

DISCOURSE ON THE KHMERS IN CONTEMPORARY THAI FICTION

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วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ เกิดขึ้นด้วยแรงจูงใจเกี่ยวกับปัญหาความสัมพันธ์ของไทยกับกับพหุชาติที่มีทั้งดีและไม่ดีในช่วงหลายศตวรรษที่ผ่านมา จึงมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์อุดมการณ์เกี่ยวกับชาวเขมร จากตัวบทของบันเทิงคดีไทยร่วมสมัย อุดมการณ์ดังกล่าวควบคุมภาพลักษณ์ของชาวเขมรและสื่อผ่านกลวิธีทางภาษา ข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการวิเคราะห์ที่ได้มาจากบันเทิงคดีไทยร่วมสมัย โดยวิธีสุ่มเลือกบันเทิงคดีไทยที่แต่งขึ้นในช่วง พ.ศ.2503-2554 ซึ่งมีเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับชาวเขมรเป็นเนื้อหาหลัก หรือมีฉากและสถานที่เกี่ยวข้องกับชาวเขมร

ผลการวิจัยพบว่า กลวิธีทางภาษาที่ผู้เขียนใช้สร้างภาพลักษณ์ของชาวเขมรมี 10 ประเภท ได้แก่ การใช้ถ้อยคำ สมญานาม อุปมา/อุปลักษณ์ การอ้างถึง การใช้ข้อสมมติฐานเบื้องต้น คำสรรพนาม ประโยคปฏิเสธ ประโยคกรรมจาก การกล่าวอ้าง และเทคนิควิธีพรรณนา ภาพลักษณ์ที่ปรากฏแบ่งชาวเขมรออกเป็น 4 กลุ่ม คือ (1) ขอม หรือ เขมรโบราณ : “ขอมมีอำนาจยิ่งใหญ่” “ขอมไม่ใช่เขมร” และ “ขอมลึกลับ” (2) ผู้นำและทหารเขมร : “ผู้นำและทหารเขมรคอร์รัปชัน เป็นทรราช และโหดร้าย” (3) เขมรทั่วไป : “เขมรทั่วไปต่ำต้อยกว่าไทย” “เขมรทั่วไปมีแนวโน้มที่จะสร้างปัญหาและทำร้ายคนไทย” และ “เขมรทั่วไปน่าสงสาร” (4) ราชนิกเขมร : “เจ้านายเขมรสง่างามและน่าเคารพ” อุดมการณ์ที่ดีความได้จากภาพลักษณ์เหล่านี้คือ (1) การแบ่งแยกกลุ่มในออกจากกลุ่มนอกในฐานะ “เรา” และ “ผู้อื่น” (2) ฐานคติที่ว่าขอมยิ่งใหญ่และเขมรปัจจุบันอ่อนแอ ยกเว้นราชนิกเขมร (3) ข้อสันนิษฐานที่ว่าไทยมีบุญคุณต่อเขมรผู้นำสงสาร

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Motivated by the century-long up and down relations of Thailand and Cambodia, this study aims at analyzing the Thai ideology about the Khmers that underlie the images of the Khmers conveyed by various linguistic strategies in contemporary Thai fiction. The data were taken from randomly selected fiction from 1960 to 2011, the content of which is related to the Khmers.

The result of the study reveals that there are ten types of linguistic strategies employed by the writers, e.g. lexical selection, epithet, metaphor/simile, allusion, presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques, to construct the images of and generate the ideologies about the Khmers. The images of the Khmer found in this study are divided into four groups: (1) *Khom* or the ancient Khmer: that *Khom* was powerful, that *Khom* is not the Khmers, and that *Khom* is mystical; (2) the Khmer leaders and soldiers: that the Khmer leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal, (3) the Khmers in general: that the Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais, that the Khmers in general tend to trigger problems and cause harm to the Thais, and that the Khmers in general are pitiful; and, (4) the Khmer royal family: that the members of Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable. The ideologies derived from these images are: (1) in- and out-group polarization as “we” and “others”, (2) Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the ordinary Khmers in the present, except Khmer royal family, and (3) presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmers.

**Field of Study:**..... Southeast Asian Studies..... **Student's Signature**.....

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Background

Thai-Cambodian relations are characterized as friend and foe, since the two countries share the historical background and also the 1,200 kilometer-long borders. Kian Teeravit and Sunai Phasuk (2000) say that both the Thais and the Khmers who live along the border might understand each other in good and bad ways. Yet, obstacles occur when the government and the media of each side have little knowledge of each other. To illustrate the root-causes of bilateral issues, Mongkol Visitstump (2008) explains by raising the historical aspect that from the onset of the establishment of the Sukhothai Kingdom up to present, the relations between Thailand and Cambodia have evolved continuously and alternately between ruler and tributary, ally and enemy and definitely friend and foe. According to Monkol Visitstump (2008), such polarization is primarily owing to the fact that Thailand attempted to expand its sphere of influence into the Khmer Kingdom. Its aim of expansion was largely to secure its national stability, political system and territorial integrity as well as to reinforce the greatness and high prestige of Siam or Thailand. Such actions badly wounded the relations between the two countries and triggered a number of conflicts and wars between them, whereby leading to the notions of mistrust, discord, prejudice and so forth in the present relations of both sides, especially those related to boundary, notional prestige, tradition and culture. The recent and obvious example of the consequence of such shaking relations is the anti-Thai violence in Phnom Penh on 29 January 2003. The aforementioned issues pose the question of why such negative notions of Thai public toward the Khmers (and *vice versa*) continually exist.

The question may be answered by having a look at the fundamental composition of each society to find the crux of perception on “the others” or a particular group. To be precise, what plays much of the critical role in influencing the society is “ideology”, which is constructed and ingrained in

the mind of societal members and shown through the eyes and acts of those people.

Here comes the question of how the ideology works. Van Dijk (2000: 315), one of the key thinkers of the concept of discourse and ideology, provides an interesting idea that “[i]deologies are by definition *social*; they are socially shared by groups. Their [...] applications or implementations are by individual social members.”

Once bearing the above idea in mind, one should be skeptical about the ultimate role of national politics, mass media and even literature. Many scholars such as Fairclough (1990), Martin and Rose (2007) Mayr (2008) and van Dijk (2011) argue that they account for the resource of the (re)production of ideologies To explain why it is so, van Dijk (2000) points out that ideology is exploited by politicians, news writers and novelists as the systemic and psychological mechanism for framing the sense of ethnic group or nationality, and in an extreme way, labeling “the others” as national enemy. It is so precisely to draw the line between “us” and “the others”.

With the respect of ideological instrument, Titscheret et al. (2000) state that language use may be considered ideological, since every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations. To determine this, it is therefore necessary to analyze texts to investigate how they are interpreted, gained and sent in order to affect society.

