	70.97%
Competency	205	22.98%
Total	892	100%

shared thoughts and feelings with the people, as only 6 percent of the stance markers used by the PM were found to project benevolence. Table 3 reports the specific types of stance markers as well as the frequency and distribution of those stance markers and constructions concerning benevolence.

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Stance Markers and Constructions Projecting Benevolence

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As Table 3 shows, the Thai verbs *hěn* 'see', *kʰâwcaj* 'understand', and *mâj rúː/ mâj sa:p* 'don't know' are the three most frequent epistemic verbs, against the remaining epistemic verbs found to enact benevolence in the weekly addresses. The Thai verb *hěn* 'see' is used as a grammatical marker of epistemic stance in a certainty verb + nominalized complement construction as shown in the following examples.

1) ***pʰŏm hěn*** *tuːa.jà:ŋ ka:n nɔ́ːm.nam sà:t pʰrá.ra:.cʰa: paj prà.júk cʰáj con prà.sòp.pʰŏn.sǎm.rèt*
   PN: 1SG Verb:to see example conveyance the king's philosophy DIR to apply until to succeed
   (**I have seen** examples of embracing the King's Philosophy and adopting it successfully.) (November 24, 2017)

2) ***pʰŏm hěn*** *pan.hǎː mâːk.ma:j paj.mòt ka:n tʰam pra.cʰa:.pʰí.ca:n tɔ̂ːŋ sâːŋ ka:n ráp.rúː kɔ̀:n*
   PN: 1SG Verb:to see problem many absolutely/whatsoever
   (**I have seen** too many problems. We must build people's awareness before conducting the public hearing.) (December 1, 2017)

Utterances of the PM's good intentions with the verb *hěn* 'see' are used to highlight the PM's shared knowledge or cognizance of Thailand's situation, proving that he is a leader

Table 3. Overall frequency of stance markers and construction types involving 'benevolence'

Markers	Frequency	Percentage	Stance Type/Construction type
hĕn 'see'	14	25.93%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + nominalized complement
kʰâwcaj 'understand'	12	22.22%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâ:*/ nominalized complement/ no verbal complement
mâj rú:/ mâj sa:p 'don't know'	10	18.52%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâ:*/
sa:p / rú: 'know'	5	9.26%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâ:*/
rápfâŋ 'consider'	4	7.41%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + nominalized complement
mâj hĕn 'don't find'	3	5.56%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + verb-phrasal complement/ sentential complement
sa:mpʰât 'feel'	2	3.70%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + nominalized complement following *dâj tʰûŋ*
ráprú: 'perceive'	2	3.70%	Epistemic stance certainty verb + nominalized complement following/not following *dâj tʰûŋ*
mâj kʰâwcaj 'don't understand'	1	1.85%	Epistemic stance certainty verb (intransitive verb where no complementation occurs)
hĕncaj 'empathize'	1	1.85%	Epistemic stance certainty verb (intransitive verb where no complementation occurs
Total	54	100%	Epistemic stance

who is attentive to the Thai people's well-being. In 2), the PM claims insightful understanding of multifaceted issues. Since he understands the phenomenon well, he also knows how to cope with them. Apart from claiming full awareness of the country's problems, the PM also acknowledges positive developments claimed to result from his actions and support, as shown in 1). The manifestation of shared understanding creates the impression of 'being there' for the Thai people. This is used to emphasize his identity as a benevolent and altruistic leader.

In addition to the use of the verb *hĕn* 'see', another epistemic verb that was frequently found is *kʰâwcaj* 'understand', which serves to project benevolence by empathizing with people's problems and showing that he is devoted to assist with solutions. The epistemic verb *kʰâwcaj* 'understand' is used as a grammatical marker of epistemic stance in the following constructions: (1) a certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâ:*; (2) a certainty verb + nominalized complement; (3) and a certainty verb without verbal complements as shown in the following instances.

