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

Melada Sudajit-apa*
Department of English and Linguistics, Thammasat University, Rangsit Campus, Khlong Luang, Pathumthani 12120, Thailand
Corresponding Author: Melada Sudajit-apa, E-mail: melada.s@arts.tu.ac.th

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 kʰᴐ̌ː ‘would like’ and an attitudinal verb jà:k ‘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...
Political Discourses of Trust: Stance-taking Acts in the Thai PM's Weekly TV Addresses

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) like-lihood 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. Prasithratsint (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 thít occurs with emotive verbs, whereas wǎ: is found with communicative verbs. Similarly, háy occurs with directive verbs. Some epistemic verbs like tɔŋ.kaːn ‘want’ can function as a manipulative verb if followed by háy 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 *pʰom* ‘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 *pʰom* ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Summary of information of the weekly addresses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tv weekly addresses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 24, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 31, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 28, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 12, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 19, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 26, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 9, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 16, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 14, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 21, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 28, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 pʰóm ‘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.

Table 2 illustrates that the majority of 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Frequency of stance markers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>70.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competency</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>22.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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.

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 kʰɔːs ‘would like’, jàːk ‘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’, cᵃʔ ‘will’) and benevolence (e.g. hěn ‘see’, kʰáwcaj ‘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.

1) pʰóm hěn tuːa.jːŋ kʰaːn nːmːnam sːt pʰrːˈʁːːːcːʔ aːj prːaɾ prːaɾ pʰrːˈɔn sːmːr ʔl
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) pʰóm hěn pʰaːŋ hːǎː kʰaːn nːmːnam pʰrːˈʁːːːcːʔ aːj prːaɾ prːaɾ pʰrːˈɔn sːmːr ʔl
PN: 1SG Verb:to see problem many absolutely/whate
soever
(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.
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  henne  ‘see’, another epistemic verb that was frequently found is kʰawcaj ‘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 kʰawcaj ‘understand’ is used as a grammatical marker of epistemic stance in the following constructions: (1) a certainty verb + sentential complement following wâː; (2) a certainty verb + nominalized complement; (3) and a certainty verb without verbal complements as shown in the following instances.

3) pʰəm kʰawcaj kʰwː.m.diaːt.rin kʰɔŋ pʰən

PN:1SG Verb:to understand COMP NMZ ASP to live together in the society happily and safely, we must rely on the common law and civil law.) (April, 21, 2017)

4) pʰəm kʰawcaj kʰwː.m.diaːt.rin kʰɔŋ pʰən

PN:1SG Verb:to understand trouble POSS you tɕ tʰn tʰŋ kʰawcaj kʰwː.m.diaːt.rin kʰɔŋ prə.tʰet dwɔːj (I understand your hardship, but you must understand the country’s hardship too.) (July, 7, 2017)

5) lâːj kʰon kʰː tʰam haw tʰ eːt cā tʰam hâː j mː k. tʰː tː j.su tː kʰrəp tː hawː n. kʰː dɔːj cxt.caj rəː cː t. tː nːː. rː tː tiː tː mːn kʰɔŋ pʰə.kːraw tː kʰon nː kʰrəp

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 kʰawcaj ‘understand’ is used in a certainty verb + sentential complement following wâː; as shown in 3). To illustrate this, in 3), the PM logically ascribes both common law and statute law to our peace in the society. The verb kʰawcaj ‘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 kʰawcaj 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 kʰawcaj ‘
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 kʰɔː; ‘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 háj construction; and (3) an attitudinal verb used on a desire/intention/decision verb + sentential complement following háj. In the 2nd and 3rd constructions, kʰɔː is found to function as a manipulative verb with the PM functioning as the manipulating agent. The manipulée, which belongs to the attitudinal verb kʰɔː, 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) pʰom kʰɔː; sa.nāːn sa.nāːn háj lâːk lâːk lâːk lāːn lāːn dāːj tʰam naj sin ʔiːn tāːŋ caj wàj kʰun mːkː.

PM: ISG MOD:VOL to encourage MAN the young/young people MOD: POSSI ABI to dointhing REL to intend ASP: PERF BEN 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, kʰɔː ‘would like’ functions as a volition modal used to express personal desire and intention. From the analysis, kʰɔː 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 kʰɔː is used are an attitudinal verb + sentential complement following háj, as shown in 8) below. When kʰɔː 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 cʰíː kʰɔː tʰaj niː kʰɔː dāːj kːèː niːn kʰɔː raː nːiː wːtː pʰrːaː tʰam ma kːaj

PM: ISG NEG Verbs: to know COMP people those to be positive to represent the people Thai or not.