Thai literature in contemporary period, especially fiction, is worth studying in order to see whether or not it is instrumental in terms of nationalism, groups of political interests or only personal expression of the writers. According to Roberts (2009), such idea is true primarily owing to the fact that literature in any nation serves the writers for various purposes. Literature can shape the individual’s goals and values by clarifying their own identities -- both positively through acceptance of whom he/she admires and negatively through rejection of whom he/she dislikes. It also enables us to develop perspectives on events occurring locally and globally, and thereby gives us understanding and control and influences us by shaping our life.

It is said that literature generates a particular discourse to the society by reproducing ongoing discourse or justifiably emphasizing the existing discourses from time to time. To strengthen this idea, Fowler (2009) elaborates by saying that what is created by an individual writer is not the whole building of the text, because nothing is possible without the pre-existing discourse rooted in social (as well as economic and political) and ideological conditions which go far beyond the consciousness and control of the writer. It is so because the writer is constituted by the forms and the ideas of the discourses which he/she experienced along with social condition.

More specifically in the aspect of prose fiction or novels, the writing in a piece of fiction can be called a discourse because, as Peck & Coyle (2002: 115) says, “[a] great deal of detail in novel or novel’s discourse serves to create [...] a vivid and distinctive impression of an individual and society conflict”. In other words, literature, as one of the socializing instruments in a particular society, is accounted for ideological impression in the readers’ mind.

In Thai society, a large number of fictional works about the Khmers and the Cambodians are found, compared to the neighboring countries of Thailand. Therefore, it is worth studying to see how the Thai writers and readers imagine about the Khmers and what kind of ideologies are hinted in the fiction, as suggested by Peck & Coyle (2002).

However, it might be narrow-minded if one assumes that contemporary Thai fiction the theme of which is related to the Khmers and Khmer culture runs in the same tract of ideologies as other socializing instruments do by showing negative viewpoints, e.g. newspapers, scripts of radio/television and so on. Evidently, the studies about ideologies on the Khmers in Thai newspapers by Chanokporn Puapattanakun (2005) and Nitipong Pichetpan (2010) suggest that mass media such as newspapers plays a crucial role in influencing the Thai public so as to make them have negative perception of the disputing issues between Thailand and Cambodia, especially the Temple of Preah Vihear issue. Also in the study by Pornpimon Trichot et al. (2006), the result is that Thai newspapers present Cambodia as a country that is culturally inferior to Thailand, untrustworthy, pauperized, disloyal, harmful and

unstable in relationship with Thailand. Again and again, all these images had been reproduced since the loss of Temple Preah Vihear in 1962 to Cambodia till the crisis of arson of Thai embassy in Phnom Penh in 2003.

Considering a number of studies whose sources of data are mainly texts in newspapers (Chonokporn, 2005; Pornpimon et al., 2006; and Nitipong, 2010) or in textbooks for Thai high school students (Mattaniya, 2004; and Thibodi, 2012), it would be shortsighted if one concludes, without profoundly researching, that contemporary Thai fiction conveys to the Thai public negative images and ideologies toward the Khmers in the same way Thai newspapers and textbooks do.

To link back to aforementioned claim that literature or, in this case, fiction can account for (re)producing a particular ideology. Here I show some examples of texts excerpted from Thai fiction whose themes, settings and main characters are relevant to the Khmers, as feasible sources of data used in this study.

(Ex.) “เราไม่คิดว่า สมัยของเขมรจะรุ่งเรืองกว่าสมัยของสุริยวรมันที่ ๑ [...] เขมรสู้ขอมไม่ได้”

*rao mái kít wáa sà mái khǎwǎn khà mǎn cà? rú-rua kwáa sà mái khǎwǎn sù rí yá wá rá man thǐ-nǎn [...] khà mǎn sǔu khǎm mái dái*

we(I) not think that period of Khmers will prosperous more period of Suriyavaraman the-first [...] Khamen fight Khom not

‘I don’t think that the period of Khmers would be more prosperous than that of Suriyavaraman. Khmers cannot compete with *Khom*’

(Prasat phruetthesuan, 222)

The above example shows the way the writer conveys the idea of the powerful *Khom* and the Khmers’ incompetence to the reader. The phrase *mái kít wáa ... cà? rú-rua kwáa* ‘do not think ... will be more prosperous than’ are

employed in the dialogue of the Thai protagonist, so as to presuppose that Khmers are not as prosperous as *Khom*, and then the Khmers and *Khom* are different regarding times and group of people.

Also in the same example, the phrase *súu ... mái dái* ‘unable to compete’ is used as strategy of negative sentence in order to presuppose that the Khmers are not as good as *Khom* and that the Khmers should not be considered as the same group of *Khom*.

The example shows how a linguistic method is essential in interpreting the literary texts which can imply image or representation of a certain thing (or of the Khmers, in this case), as well as provides the reader with particular discourses of the Khmers which is ingrained in the readers’ mind and eventually allow them affect indirectly the Thais’ attitude toward the Khmers in many levels and dimensions.

The aim of the presented study is to derive images and ideologies portrayed in contemporary Thai fiction before and after the year 1962, in which the International Court of Justice announced the Judgment that Preah Vihear belonged to Cambodia. The use of Thai fiction as the source of data is justified because there are a great number of pieces of fiction related to the Khmers or the Cambodians and their relations to the Thais.

The study looked at the discourse on the Khmers in the selected fiction presented to the Thai readers. Furthermore, there was deep study on the significant association between the ideologies derived from the texts and the Thai readers’ perception towards the Khmers, which was realized by the application of linguistic strategies (to mark the discourse features). The intensification of the portrayal of the Khmers in the fiction was also scrutinized.

## 1.2 Objectives

1. To analyze the images of the Khmers portrayed in contemporary Thai fiction.



2. To derive Thai ideologies about the Khmers from the results in (1).

3. To study the relationship between the ideologies derived from the contemporary Thai fiction and the relations between Thailand and Cambodia.

### **1.3 Hypothesis**

1. Through various discourse elements, e.g., lexical selection, syntactic structure, metaphor, plot and character development, contemporary Thai fiction portrays the Khmers as the pitiable strangers, thereby implicitly and simultaneously installing the sense of fear and pity among Thai public.

2. The ideologies about the Khmers derived from the fiction do not reflect totally negative images of the Khmers and the relations between Thailand and Cambodia as shown in previous studies.