3) *pʰŏm ʔeŋ kʰâw.caj wâ: ka:n càʔ jù:rû:am.kan naj săŋ. kʰom dâj jà:ŋ.pen.pà.ka.tìʔ.sùk nán raw tôŋ ʔa:săj táŋ kòt.ma.ǰ.ca:.rî:t.prà.pʰe.ni: léʔ kòt.ma.ǰ.la:j.lák.ʔak.sŏ:n*
   PN:1SG myself Verb:to understand COMP NMZ ASP to live together insociety MOD: POSSI ABI happily and safely EMP PN: 1PL INCL MOD: OBL to abide both common law and civil law
   (**I myself understand that** to live together in the society happily and safely, we must rely on the common law and civil law.) (April, 21, 2017)

4) *pʰŏm kʰâw.caj kʰwa:m.dùː:at.rɔ́n kʰŏŋ tʰân*
   PN:1SG Verb:to understand trouble POSS you
   tè tʰân tôŋ kʰâw.caj kʰwa:m.dùː:at.rɔ́n kʰŏŋ prà.tʰêt dûː:aj
   (**I understand** your hardship, but you must understand the country's hardship too.) (July, 7, 2017)

5) *lăːj kʰon kɔ̂: ʔàː:t cà jaŋ lam.bàː:k.caj jùː:*
   pʰŏm kʰâw.caj hĕn.caj kɔ̂: pʰa.jaː:.jaː:m cà tʰam hâj.dâː:j mâː:k. tʰîː:.sùt ná kʰráp tʰáŋ.níː kɔ̂: dûː:aj cìt.caj rŭː: cè:t. ta.naː:.rom tʰîː: tâŋ.mân kʰŏ̆:ŋ pʰûː:ak.raw tʰúk.kʰon ná kʰráp
   PN:1SG Verb:to understand
   (Many people may still feel uncomfortable. **I understand**, empathize and will try to help as much as I can with our heart and strong will.) (September 1, 2017)

From the findings above, the PM claims an in-depth understanding of Thailand's problems in logic by indicating causes of problems when the verb *kʰâwcaj* 'understand' is used in a certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâ:* as shown in 3). To illustrate this, in 3), the PM logically ascribes both common law and statue law to our peace in the society. The verb *kʰâwcaj* 'understand' is further used to display empathy towards people's difficulty, but with the use of a nominalized complement, conceals actual causes of hardship, as shown in 4). The disclaimers ideological discourse strategy '*I understand it, but…*' structure (van Dijk, 2013) is used with the verb *kʰâwcaj* when it is followed by nominalized complements to express apparent empathy while at the same time negatively representing others (people who oppose him). Doing so, he represents himself as a devoted politician attempting to resolve conflicts and social issues while other people oppose him. Finally, when the verb *kʰâw-*

caj functions as an intransitive verb with no verb complements as in 5), it is used to emphasize the PM's sympathy and his devotion to help people and the nation to the fullest.

The other frequently used type of epistemic stance expressions that convey the construction of benevolence is *mâj rúː/mâj saːp* 'don't know'. This grammatical marker is commonly used in a certainty verb + sentential complement following *wâː*. Here are some instances conveying *mâj rúː/ mâj saːp*.

6) *Kʰɔ̌ː kʰɔ̀ːp.kʰun kʰa.náʔ tʰîː paj tʰam.ŋaːn tàːŋ.pra.tʰêːt paj tʰam.ŋaːn tʰɛːn kʰon tʰaj tʰáŋ pra.tʰêːt naj kaːn cʰíː. cɛːŋ tɛ̀ː miː kʰon baːŋ kʰon baːŋ pra.pʰêːt ʔaw paj pra. caːn*

   pʰǒm mâj rúː wâː kʰon làw.nân pen kʰon tʰaj rǔː mâj
   PN:1SG NEG Verb:to know COMP people those to be people Thai or not

(I would like to thank the team for working on behalf of Thai people in explaining what has happened overseas. However, there are some types of people who try to vilify. **I don't know whether** those people are Thai or not.) (March 17, 2017)

The epistemic stance expression *mâj rúː/mâj saːp* 'don't know' shown above was found to serve as a disclaimer ideological discourse strategy (van Dijk, 2013) that the PM used to represent himself positively and negatively represent other social actors. In so doing, he emphasized his devotion, responsibility, and commitment to the nation and to negatively represent others who appear to criticize and oppose him as 'apparently not Thai people' as shown in 6). Thus, the use of this stance expression is not linked with a genuine lack of knowledge and research but rather involves negative representation of others, emphasizing his positive side.