(If 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 māːj rūː/māːj səːp ‘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.

Political Discourses of Trust: Stance-taking Acts in the Thai PM’s Weekly TV Addresses
Table 4. Overall frequency of stance markers and construction types projecting integrity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Stance Type/ Construction type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kʰː</strong></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>27.66%</td>
<td>Modality volition modality + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{'would like'}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kʰː hâj</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb (manipulative verb) + sentential complement following hâj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{'would like'}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jâ:k ‘want’</strong></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7.11%</td>
<td>Modality volition modality + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jâ:k hâj ‘want’</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>14.22%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb (manipulative verb) + verb-phrasal complement/sentential complement following hâj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jâ:k câ?’ ‘want’</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4.11%</td>
<td>Modality Volition modality + verb-phrasal complement following câ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hên / wâː / kʰːt/ mɔːj ‘think’</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>18.48%</td>
<td>Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement/verb-phrasal complement following wâː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cʰːwa / cʰːwa.mâːn / t’hû ‘believe’</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.42%</td>
<td>Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement/ verb-phrasal complement following wâː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>penkaywon ‘be worried’/ mâncaj ‘be confident’/ yîndii ‘be pleased’/ pʰːcaj ‘be satisfied’/ sàpsâj ‘be doubtful’/ sîːcaj ‘be sad’/ dîːcaj ‘be happy’, etc.</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.42%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance emotion/attitude verb + sentential complement following wâː/ verb-phrasal complement following tʰː(dâːj)/ nominalized complement following kâp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mâj jâ:k ‘don’t want’</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.79%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb + verb-phrasal complement/ sentential complement (manipulative verb) following hâj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** tôg.kazn ‘want’**</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/ intention/ decision verb + nominalized complement/ sentential complement (manipulative verb) following hâj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wâː / kʰːtwâː ‘expect’</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.53%</td>
<td>Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement following wâː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yâm/ nêːn / nêːn.jâm / yînyn ‘confirm’</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.37%</td>
<td>Epistemic stance certainty verb (intransitive verb where no complementation occurs) certainty verb + verb-phrasal complement following hâj / câ? / sentential complement following wâː:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** tôg. cam.pen tôg / ‘must’**</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.89%</td>
<td>Modality necessity/obligation modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pʰːayaayaam ‘strive’</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.58%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/intention/decision verb + verb-phrasal complement following tôː câ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mâj dâj maz k’waːm ‘don’t mean’</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance desire/intention/decision verb + sentential complement following wâː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pʰːɔːm ‘ready’</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.79%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance ability or willingness adjective + verb-phrasal complement following tôː câ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other markers with less than 5 frequencies e.g. mâj pʰːn ‘mean’, tûncaj ‘intend’, mî; cêːtta.na: ‘have the intention’ etc.</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
<td>Attitudinal stance, Epistemic Stance, Modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>633</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)  pʰǒm  žeʔ jà:k hên phî:.nNão.nG.nG.kà:.nàat.cʰ.a:kà:n
PN:1SG myself MOD:VOL Verb: to see government officer (in family sense)
θam.mà:.dīi. pen tʰà:.nám hîŋ kà:n.pliám.plè:.nG to function as leader of change
(1 myself would like to see that our government officers carry out their duties as the leaders for change.) (March 31, 2017)