### **1.4 Research questions**

The central research questions are as follows,

1. What types of linguistic devices are employed in presenting images of the Khmers in contemporary Thai fiction?

2. What are images of the Khmers as portrayed in the texts and what ideologies are derived from the images?

3. Do the ideologies derived from the study reflect the controversial relation between Thailand and Cambodia?

### **1.5 Methodology**

This study followed the method of Discourse Analysis to analyze the linguistic strategies of the writers. The rationale of employing Discourse Analysis in the research was precisely because of its distinctive view of the

relationship between language and society and its critical approach to language method. According to Mills (1997), Discourse Analysis is practical for reading off ideology intentionally or unintentionally latent to the multilayered contents of literature. This analytical method provides a range of tools for explaining the structure and function of language within texts, largely because of its attention directed not only to words in isolation, but words within social context. As a result, its methodology is primarily concerned with linguistics. Traugott & Pratt (2008) also confirm that linguistics can give us a point of view and a way of looking at a text, which will help us develop a consistent analysis, and prompt us to ask questions about the language of the text that we might otherwise ignore. Further information about Discourse Analysis will be subsequently elaborated more in Chapter 2.

This entails some interesting questions relevant to the Khmers and Thai-Cambodia relations needed to be responded in a subsequent chapter.

## 1.6 Source of Data

The main sources of the data were purposively selected pieces of Thai contemporary fiction by writers who created the themes, settings and main characters of which are related to the Khmers and their relationship to the Thais. The criteria of selecting pieces of fiction were as follows. Firstly, I randomly selected fiction whose themes, settings and main character are related to the Khmers from 1960 to 2011 as texts for analysis. Secondly, the selected pieces of fiction must contain keywords that identify the relevance of the themes, settings and main character of the Khmers or Cambodia (i.e. คนเขมร *khon-khàměn* ‘the Khmers’, ชาวกัมพูชา *chaw-kamphuuchaa* ‘the Cambodians’, นางอัปสร *naaŋ apsǎw* ‘Apsara’, สุริยวรรมนัน *sùrîyâwvôrâman* ‘Suriyavaraman’, ชัยวรรมนัน *chaiyâwvôrâman* ‘Jayavaraman’, etc.), Thirdly, the themes of the fiction vary from the ancient Khmer kingdom known for the Thais in general as *Khom* or *Khom boran* (ขอมโบราณ) to the Khmer Rouge brutality in contemporary Cambodian history, so as

to cover every issue related to the Khmers and its relations to the Thais. The first set of selected fiction was as follows:

Anuson Tipayanon, (2011), *Ngao haeng fon* [เงาแห่งฝน], Bangkok:

Khehawatthu.

Duangtawan, (2001), *Kaeoratklae* [แก้วรัตเกล้า], 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Bangkok:

Duangtawan.

Jintawee Wiwat, (2006, 1973), *Amaruetalai* [อมฤตาลัย], 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Bangkok: P.

Watin.

Jintawee Wiwat, (1980), *Sang sayong* [แสงสยอง], Bangkok: Bamrung Saan.

Ko Surangkanang, (1988a, 1960), *Khamerin-Inthira* [เขมรินทร์-อินทิรา],

Bangkok: Odian Store.

Krishna Asoksin, (2007, 1999), *Chamlak wai nai paendin* [จำหลักไว้ในแผ่นดิน],

4<sup>th</sup> ed., Bangkok: Peundee.

Kukrit Pramoj, (1977), “Rueang san samai hin [เรื่องสั้นสมัยหิน],” in *Ruam*

*rueang san Kukrit Pramoj* [รวมเรื่องสั้นคึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมทย์], Bangkok: Siam

Rat.

Mala Kamchan, (2006, 1989), *Hup khao kin khon* [หุบเขากินคน], 10<sup>th</sup> ed.,

Bangkok: Kledthai.

Phakhinay, (2011), *Sap apsara* [สาปอัปสร], Bangkok: Sofa Publishing

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Please note that the first imprinted year in parentheses after the author’s name is the imprinted year of the fiction I used in analysis; while, the second is the year the first edition of the book appeared.

### 1.7 Significance and usefulness of research

- a) The study helps reconstruct Thai myths and perceptions of the Khmers for Thai people.
- b) The findings of this study yield knowledge of the relationship among literature, ideology and society.
- c) The method of this study serves as a guideline for the application of linguistic methods in generating images and ideologies of a particular society.

### 1.8 Definition of important terms

**Ideology:** the beliefs, concepts, ways of thinking, ideas and values that shape our thoughts, used to explain or understand a particular society.

**Discourse:** a piece of writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies, constituting a way of looking at the world, and organization or representation of ideology.

**Image:** a conceptual character projected to and held among the public, as seen by a person or institution, especially in this study as interpreted by the fiction writer.

**Intertextuality:** a relationship of texts in each genre, showing the combination of social and historical foundations within texts in which any ideology implies.

**Linguistic strategies:** a range of linguistic tools exploited by the writers as writing techniques, the analysis of which is to explain the structure and function of language within texts.

**Discourse marker:** a particular feature of discourse as presented by each linguistic strategy.

## 1.9 Limitations

This study was unable to expand its scope to cover every single piece of contemporary Thai fiction whose themes are concerned with the Khmers or Cambodian, but I focused on only the purposively selected ones. It is said that when any writer creates a piece of fiction, they tend to write it in accordance with their particular perception of the Khmers. Therefore, this study probably misses some pieces of fiction that the writers create by basing on notions about and discourses on the Khmers different from the ones found in this study.

## **Chapter II**

### **Conceptual framework**

This chapter concerns the conceptual framework of this study. The main concepts are ideology, discourse and language as well as the concept of Discourse Analysis, which is presented in 2.1. The relationship of literature and society is discussed in 2.2. Lastly, overview of contemporary Thai fiction about the Khmers is shown in 2.3.

#### **2.1 Ideology, discourse and language**

##### **2.1.1 Ideology**

Regarding the notion of ideology, Sigh and Pecci (2004) explain its origin by mentioning several well-known scholars. They state that more than 200 years ago, a French philosopher named Destutt de Tracy was the first person to use the notion of ideology to explain social phenomena. Later, Marxist approaches introduced the negative connotation of ideology as a “false consciousness”, referring to the misguided ideas of the working class about its material conditions of existence, an ideology by the ruling class as a means of exploitation and domination.

However, today’s definition of ideology seems to be diverse depending on the field of study. The concept of ideology is not only based on the notion of the rich and the poor or the ruler and the ruled, but could be explained in terms of, for example, the nationalistic point of view in other academic fields.

In sociologist Dant’s words (1991), ideology is the general determinative relationship between the social and material conditions of existence and the abstract relations construed in knowledge. In such relationship, the inference of relations between abstract entities is taken to represent the world of human experiences. This kind of world of human experience is shared through communication and instrumental to understand any experience of the world to guide actions.

Likewise, Peck & Colye (2002: 157) state that ideology means the beliefs, concepts, ways of thinking, ideas and values that shape our thoughts and which we use to explain or understand the world. More precisely, Peck & Coyle define it as the system of beliefs or ideas of an economic or political system. The definition seems to see ideology in the Marxist point of view; the function of ideology is to disguise the real relations between the classes, to disguise the real power relations in society, seemingly concerned with the business of the dominant class.