Stance Markers and Constructions Projecting Integrity

Analysis of stance expressions enacting construal of integrity shows that the most frequently used stance markers in the weekly addresses are 'attitudinal stance' markers and 'epistemic stance' expressions. The former concern expressions of personal attitudes, emotions, feelings, value judgments and moral beliefs, whereas the latter stance acts involve 'believing' and 'thinking' used to signal the speaker's moral values and principles. Attitudinal stance can be used as an indicator revealing degrees of integrity, provoking people's judgment of the PM's trustworthiness. Table 4 shows the overall frequency stance markers and constructions concerning integrity.

From Table 4, the Thai modality *kʰɔ̌ː* 'would like' is used the most frequently, representing 27.39% of all stance expressions involving integrity. To be precise, this grammatical marker of attitudinal stance is found in the following constructions: (1) a volition modality + verb-phrasal complement construction; (2) an attitudinal verb used in a desire/intention/decision verb + verb-phrasal complement following *hâj* construction; and (3) an attitudinal verb used on a desire/intention/decision verb + sentential complement following *hâj*. In the 2nd and 3rd constructions, *kʰɔ̌ː* is found to function as a manipulative verb with the PM functioning

as the manipulating agent. The manipulee, which belongs to the attitudinal verb *kʰɔ̌ː*, is sometimes omitted but can still be inferred from the context (Givón, 1990). Here is an example of this grammatical marker of attitudinal stance projecting integrity.

7) *pʰǒm kʰɔ̌ː sa.nàp.sa.nǔn hâj lûːk lûːk lǎːn lǎːn dâːj tʰam naj sìŋ tʰîː tâŋ.caj wáj kàp kʰun.mêː*
   PN: 1SG MOD:VOL to encourage **MAN** the young/ young people **MOD: POSSI ABI** to dointhing **REL**to intend **ASP: PERFBEN** mother

(**I would like** to support all our children to keep their promises made to their mother.) (August 11, 2017)

In the system of Thai grammar, *kʰɔ̌ː* 'would like' functions as a volition modal used to express personal desire and intention. From the analysis, *kʰɔ̌ː* is found to be most commonly used by the PM, to display a confident stance asserting moral beliefs he finds necessary for national reform that he would like Thai people to adopt. As we can see in 7), the PM expressed his personal morality by giving priority to showing gratitude and doing good deeds to mothers. He asserted that gratitude towards parents is a key to national development.

The other two constructions in which *kʰɔ̌ː* is used are an attitudinal verb + sentential complement following *hâj*, as shown in 8) below. When *kʰɔ̌ː* is used in this construction, the PM did not only require changed behaviour, but also asserted his personal stance linked with beliefs and values towards good citizenship. In 8) the quality of being patient and of adjusting mindsets are required by the PM, who ascribed them to success in conflict resolution.

8) *naj cʰûːaŋ tʰáːj níː kɔ̂ː dâːj.kɛ̀ː nùaŋ kɔːː.ra.niː wát.pʰrá. tʰam.ma.kaːj*
   pʰǒm kʰɔ̌ː hâj câːw.nâː thîː pʰrá pʰút.tʰa sǎː sa.ník.ka cʰon pra.cʰaːː.cʰon tʰûːa.paj tʰáŋ pra.tʰêːt dâːj ʔòt.tʰon cʰâj sa.tì.pan.ja léʔ wíː.caːː.ra.náː.jaːn naj kaːn kêːː.kʰǎj pan. hǎː rûːam kan dûːaj
   PN:1SG MOD:VOL MAN government officer Buddhist monk Buddhist people (in) general whole country **MOD: POSSI ABI** to be patient

(This last part includes 1) The Dhammakaya Temple Case. **I would like** to ask for cooperation from the temple staff, the monks, Buddhists, and people all over the country to be patient, to use your intelligence and discretion to solve the problems altogether.) (March 3, 2017)

The second commonly used type of attitudinal stance marker concerning integrity is *jàːk* 'want', which is used in the following constructions: (1) a desire/intention/decision verb (manipulative verb) + verb-phrasal complement following *hâj*; (2) a desire/intention/decision verb (manipulative verb) + sentential complement following *hâj*; (3) volition modality + verb-phrasal complement; and (4) volition modality + verb-phrasal complement following *càʔ*. The analysis of the PM's use of *jàːk* 'want', when used as a volition modal, shows that *jàːk* functions as the PM's expression of positive desire for Thailand's future. A promising sign of change in terms of human development is often stated, as in 9). Additionally, *jàːk* is used positively to represent the PM by emphasizing that he is committed to improving peo-