10)  siŋ tʰì:. pʰǒm jà:k nè:n.jàm bù:k kʰàŋ kà:. kʰu:
thing REL PN:1SG MOD:VOL Verb: to confirm again also COP
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, jà:k used in a volitional 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 volitional/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)  sù:t.àj.ní:. pʰǒm jà:k cà fà:k hàj
finally PN:1SG MOD:VOL TAM:PRSP IRR VOL to entrust MAN
Thai people (in family sense) everyone MOD: EPIS think MODE: EPIS to review oneself
wà:. raw mì.kʰà:w:m.kʰwà:w.tàj kà:m.sà:n.kʰà:.pʰà:.kà:n
kà:m. świ:.tà:.nà:m. i: tʰà:.nà:m. tʰà:.nà:m. tʰà:.nà:m.
nà:t COMP
pʰà:.tà:.nà:.cʰà:. jà:.nG.nG.tʰà:.nG.nG.tʰà:.nG
(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 jà:k concerning integrity is used in an attitudinal verb + sentential complement and verb-phrasal complement following hâj. It serves as a manipulative verb requiring a manipulate 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)  nàj.pà:.pù:.am pʰǒm jà:k hàj tʰà:.jà:j rà:.am.mù:n kan sà:n
PN:1SG MOD:VOL MAN every part to cooperateto build up
kʰà:m.cʰà:.mù:n kʰà:m.wà:.nà:.cà:. nà:j.kà:n.là:n.
cà:.cà:.aj kan tʰà:.m
trust/confidence
nà:j sìŋ diː dìː hàːj kà:k pʰà:k.tà:.aj dà:j.kà:n. nà:.nG
(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)  pʰǒm jà:k hàj wà:.cà:.pà:.tâ:.nà:.nG niː:
PN:1SG MOD:VOL MAN to trust government this raw càʔ kʰà:.cà:.pà:.tâ:.nà:.nG.liː:
θam.hàj kʰà:.kà:n.wà:.cà:.pà:.tâ:.nà:.nG tà:.nà:.nG tà:.nà:.nG lâ:w.niː:
dà:j.dà:j.nà:.nG.nà:.nG dà:j
(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’ – hên/ wà/ kʰà:.mà:.nG — 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 wà:. 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)  pʰǒm hên wàː siŋ tʰìː miː sìː.à:n sà:m.kà:n
PN:1SG Verb:to think COMP thing REL to have part important
jà:.nà:rkà:n.nà:j jà:k kà:n.pà:.tê:.nà:ssà:m.kà:n
very/highly in reformation to have two thing COMP
miː sìː.à:n sìː.à:n sìː.à:n kà:n.pà:.tê:.nà:ssà:m.kà:n
sà:m.kà:n
(1 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)

PN:1SG Verb:to think COMP PN: 1PL INCL MOD: to reform oneself by
kà:n.pà:.tâ:.tâ:.nà:.nG miː sìː.à:n sìː.à:n sà:m.kà:n
(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 dà: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 ต้อง ‘must’ and the epistemic verb ต้อง ‘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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ was used:

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

17) สามารถ สามารถ (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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ 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 สามารถ, as shown in 18) and 19) is value added to the PM’s competency as those lexical choices connote ‘concrete actions’ (Machine & Mayr, 2012). The instances conveying the use of this modal verb are illustrated below.

18) สามารถ สามารถ 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 ต้อง ‘must’ and the epistemic verb ต้อง ‘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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ was used:

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

17) สามารถ สามารถ (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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ 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 สามารถ, as shown in 18) and 19) is value added to the PM’s competency as those lexical choices connote ‘concrete actions’ (Machine & Mayr, 2012). The instances conveying the use of this modal verb are illustrated below.

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

17) สามารถ สามารถ (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 สามารถ ‘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 สามารถ 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 สามารถ, as shown in 18) and 19) is value added to the PM’s competency as those lexical choices connote ‘concrete actions’ (Machine & Mayr, 2012). The instances conveying the use of this modal verb are illustrated below.

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

17) สามารถ สามารถ (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)
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 major/ major ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Stance Type and Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dâ:j ‘be able to’</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>65.37%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câʔ ‘will’</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>21.46%</td>
<td>Modality volition/prediction modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôŋ ‘must’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.93%</td>
<td>Modality necessity/obligation modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c’hû:ca/ c’hû:ca.mân ‘believe’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.93%</td>
<td>Epistemic stance likelihood verb + sentential complement following wâ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâːmlaŋ ‘to be going to’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.44%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔà:t.câʔ/k’oy.câʔ/ ‘may’, ‘can’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.46%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màj saːmà:t câʔ ‘won’t be able to’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.97%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màj ʔà:t.câʔ ‘may not be able to’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.97%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saːmà:t ‘be able to’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.49%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câʔ tôŋ ‘will have to’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.49%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔà:t ‘can’, ‘may’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.49%</td>
<td>Modality possibility/ability modal + verb-phrasal complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>Modality, Epistemic stance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

REFERENCES


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