However, in the view of linguists, Martin and Rose (2007: 16) give the definition of ideology with the signification of power. In their exact words, “ideology and power run through the whole ensemble of language and culture,” so as to position people within each social context, and widen or narrow “their access to resources for meaning”. They further explain that the above correlation of ideology and power appears to be so up to a point that all writers share an equal range of meaning-making resources, but there are also certain varieties of meanings that are not equally distributed.

Similarly, in the study of relationship between language and society, critical linguistic analyst van Dijk (2011) provides a definition to explain (1) the function of language as means of social practices and (2) ideologies as systems of beliefs. Van Dijk points out that ideologies are the way of social beliefs or social representations of a (specific) social group shared among societal members. Moreover, one of the characteristics of ideology is that it is not arbitrary, but organized by specific social categories, such as membership, activities, goals, values, position or resources.

As for the way that ideology influences the people’s mind, van Dijk continued explaining that it is because ideology is ‘social’ by definition and implemented by individual societal members. The effective reproduction and implementation of group ideologies often require organization and institutionalization, basically so by ideological institutions, such as politics, education and mass media, such as TV programs, newspapers or even literature.

Furthermore, after an ideology has been developed and has already spread among a group, a new individual group member will learn it largely by inferences from the practices and especially from the discourses among family members, friends as well as mass media, by means of language use.

### **2.1.2 Discourse and language**

To explain the importance of these concepts, Mills (1997: 6) shrewdly contrasts the idea of discourse with that of ideology; that is, “discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; these beliefs, etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, and organization or representation of experience – ideology in the neutral non-pejorative sense.” Therefore, the repeat of existing discourse is the way the writer encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded.

Moreover, van Dijk (2000) interestingly talks about the intertwined notions of discourse and language. He elaborates that discourse has a special function in the expression, implementation and especially the reproduction of ideologies, since it is only through discourse that ideologies can be explicitly formulated.

Similar to Mills’ link between discourse and ideology, van Dijk furthers his argument that ideology finds its way to articulate in language as specific social practices. It can also be said that language is powerful in establishing and maintaining ideologies. Through the use of language, ideologies implied in discourses give meaning to material objects and social practices; they define and produce an acceptable way of understanding the world, while excluding other ways of reasoning as unintelligible. The connection between language and ideology exists at many levels: at the lexical level and at the grammatical-syntactic level. In that manner, linguistic forms always appear in a



text and, therefore, as the sign of the wide range of meaning embodied in specific discourse, whereby we can attribute ideological significance to them.

Added to this, Fairclough (1990) views that discourse is constituted by social realities. It is through discourse that language users constitute social realities. Moreover, it is through discourse (or semiotic practices) that ideologies are formulated, reproduced and reinforced. Fairclough categorizes discourse into three dimensions: text, practice of discourse and social practice.

Discourse involves social conditions: both production and interpretation. These social conditions will shape individual's behavior, thereby leading to discourse (re)production and interpretation, which in turn shapes the way in which texts are produced and interpreted. (See figure 2.1)

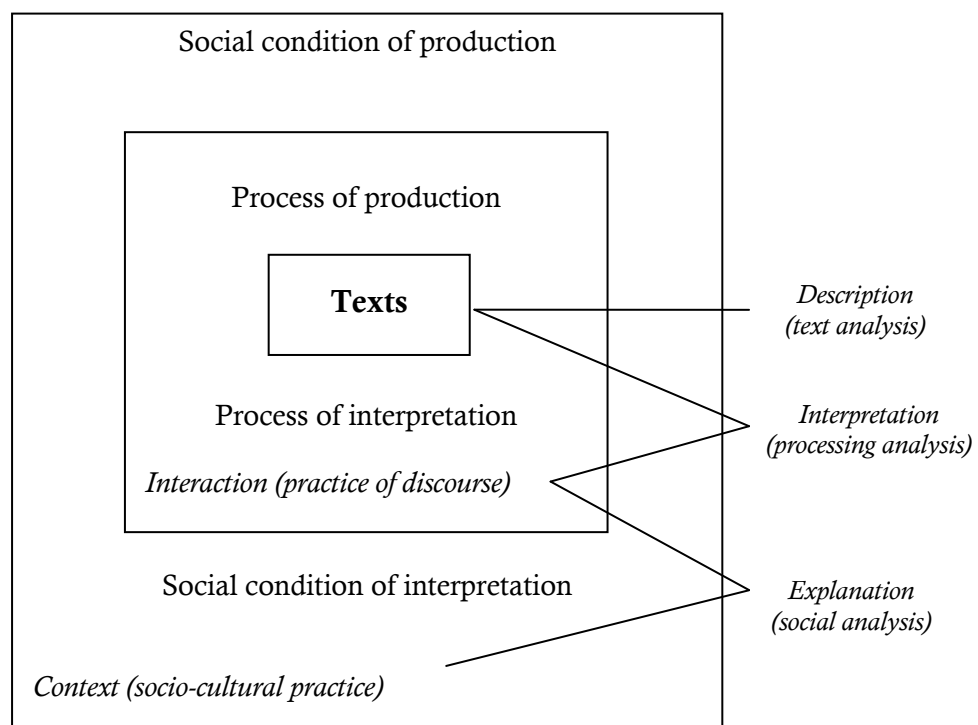


Figure 2.1 Dimension of discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1990: 25; and Titscher et al., 2000: 152)

If someone wants to point out that language as instrument of social practices, they cannot just analyze texts alone, nor just analyze processes of production and interpretation, but the relationship between texts, processes and social conditions.

To summarize, the systematic organization of discourse leads to the systematic selection of linguistic categories and features in text. From the above explanation, therefore, ideological significance can be 'read off' from the linguistic items in a particular piece of text. That is how a linguistic feature appears as the sign of a term in an ideological system. Ideological content is expressed in linguistic forms in two ways: firstly, as the sign of ideologically determined selections made by the speaker or writer; secondly, as the expression of ideological content exposed by any linguistic devices in a text. In effect, an efficient way of examining ideological structure is through the examination of language.

### **2.1.3 Discourse Analysis**

What we came to understand by the relations among language (linguistic device as a marker of discourse), discourse and ideology (in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) is that ideology can be presented as coherent set of ideas. However, ideology often appears as the fragmented meanings of commonsense which is located in a text in various forms of representation. In order to 'read off' ideologies hidden implicitly in any text, it is necessary to look deep into the level of discourse analysis.