Table 4. Overall frequency of stance markers and construction types projecting integrity

Markers		Frequency	Percentage	Stance Type/ Construction type
kʰɔ́ː	*kʰɔ́ː* 'would like'	146 (23.06%)	27.66%	Modality volition modality + verb-phrasal complement
	kʰɔ́ː hâj 'would like'	29 (4.60%)		Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb (manipulative verb) + sentential complement following *hâj*
	jàːk 'want'	45 7.11%	25.44%	Modality volition modality + verb-phrasal complement
	jàːk hâj 'want'	90 14.22%		Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb (manipulative verb) + verb-phrasal complement/sentential complement following *hâj*
	jàːk càʔ 'want'	26 4.11%		Modality Volition modality + verb-phrasal complement following *càʔ*
hɛ̆n / wâː / kʰít/ mɔːŋ **'think'**		117	18.48%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement/verb-phrasal complement following *wâː*
cʰûːa / cʰûːa.mân / tʰɯ̆ː **'believe'**		28	4.42%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement/ verb-phrasal complement following *wâː*
penkaŋwon ' be worried'/ *mâncaj* 'be confident'/ *yindii* 'be pleased'/ *pʰɔ́ːcaj* 'be satisfied'/ *sŏŋsăj* 'be doubtful'/ *sǐːacaj* 'be sad'/ *dîːcaj* 'be happy', etc.		28	4.42%	Attitudinal stance emotion/attitude verb + sentential complement following *wâː/* verb-phrasal complement following *tʰîː(dâːj)/* nominalized complement following *kàp*
mâj jàːk **'don't want'**		24	3.79%	Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb + verb-phrasal complement/ sentential complement (manipulative verb) following *hâj*
tôŋ.kaːn **'want'**		19	3%	Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb + nominalized complement/ sentential complement (manipulative verb) following *hâj* Modality volition modal + verb-phrasal complement
wăŋ / kʰâːtwăŋ **'expect'**		16	2.53%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement following *wâː*
yám/ néːn / néːn.jám / yɯ̆nyan **'confirm'**		15	2.37%	Epistemic stance certainty verb (intransitive verb where no complementation occurs) certainty verb + verb-phrasal complement following *hâj / càʔ* / sentential complement following *wâːa*
tôŋ/ cam.pen tôŋ / **'must'**		12	1.89%	Modality necessity/obligation modal + verb-phrasal complement
pʰayaayaam **'strive'**		10	1.58%	Attitudinal stance desire/intention/decision verb + verb-phrasal complement following tʰîː *càʔ*
mâj dâːj mă̆ːj kʰwaːm **'don't mean'**		6	0.95%	Attitudinal stance desire/intention/decision verb + sentential complement following *wâː*
pʰrɔ́ːm **'ready'**		5	0.79%	Attitudinal stance ability or willingness adjective + verb-phrasal complement following (tʰîː) *càʔ*
Other markers with less than 5 frequencies e.g. *mă̆ːj tʰɯ̆ːŋ* **'mean',** *tâŋcaj* **'intend',** *miː cèːtta.naː* **'have the intention' etc.**		17	2.68%	Attitudinal and epistemic stance
Total		633	100%	Attitudinal stance, Epistemic Stance, Modality

ple's quality of life sustainably, not in the short run, as in 10). In so doing, the PM asserts personal values, beliefs, and preferences in leadership, change, creativity, responsibility, sustainability, and technology development as these lay solid foundations for Thailand.

9) *pʰŏm ʔeːŋ jàːk hĕn* *phîː.nóːŋ.kʰâː.râat.cʰa.ka:n*
   PN:1SG myself MOD:VOL Verb: to see government officer (in family sense)
   tʰam.nâː.tʰîi. pen pʰûː.nam hèŋ ka:n.plìan.plɛːŋ to function as leader ofchange

   (**I myself would like** to see that our government officers carry out their duties as the leaders for change.) (March 31, 2017)

10) *sìŋ tʰîː pʰŏm jàːk néːn.jám ʔìːk kʰráŋ kɔ̂ː kʰuː*
    thing REL **PN:1SG MOD:VOL Verb: to confirm again** also COP
    ka:n.kêː.pan.hăa dûaj ka:n.hâj ŋɤn.sa.nàp.sa.nŭn pen pʰi:aŋ ka:n.kêː.pan.hă: rá.já.sân
    to solve problems by to give financial support