For the merit of discourse analysis, Mills (1997: 135, 140) asserts that "discourse analysis can be seen as a reaction to a more traditional form of linguistics (formal, structural linguistics) which is focused on the constituent units and structure of the sentence and which does not concern itself with and analysis of language in use." Therefore, the analysis of written text "aims to make explicit those implicit norms and rules of the production of language, and is particularly interested in the way that discourse consists of sets of hierarchical units which make up discursive structures."

In a range of discourse analyses, two prominent approaches emerged as justifiable explanations of ideological implication in texts with the use of linguistic methodology: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

### 2.1.3.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

The systemic functional analysis was developed by the social semiotic linguist Michael A. K. Halliday and his associates in the 1960s. They view language as a strategic, meaning-making resource. In this study I did not delve into the detailed functional grammar, rather sketching the platform idea by which this approach abides: the strands of meanings (the *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* functions that will be elaborated in later part) and their usefulness in interpreting text, discourse and society.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, Martin and Rose (2007) elaborated that SFL is primarily concerned with the semantics of discourse. In SFL, discourse analysis interfaces with the analysis of grammar and the analysis of social activities. Systemic functional analysts perceive that culture, as social activities, manifests themselves through various sorts of text. They are interested in how social contexts are related to one another. Therefore, they use the method of discourse analysis as the tools of grammarians (or linguists) to identify the role of wordings in passages of text, and employ the tools of social theorists (in particular Critical Discourse Analysis which will be mentioned later) to explain why they make the meanings in a particular way. They see the relations between social activities, discourse and grammar (syntax) are comprehensible; that is, social contexts are realized as texts which are realized as sequences of clause. To illustrate the above idea, Martin and Rose continue to present the figure of relationship between grammar and social activities.

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<sup>1</sup> For more details about Systemic Functional Linguistics, see M.A.K. Halliday, (1994), *An introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Edward Arnold; and, S. Eggins, (2004), *An introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Continuum.

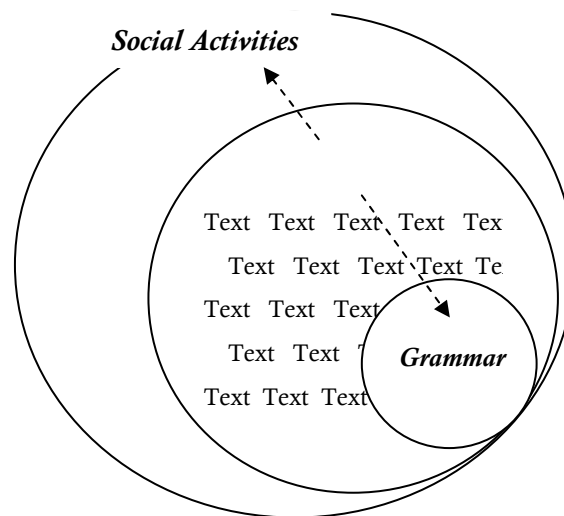


Figure 2.2 Point of view on discourse: from social activities and from grammar  
(Eggin, 2004)

For SFL, model of language is social context recognized as three general social functions or metafunctions: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* functions. These notions of metafunctions are interwoven with each other. SFL claims that one can look at any piece of discourse from any of three perspectives and identify different functions realized by different patterns of meaning.

Similar to the Martin & Rose's idea of analyzing the language, Mayr (2008) views SFL useful because of its rationale: language is seen as meaningful behavior and interpreted as a process of making meanings, especially in terms of metafunctions. Mayr (2008: 17) elaborates on this most important claim of SLF as follows:

1) Language is used to organize, understand and express our perceptions of the world. This function is called the *ideational* function. In analyzing this function, we would be asking ourselves how is the social world represented? Who is presented as responsible for actions in important events (e.g. wars)? How are beliefs and ideologies encoded in language.

2) Language is also used to enable us to communicate with other people, to take on roles (e.g. expert – lay person, parent – child, teacher – student) and to express and understand feelings, attitudes and judgments. This is called the *interpersonal* functions. Questions we might ask here are what kind of relationship is expressed between speakers or between readers and text, for example, between universities and students in student prospectuses? Is the discourse formal or informal.

3) Finally, language is used to create coherent and cohesive texts, both spoken and written. This *textual* functions concerns how bits of information are foregrounded or backgrounded, taken as given or presented as new, chosen as ‘topic’ or ‘theme’. What interests us here is not just what aspects of information are foregrounded or backgrounded but also why this happens

These simultaneous meanings can be identified in linguistic units of all sizes: in words, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts. They are there because those are the three types of meaning people need to make with each other and they are related to a particular grammatical system.

Mayr (2008) continues that these three metafunctions of language are realized in three independent systems at the sentence or clause level: (1) the system of *Transitivity* related to the ideational function, (2) the system of *Mood* related to interpersonal meaning, and (3) the system of *Theme* related to textual meaning. These three systems represent the meaning potential of a language, yet depending on the contextual motivated choice of language user.

First of all, the system of *Transitivity* is the exploration of what social, cultural, ideological and political factors determine which process (or which verb) is chosen in a particular type of discourse. Furthermore, the systemic view of language emphasizes that the grammar of a language is a system of ‘option’ according to social situations, and that the selection of certain linguistic form always has a meaning. This makes it not only a powerful basis for analyzing what is in texts, but also for what is absent or omitted from them.

The second system is *Modality*. It means the different ways in which people can solidify or qualify their messages and manifest their attitudes and judgments of certain things. This system typically includes, in a broad sense, any unit of language that expresses the writer's affinity with what he/she writes. Therefore, *Modality* can be said to embrace a variety of grammatical forms, e.g. modal verbs (ควร *kuan* 'ought to', จำเป็นต้อง *cam pen tɔɔŋ* 'need to', ทำได้ *tham dái* 'able to', etc.), modal adverbs (อย่างชัดเจน *yàaŋ châc ceen* 'clearly', อาจจะ *àat cà?* 'perhaps', แน่นอน *néε nɔɔn* 'certainly', ยิ่งนัก *yíŋ nâk* 'very', etc.), copula verbs (ดูเหมือน *duu mǎan* 'seem', ละเอียด *là?-mâay* 'similar to', ดุจ *dùt* 'like', คล้าย *klâay* 'look alike', etc.), and verb of cognition (เห็นว่า *hěn wáa* 'view that', เชื่อ *chúá* 'believe', รู้สึกว่า *rúu sǎk wáa* 'feel that', etc.). These examples (provided by me) express the amount of certainty and affirmation of the writer's judgment.

Lastly, the system of *Theme* typically contains familiar or 'given' information; that is, information which has already appeared somewhere, or is familiar to the context. The following example (which I took from my analysis) contains a marked *Theme*:

นางอัปสรานั้น [...] ใบหน้าขาวโพลน ดวงตากลางโぼ เธอใช้มืออันขาวซีดเห็นเส้นเลือดสีดำคล้ำที่  
แตกกระแหงจนน่าขนลุกลุบไล่ไปมาที่ใบหน้าของหมอภาคย์

*naaŋ àpsaraa ton nân [...] bai-náa khǎaw phloon duaŋ-ta kluaŋ-bõõ thəə châi  
mɯn an khǎaw sít hěn sən líat sǎi dam klâm thúi tɛ̀ɛk rahǎŋ con náa-khǎn-lúk  
lúup-lâi pai ma thúi bai-náa khǎw mǎw Pháak*

woman Apsara one that [...] face white clearly eyes sunken she use hand  
which white pale see line blood color back swarthy which broke crack till  
fearful caress go come face of doctor Phak

'That Apsara [...] she has all-white face. Her eyes are sunken. Her pale  
hands with blackened blood line and so fearful, if seen. She used those  
hands caressed Dr. Phak.

This excerpt of fiction shows the way the writer informs the reader about his character *àpsaraa* 'Apsara': how is she look like, which signifies the importance and scariness of *àpsaraa* to other characters.

With respect to writer strategy, it can be said that writers choose marked *Theme* to add coherence and emphasis to their texts. In the same time, their choice of *Theme* can also serve an ideological function, by implying their conceptual image of a particular thing in each piece of their writing.

In the present study, I partly applied the concept of metafunction, especially *Modality* and *Theme*, in my analysis.

### **2.1.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

For this analytical framework, Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2000) explain that Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA is primarily concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use *per se*, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. They see that a discourse is not only embedded in a particular culture, ideology or history, but also connected intertextually to other discourses. They continue talking about some key ideas in discourse analysis to further explaining the holistic view of discourse. *Text* can be the written or spoken language produced in a discourse event (involving other multi-semiotic character of texts such as visual images and sound). *Interdiscursivity* means the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres. *Genre* means the use of language associated with a particular social activity.

As for analytical framework, van Dijk (2011) as one of the spearheading philosophers of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) states that since CDA is an analysis of the expression of discourse and reproduction of ideologies, it requires a detailed, systematic account of the various levels, structures units and strategies of text and talk, defined as communicative events. Complex semantic analysis of various types of meaning is accounted for these

discourse structures and how they may express underlying ideological contents and structure. For example, one can analyze a selected text by considering the following linguistic mechanisms: phonological, graphical, syntactic, lexical, stylistic, rhetorical, schematic (e.g. argumentative, narrative), pragmatic and conversational structure.

What's more, CDA provides a detailed analysis of the many properties of the context (or the discourse structures of the social situation). For that ideological discourse production is a complex social process in which underlying models for groups, the most obvious strategic process is ideological polarization such as positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This overall strategy may be implemented by a large variety of forms and meanings that emphasize (or mitigate) positive (or negative) properties of in-group and out-group, respectively, for example through intonation, stress, volume, clause structure, lexical selection, implicitness, presuppositions, local coherence, overall topics, rhetorical devices (e.g. metaphors), schematic organization (e.g. fallacies), the selection of speech acts, and conversational and interactional management (e.g. of politeness).

Regarding a possible method for CDA, Jäger (2001: 53-54) provides the relatively inclusive method as follows:

- 1) Brief characterization of the discourse plane (in this case, fiction);
- 2) Establish the structural analysis by evaluating the texts processed with regard to the discourse line. To illustrate the consistency in strand of discourse;
- 3) Fine analysis of typical discourse fragments in each piece of text, as well as typical discourse position of the fiction. The discourse fragments have definitely to be appropriate to a superior theme;
- 4) This is followed by an overall analysis in the part concerned. All essences resulted from discourse analysis will be



of course reflected upon and reiterated in the overall statement on discourse line in texts.

However, it is worth noting that ideological influence and reproduction are not merely a function of discourse structures but also of the social context, and of the existing social representations, such as existing ideologies, attitudes, knowledge, experience, current goals and personal interests, and so on.

To summarize, with the common idea of interpretative framework, SFL and CDA similarly perceive that, in order to achieve the interpretation of all system, it is suggested to look primarily at two important levels of discourse practices; *lexical choice* or *cohesion* and *intertextuality* (Titscher et al., 2000; and Mayr, 2008).

In this aspect, Titscher et al. (2000: 22) views that “the selection of vocabulary or *lexical choice*, whether seemingly neutral or emotionally loaded, signals the speaker’s or writer’s attitude about a certain topic.” On the contrary, *cohesion* concerns “the ‘text-syntactic’ connectedness.” Thence, “[t]he linear sequence of linguistic elements in a text is in no way accidental, but obeys grammatical rules and dependencies.” Likewise, Mayr (2008) emphasizes that *lexical cohesion* can be achieved through simple repetition of words in texts and the linking of words and expressions in meaning relations, such as synonyms or near synonyms and antonyms. The following examples of synonyms and antonyms are provided by myself: synonyms such as กำแพง *kam-hǎeŋ* ‘dare’, บังอาจ *baŋ-àat* ‘be assertive’ or ถือดี *thǔu dii* ‘be overconfident’ and antonyms such as ผีโคมด *phǐ khàmòot* ‘Khamot ghost’ and เทวดา *theewadaa* ‘god’.

Also, SFL’s view is similar to that of CDA regarding *intertextuality* (as I have discussed and show in figure 2.3). In a nutshell, *intertextuality* refers to the way in which discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those which are produced synchronically or

subsequently. It is also interwoven with the orders of discourse practices (textual chain or discourse chain) or the ways of writing and talking in different institutional setting, such as schools, university, government agencies, the family, etc. so as to consolidate the chain between the ideological precursors.

At the end, the use of linguistic tools is essential for discourse analysis of literary text. Traugott & Pratt (2008) believe that linguistics can contribute a great deal to the understanding of a text. On the one hand, linguistics can help one become aware of why the story is so when reading a literary work, and provide one with a methodology through which one can show how they experience the texts. On the other hand, it may also help us solve problems of interpretation by showing us in rigorous way why particular interpretation is feasible on a level of language structure.

## **2.2 Relationship of literature and society**

Before conducting the research about the relations and the effects of literature on a particular society, I shall discuss on how and why it is so in order to make understanding about the role of text and context.

Chatsunee Sinthusingh et al. (2007) state that literature assumes the significant role in socializing new member of the society. Any idea introduced by the literary work could influence society ranging from values, cultures and behaviors of societal members, religion and philosophy as well as politics and economy. How the writer influences the society could be seen in the way he/she hints idea of being a good member of society, or the subjective solutions while describing the problem the whole society is facing. Best examples of this kind are fairytales and folklore stories. Once the reader is convinced by the suggested idea implied in the literary work, it could be said that pieces of work have a strong impact on individuals in the society.