    (What **I would like** to emphasize again is that solving problems with money is short-term.) (May 19, 2017)

    Likewise, *jàːk* used in a volition modal + verb-phrasal complement following *càʔ* construction is used to teach Thai people about morality and good citizenship. However, the use of *càʔ* 'will' as a volition/prediction modal verb emphasizes the higher degree of the PM's commitment and devotion to resolve the nation's problems and conflicts. This can be clearly seen in 11), when the PM strongly begged Thai citizens to consider and revise their own roles and duties as well as trying to have true understanding of the King's philosophy.

11) *sùt.tʰáaj.níː pʰŏm jàːk cà fàːk hâj*
    finally PN:**1SG MOD:VOL TAM:PRSP IRR VOL** to entrust MAN
    pʰîː.nóːŋ cʰa:w.tʰaj tʰúk.kʰon dâːj kʰít dâːj tʰóp.tʰu:an. tu:a.ʔe:ŋ
    Thai people (in family sense) everyone MOD: EPIS think MOD: EPIS to review oneself
    wâː raw mi.kʰwa:m.kʰâw.caj kʰam.sɔ̌ːn kʰɔ̌:ŋ pʰɔ̂: rŭ: sà:t COMP
    pʰrá.ra:.cʰa: jàːŋ.tʰɔ̀ŋ.tʰɛ́ rŭ: jaŋ

    (Lastly, **I would like** to ask all of us Thais to think and ponder over ourselves to see if we clearly understand the teachings of our Father or the King's Philosophy.) (April 28, 2017)

    The last type of *jàːk* concerning integrity is used in an attitudinal verb + sentential complement and verb-phrasal complement following *hâj*. It serves as a manipulative verb requiring a manipulee to collaborate with the government and others in society devoted to the nation. Again here, the concept of 'collaboration' and 'not only the government's responsibilities' is greatly emphasized and valued. As we can see in 12) and 13), the PM expresses his desire to see every party of society collaborate in order to drive national reform. He also wants everyone to build trust by doing good deeds and not wishing to gain one-way benefits, as in 13).

12) *naj.pʰâːp.ru:am pʰŏm jàːk hâj tʰúk. fà:j rû:am.mu: kan sâːŋ*
    PN:1SG MOD:VOL MAN every part to cooperateto build up

    kʰwa:m.cʰûː.a.mân kʰwa:m.wáj.wa:ŋ.caj sûŋ.kan.léʔ. kan cʰûː.aj kan tʰam
    trust/confidence
    naj sìŋ di: di: hâj kàp kʰon tʰaj dû:aj.kan ʔe:ŋ

    (Overall, **I would like** all parties concerned to cooperate to build confidence and trust in one another to perform good deeds for all of us.) (October 20, 2017)

13) *pʰŏm jàːk hâj wáj.caj rát.tʰa.ba:n níː*
    PN:1SG MOD:VOL MAN to trust government this
    raw càʔ kʰûː:ap.kʰum.du:.lɛ: tʰam.hâj kʰɔ̌ː.kaŋ.won.caj tàːŋ tàːŋ làw.níː dâːj dam.nɤːn.ka:n dâːj

    (**I would like** you to trust this government. We will ensure that these concerns will be addressed.) (June 23, 2017)

    To project integrity, the study has found a substantial proportion of instances of the verb 'think' –*hĕn/ wâː/ kʰít/ mɔːŋ*— in the addresses used to express attitudes that are strongly linked with moral beliefs and optimism about the countries future. This Thai likelihood verb in the epistemic stance is used in a likelihood verb + sentential complement and verb-phrasal complement following *wâː*. When these cognition verbs are followed by a verb-phrasal complement, subject in the verb-phrasal complement is omitted but can still be well-understood in context. Instances conveying this type of epistemic stance act are shown in 14) and 15):

14) *pʰŏm hĕn wâː sìŋ tʰîː mi: sù:an săm.kʰan*
    PN:1SG Verb:to think COMP thing REL to have part important
    jàːŋ.mâːk naj ka:n.pa.tì.rû:p mi: sɔ̌:ŋ prà.ka:n kʰu:
    very/highly in reformationto have two thing COP
    nùaŋ ka:n mi:.sù:an.rû:am kʰɔ̌:ŋ tʰúk pʰâ:k.sù:an tʰúk sǎː.kʰǎː.ʔa:.cʰî:p tʰúk pʰê:t tʰúk waj naj tʰǎː.ná tʰî: pen câ:w.kʰɔ̌:ŋ prà.tʰê:t pen pʰû: tʰî: mi: sù:an.dâj.sù:an.sǐ:a tʰáŋ.mòt

    (I noticed that there have been two important factors contributing to the reform: 1) the participation of all sectors, professions, people of all ages and genders as the owners of the country and the stakeholders.) (August 4, 2017)

15) *pʰî:.nóːŋ.pra.cʰa:.cʰon cʰa:w tʰaj tʰî:.rák kʰráp ka:n.pʰát.tʰa.na: cʰâ:t.bâː.n.mu:aŋ jàːŋ jâŋ.ju:n nán*
    pʰŏm hĕn wâː raw tɔ̂ŋ pa.tì.rû:p ton.ʔe:ŋ dû:aj
    PN:1SG Verb:to think COMP PN: 1PL INCL MOD: OBL to reform oneself by
    ka:n.pʰát.tʰa.na: cìt.caj sǎ:m rá.dàp
    development mindthree level
    dâ:j.kè: nùaŋ cìt.săm.nɯ́k cʰên ka:n mi: kʰun.na.tʰam ca.rí.ja.tʰam
    (My dear Thai fellows,
    For the sustainable development of our country, **I think that** we need to reform ourselves by improving our mind which includes 1) conscience such as virtue, ethics.) (December 8, 2017)

Stance mMarkers and Constructions Projecting Competency

The final component that we can focus on when analyzing the construal of trust through linguistic devices is 'competency' which has a strong connection with the use of permission/ ability/ possibility modal verbs such as *dâ:j* 'be able to' and *càʔ* 'will'

to signal capabilities to achieve goals and deal with problems. They are also used to display determination to carry out certain actions and ensure that plans and goals can be accomplished. Although relatively low in terms of frequency, the obligation modal verb *tɔ̂ŋ* 'must' and the epistemic verb *cʰûː.a/ cʰûː.a.mân* 'believe' are also used to signal competency when expressing possibilities of plans being achieved in future. Table 5 shows the overall frequency of stance markers and constructions involving the discursive construction of competency.

In Table 5, possibility/ability modal verbs are by far the most common type of stance markers employed to highlight ability and possibility to accomplish certain actions and plans. The Thai modal *dâːj* 'be able to' is found to be employed the most frequently with the speaker's emphasis on past actions he was able to manage or achieve. Semantically, this modal also signals the meaning of 'having an opportunity/possibility to do or accomplish something'. Thus, the sense of trust is likely to be discursively transmitted through the use of this modal verb. The Thai modal verb *dâːj* 'be able to' is used as a grammatical marker in the following construction: a possibility/ ability modal + verb-phrasal complement. Below are examples of instances in which *dâːj* was used:

16) ***pʰǒm dâːj*** *sàŋ.ka:nq hâj tʰúk nùːaj.ŋaːn*

PN:1SG MOD:POSSI ABI to enjoin MAN every department
dâːj mi: kaːn rêŋ sǎm.rùː.at kʰwaːm.sǐː.a.hǎːj naj ʔoː.kàːt rɛ̂ːk rɛ̂ːk pʰûː.a kɛ̂ː.kʰǎj naj.tʰan.tʰi:

(**I have ordered** all agencies to take immediate action on the surveys to find damages in the first round.) (August 4, 2017)

17) ***pʰǒm dâːj*** *hǎː.ru: kàp nùːaj.ŋaːn tàːŋ.tàːŋ*

PN:1SG MOD:POSSI ABI discuss COM department various
doːj hɛ̌n wâ: càʔ tôŋ pràp.pruŋ kʰroːŋ.sâːŋ.pʰúːn.tʰǎːn dâː.n.kʰa.ma.na:.kʰom hâj sɔ̀ːt.kʰlɔ́ːŋ lɛ́ʔ rɔːŋ.ráp kàp kaːn tɨ̀ːp.to: tʰaːŋ.sèːt.tʰa.kìt