Regarding values, culture, and behavior of societal members, Chatsunee Sinthusingh et al. also explain that the impact of the literature seems to take more time to be seen. Even so, it is argued that all these aspects of

influence are gradually infiltrated into the reader's way of thinking and, definitely, living. It could be said that the suggested idea implied in any literary works would likely become the norm of the society, if recognized by the whole society as worthwhile and significant to the lives of societal members, such as the literature directly showing the merit of religion, fairytale, folklore and the like.

The above concept of literature and society is similar to that of Smyth (1991). Indeed, the very role of writer is socially established by the social acceptance. On the contrary, one of the mechanisms to possibly integrate the society with diversity requires the writer's ability in influencing each individual with any nationalism discourses and ideologies. The tool of writer to influence the mind of readers is nothing other than language. Through the use of language, the 'real' world is represented in literature as the truth, and also through the linguistic mechanism, literature seeks to define the relationships of ideology and society.

Considering novel or prose fiction (as a type of literary works) that this study aims to analyze, Peck & Colye (2002) comment that language and texture of the writing in novels can be discourse. A great deal of detail in novel or novel's discourse serves to create an impression of how complicated problems and people are when we look at them closely. Therefore, a productive critical method for achieving a sense of a novel's complexity is to look closely at particular incidents or moments or scenes which one found interesting or memorable, seeing how the details create a vivid and distinctive impression of an individual and society conflict.

To sum up, literary practices are not ideologically neutral. That is to say they are part of the tools through which people draw the line of their identities within the society. Every social practice, including the art of literature, happens by discourse and exists by ideology.

### 2.2.1 Linguistic strategies (discourse markers)

Practices of discourse could not accomplish without the linguistic strategies. Hence, it would be proper if the study discuss about these markers as discourse features. Figurative language can be accounted for the discourse markers as evidence of portrayal. They are the words or expressions that carry more than their literal meaning, such as metaphor, simile, apostrophe, personification, symbol, etc.

*Metaphor* is typically a way of comparing two different concepts by asserting that something is something else, e.g. “The children are but white paper.” *Simile* is also a way of comparing two different concepts, but different from metaphor on that simile only asserts that something is similar to something, e.g. “The children are like white paper.”

Be noted that although these two kinds of figurative language are different in usage, their mechanism is relatively the same. As a reader, one knows that the children are not literally white paper.

These kinds of figurative language are reckoned potential for helping construct or reinforce a particular perception of events or of whole societies. Since the writers talk about abstract concepts in ways that seem more concrete, the abstract concepts will become easily grasped by the reader.

*Allusion* is the references to events, people, and places outside the work itself.

Besides figurative language, there are other linguistic devices that empower the writer to imply any discourse in his/her texts.

*Presupposition* is background assumptions embedded within a sentence or phrase. These assumptions are taken for granted to be true regardless of whether the whole sentence is true or not.

*Syntactic structure* is the way words are arranged in phrases or sentences and the way phrases or sentences are arranged in paragraphs (fiction), speeches (plays), or lines and stanzas (poetry). For instance, if the writer uses

passive sentence to emphasize the object of the sentence, it signifies the writer intends to show or stress the importance of the object.

*Modality* concerns the expression of a writer's attitude towards his/her proposition on any social activities. It also concerns judgments whether something *is*, *might be*, or *must be* the case, and whether one *should*, *ought*, or *must* do something. That is, in a particular society, the concept of modality relates to the concepts of "necessity, possibility, obligation and permission" (Barker and Galsiński, 2001: 77).<sup>2</sup>

All the linguistic strategies mentioned above, were analyzed in this study as markers of the images of the Khmers created by Thai fiction writers. Then the ideology of the Khmers was inferred from the images.

### 2.2.2 Narrative techniques

In this section, narrative devices or writer's techniques of narrative are also deserved attention when coming to analyze the strategies of writers in making each literary piece.

Berger (1997) interestingly shows the insight of basic compositions of fiction by providing common narrative devices generally found in popular literary works.

*Description* is one of the most important means through which authors give us information. They tell us what characters look like and how they behave, help situate actions, and generate feeling and attitude in readers.

*Thought* means the inner thoughts of the characters. By telling their readers what character are thinking, writers can provide important

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<sup>2</sup> For detailed explanation about literary structure and linguistic devices as the strategies of discursive practices, please see J.A. Stanford, (1999), *Responding to literature*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London: Mayfield Publishing; J. Peck & M. Coyle, (2002), *Literary terms and criticism*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., New York: Palgrave; R. Murfin & S.M. Ray, (2009), *The Bedford glossary of critical and literary terms*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's; and, I. Singh and J.S. Pecci, (2004), "Chapter 3" in *Language, society, and power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Routledge.

information about such matters as what has happened in the plot and ideas a character may have about various other characters and what is motivating them.

*Dialogue* is the most common means by which characters convey information to one another and, at the same time, indirectly to readers. What characters say to one another allows readers to gain insight into their personalities and thoughts and to gain information about their action. The lexical choice of writers is the way to show character's attitude by using expressive vocabularies. Examples from the data in the present study are กระซิบ *kràʔ-síp* 'whisper', ตะเบ็งเสียง *tàʔ-beŋ sǎŋ* 'bawl', รับว่า *râp wáa* 'accept', ดักคอ *dàk khoo* 'forestall'. Each term generates a different feeling, and gives the reader a different notion about what a character feels or appears like and the relationships that exist among different characters. To make it clear, I put such terms in the table to show their implied meaning of verbs.

Verb	Phonetic Form	Implied meaning
กระซิบ	<i>kràʔ-síp</i>	secrecy, intimacy
ตะคอก	<i>tàʔ-khóok</i>	rage, anger, excitement
รับว่า	<i>râp wáa</i>	consensus, yield
ดักคอ	<i>dàk khoo</i>	skepticism, circumvention
ยืนยัน	<i>yǎm kraan</i>	constant assertion
โผล่ข้าง	<i>chòoŋ chàaŋ</i>	outspokenness

Table 2.1 Example of implied meanings of verbs used with dialogue

*Summary* is necessary to help readers keep track of things, to condense certain activities, and sometimes to indicate that certain things have happened without having to dramatize them or have characters act them out. Summaries also can be used to interpret events in the text for the reader.

*Characterization* is accomplished through description and dialogue, as well as through action. Two of the pillars of characterization are the writer's description of (a) what a character looks like and is like and (b) how a character behaves. Through characters' actions, readers get a sense of what they are like by interpreting those actions according to the readers' own moral codes and value systems.

There are some characteristics that the writers may include in describing a character. The detail such as name, age, gender, height, weight, race, etc. can be given so as to picture up the appearance of the character; while, body language, voice, accent, clothes, occupation can be the details of the character's attitude.