(**I had a chance** to consult with different agencies and have concluded that we need to improve the transport infrastructure in response to economic growth.) (August 25, 2017)

The other commonly used modal of volition/prediction to be discussed here is *càʔ* 'will', which is found to be in a volition/ prediction modal + verb-phrasal complement. The analysis suggests that the PM attempted to emphasize his goals and objectives to solve conflicts and social issues. The Thai modal verb *càʔ* is also used to underline PM's strong will to accomplish those goals and to presuppose that he is likely to be committed to carry out the goals he established. It is noted that concrete material processes, such as 'do', 'follow', or 'proceed', following the modal verb *càʔ*, as shown in 18) and 19) is value added to the PM's competency as those lexical choices connote 'concrete actions' (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The instances conveying the use of this modal verb are illustrated below.

18) *naj.ʔa.na:.kʰót tɔ̀.paj*

pʰǒm càʔ *dam.nəːn.ka:n jàːŋ.tɔ̀ːnûː.aŋ*

PN: 1SG TAM:PRSP IRR VOL proceed continuously
kʰɔ́ː.kʰɔ̀ːp.kʰun tʰân prà.tʰaː.naː.tʰíp.bɔː.di: kʰɔ́ːŋ ciːn dûːaj

(In the future **I will** proceed continuously. I would also

like to thank President of the People's Republic of China.) (September 8, 2017)

19) *sìŋ nǎj tʰam dâːj **pʰǒm càʔ** tʰam*

thingwhichever to do MOD: POSSI ABI **PN:1SG TAM:PRSP IRR VOL** do
tʰan.tʰiː: sìŋ nǎj kɛ̂: dûːaj wíː.tʰiː: dɤːm.dɤːm lɛ́ːw mâj jâŋ. juːn immediately
kɛ̂: ʔà.raj mâjdâj kɔ̂: tôŋ kʰít.màj hâj rɔ̂ːp.kʰɔ́ːp

(**I will** do immediately whatever is possible. Any issues that cannot be solved in the long term need to be carefully considered.) (August 11, 2017)

The results of stance-act analysis demonstrate that the PM discursively constructed all three aspects of trust via his weekly addresses, a form of media hegemony revealing his values, norms, ideology, and manipulation from March-December 2017. Of the three aspects of trust, integrity was found to be most commonly construed (71%) through the use of the Thai volition modal verb *kʰɔ́ː* and attitudinal verb *jàːk hâj*, as shown in Table 3. The frequency of the use of these two stance markers was far more substantial than any other type of stance marker used. Semantic interpretation revealed that the Thai modal verb *kʰɔ́ː* appears to serve the PM's assertive stance in transmitting his attitudes, values and moral beliefs which he ascribed to the nation's reform, reconciliation, and advancement. He displays his integrity by requiring the Thai people to strictly practice the Buddhist precepts, to show gratitude to parents and seniors, to embrace the King's philosophy, and to collaborate with each other in society. All these are means to create peace and order and manipulate the people to ensure that conflicts are resolved. Likewise, the desire/intention/decision or attitudinal verb *jàːk* which is used in an attitudinal verb + verb-phrasal complement following *hâj* is used to project his integrity revealing his need to change the Thai people and the entire nation by requiring them to conform with what he finds morally right, such as the 12 national core values. We can find substantial instances demonstrating his desire to witness Thai people's devotion to the nation and collaboration with the government.

The aspects of competency and benevolence were far less pursued. The results show only 23% and 6% of stance markers used to manifest these two, respectively. The two most commonly used modal verbs *dâːj* 'be able to' (possibility/ ability modal verbs) and *càʔ* 'will' (volition/prediction modal verbs) were found to express competency in having opportunities to accomplish political plans to reform the nation and in stating possible actions or goals to be confidently pursued. By highlighting particular actions taken, such as attending international conferences, resolving particular problems or instructing officials to do certain things, he communicated his identity as a competent leader. He, however, rarely displayed the quality of a benevolent politician, who understands and shows empathy towards people's problems and needs. The two epistemic verbs which are found to be used most commonly to express benevolence are *hɛ̌n* 'see' and *kʰâwcaj* 'understand', which are used to display shared intersubjectivity with the people towards both positive and negative scenarios in Thailand. More specifically, the PM said he witnessed a good example of people who applied the King's philosophy in real life as well as understanding the people's

Table 5. Overall frequency of stance markers and construction types enacting competency

Markers	Frequency	Percentage	Stance Type and Construction
dâ:j 'be able to'	134	65.37%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
càʔ 'will'	44	21.46%	Modality volition/prediction modal + verb-phrasal complement
tɔ̂ŋ 'must'	6	2.93%	Modality necessity/obligation modal + verb-phrasal complement
cʰûː a/ cʰûː a.mân 'believe'	6	2.93%	Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement following *wâ:*
kà:mlaŋ 'to be going to'	5	2.44%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
ʔàːt.càʔ/ kʰɔŋ.càʔ/ 'may', 'can'	3	1.46%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
mâj sa:màːt càʔ 'won't be able to'	2	0.97%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
mâj ʔàːt.càʔ 'may not be able to'	2	0.97%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
sa:màːt 'be able to'	1	0.49%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
càʔ tɔ̂ŋ 'will have to'	1	0.49%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
ʔàːt 'can', 'may'	1	0.49%	Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement
Total	205	100%	Modality, Epistemic stance

hardship. As explained earlier, when negative scenarios like the citizen's economic hardship is emphasized, the PM used disclaimer ideological discourse strategy to dismiss his responsibility and instead asked for the entire nation's collaboration to solve conflicts.

Lastly, the interrelationship between the use of stance markers, discursive practice and social practice shows that the PM's attitudinal stance towards moral values and principles assigned to the nation's reform was produced, transmitted, and reinforced throughout his weekly addresses through the use of modal verbs and attitudinal verbs. The core moral concepts concerning collaborating with government agencies, upholding the monarchy, showing gratitude to parents, being patient and believing in the government's political actions were persistently delivered to manipulate people to capitulate to his power. The PM, however, rarely demonstrated the quality of benevolence through discursive devices and strategies. This lack of shared understanding with the people and responsibility denial when *mâj rúː/ mâj saːp* 'don't know' is repeatedly used, therefore, causes him to appear like a manipulative political leader who requires people, but not his government, to change and adjust their values and attitudes, a basic foundation of national reform. While strongly persuading people to believe in what he has done, not many concrete and successful actions have been discursively construed to project his competency, one aspect of trust-building. Some information has been concealed and not been explicitly stated. This reflects Thai-style political discourse situated in an undemocratic country between March and December 2017 where political hegemony

has been constructed through media manipulation and the mediation of linguistic devices.

CONCLUSION

The present study offers insights into how the Thai PM discursively shaped trust through analysis of his use of stance markers to project benevolence, integrity, and competency prior to the general election. The integrity aspect of trust was employed as the major discursive trust-building strategy, while competency and benevolence were rarely construed. This political hegemony and its relation to the PM's use of specific stance-taking acts projecting integrity reveal the sociocultural fact that Thais generally value goodness or the moral high ground and tend to link them with the quality of being trustworthy. Additionally, linguistic forms used to construe social responsibility denial and display little in-depth insights into social issues determine one form of political manipulation in the Thai sociopolitical context. However, it is impossible to definitely conclude that communicating integrity by strongly asserting the PM's stance towards moral values and beliefs and requiring people to comply with his set of beliefs is effective trust-building in the Thai political discourse since there are other various factors (e.g. timespan or global influences) influencing trust. More importantly, discourses appear to be interpreted differently by different groups of social actors with different backgrounds, beliefs and values. As Simpson, Harrell & Willer (2013)'s study of trust indicates, the person's moral judgment is likely to affect how he or she perceives others

as trustworthy, and future research in the area of trust in the political context and stance-taking acts may take into consideration the exploration of how different social groups in terms of age or social status make sense of trust through the use of different types of stance expressions projecting the three aspects of trust. This experimental study may be used to complement the qualitative or linguistic investigation in the field of discursive construction of trust in the Thai political context in the future.

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APPENDIX

List of Glossing Abbreviations

1	first person
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
COMP	complementizer
COP	Copula
DIR	directional marker
EMP	emphasis
EPIS	epistemic modality
INCL	inclusion
IRR	irrealis mood
MAN	manipulative
MOD	modality
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominalizer
OBL	obligation
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PN	pronoun
POSS	Possessive marker
PRSP	prospective aspect
PURP	Purpose
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
TAM	tense aspect or mood/modality
VOL	volition