In sum, the narrative techniques explained above are some of the most common ones the writers employ to convey information, thoughts and behaviors of their characters to their readers. That is to say, once writers describe a character for their readers, they are addressing it directly and give backgrounds of what writers intend to let the readers follow. A good deal of storytelling primarily counts on writers' conveying description of characters to readers directly or, in many occasions, indirectly. It is arguable that texts are not natural matters, but multilayer of meaning compilation. They will achieve their effects as the result of writers' abilities in grouping their imagination with action, dialogue, and characterization and presenting many kinds of information to their would-be readers.

By and large, the literary structure to which the present study resorts as analytical framework is mainly the concept of narrative devices; namely, description, dialogue and summary.

### **2.3 Overview of contemporary Thai fiction about the Khmers**

Trisilp Bunkhajorn (2004) states the theme of contemporary Thai literature was mostly concerned with domestic and political issue since the origin of contemporary Thai fiction in 1930s. However, in late 1950s, Thai readers managed to have a chance to taste literary works about the contemporary

Khmer people, in addition to traditional literature which is totally centered the battle between Thai and the Khmers in chronicles or many types of Thai tradition poetry.

Considered as travelogues rather than fictional works, *Nirat nakhonwat* (นิราศนครวัด) by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and *Tok hhamen* (ถกเขมร) by M.R. Kukrit Pramoj found themselves influential to the Thai public about the Khmers, since there were very few literary pieces talking about the topic at all. According to Rutnin (1988), one of the reasons why the latter is well-known among Thai public is that of M.R. Kukrit's witticism in explaining any aspect of society. M.R. Kukrit Pramoj is a captivating writer in all forms, notably short story, novel, drama, and political and social criticism. His journalistic style and informal first person approach, and above all, his great sense of humor are the qualities that make him an exceptional modern writer. His style of writing influences many writers and journalists of the present.

Although *Tok Khamen* is not considered as fictional work, it can be considered as having accounted for the foundation for later prose fictions or novel about the Khmers such as *Khamerin-Inthira* (เขมรินทร์-อินทิรา) and *Khunkhru Inthira* (คุณครูอินทิรา) by national artist Kor Surangkanang. By the same manner as *Tok Khamen*, the two novels are realized as the springboard of later Thai romantic novels, the theme of which is related to the living of Khmer people and moreover the Angkor period: the 'ancient *Khom*'.

While in the genre of humor, one of the episodes of *Phol Nikon Kim-nguan* (พล นิกร กิมหงวน) series titled *Khamen kamhaeng* or Mutiny of the Khmers (เขมรกำแหง) was presented to the Thai public, by means of satire and irony, as the spontaneous response to the Judgment of International Court of Justice on Preah Vihear Temple in 1962, that Preah Vihear Temple should belong to the Cambodian (Roengchai Phuttharo, 2010).

As well, in the early 1980s, one of the Thai scholars and well-known writers who devoted himself in studying mainland Southeast Asian nations -- Jit Phumisak -- also wrote semi-fictional story about the Khmers



entitled *Tamnan haeng nakhon wat* (ตำนานแห่งนครวัด). The purpose of the book is to create better understanding about history of Angkor Wat in the form of prose fiction, but featured by the very detailed historical information.

Moreover, the Khmers are considerably popular theme of gothic fiction. The Khmer characters are created by on the basis of ‘ancient *Khom*’, of the ghost in deep jungle and of the villains who pursue wicked course of black magic. Yet, not only are they found as the wrongdoers but the deities or legendary angles of Khmers: *Apsara*. One of the writers who dedicated herself to produce largely this style of writing is Jintawee Wiwat. Arguably, she is also iconic for many Thai writers with the same gothic style in these days; one of them is Pongsakorn who as well wrote the novel in the same tradition as Jintawee Wiwat (Veree Kevalakul, 2009). Written during 1970s – 1980s, *Amarutalay* (อมฤตาลัย), *Sang sayong* [sangsayong] or *Susan phutesuan* [สุสานภูเตศวร] and so forth can very well illustrate the aforementioned claim. This group of fictions noticeably has no connection with contemporary Cambodia at all, except those fiction whose theme is about time traveling, reincarnation of the main characters, merely the mysterious legend of the ‘ancient *Khom*’ or the mix of them all. Among these are *Suriyawaraman* (สุริยวรมัน) by Tomayanti in 1996 and, more recently, *Chanthra Usakaney* (จันทราอุษาคเนย์) by Wannawat in 2006. Even in area of children book, this theme as well appears to be attractive to young readers as such in *Hup khao kin khon* (หุบเขากินคน) by Mala Khamchand in 1989. This story is viewed as one of the all-time favorite children books. It got published ten times in less than 20 years.

However, the fiction with more contemporary theme and with the link to current Khmers or Cambodian is also found in Thai literary circle. This group of fiction mainly reflects the war-torn Cambodia and its people’s plight. For example, *Phanompen taek* (พนมเปญแตก) by Sayumphu Thosaphol was written in 1980 following the time of the Khmer Rouge invasion of Phnom Penh, and later in 1999 Krishna Asoksin wrote *Jamluk wai nai phaendin* (จำหลักไว้ในแผ่นดิน), so as to commemorate the event (Pojjaman Pongpaibul, 1999). Nevertheless, it is

worth mentioning some fiction whose theme is not particularly related to the Khmers, but the writer merely created the atmosphere of the fiction in accordance with the actual event happening during the fall of Indochina. For instance, a political novel called *Lom thi plean tang* (ลมที่เปลี่ยนทาง), written in 1974 by Krishna Asoksin, mentions about how the loss of Vietnam, Laos and finally Cambodia into the Communist hand installs the sense of fear in Thai society at that time (Taweesak Pintong, 2003: 90).

Apparently, the today theme about the Khmers is quite predictable, considered from the trend of writing among younger writers, the advanced technology of publication and more chance of newly emerging writers according to internet-born writers' phenomenon. Quite a number of younger writers who have a handsome chance of publication appear to be fond of the theme of *Apsara* or 'ancient *Khom*' as one of their pioneering works. The works as such by internet-born writers are *Mon apsara* (มนตรีอัปสรา) by Orapim, *Sap apsara* (สาปอัปสรา) by Phakhinay, *Minthralay huajai haeng nang* (มินทราลัย หัวใจแห่งนาง) by Usanakorn, *Chanthra Usakaney* (จันทราอุษาคเนย์) by Wannawat, *Apsara montra* (อัปสรา มนตรา) by Jutisorn and Sawettachat Naka (เศวตฉัตรนาคา) by Pandhitangkura, for instance.

Although there is no research on whether this kind of internet-born fiction send any positive or negative impacts to the society at the end and, if so, how successful or serious the influence is. Yet, this literary emergence enables us to cast significant prediction that the theme about the Khmers remains popular and the new-born writers toward the Khmers tend to continuously produce their fiction with the same perception toward the Khmers.

By and large, the present study was unable to cover all these fiction about Khmers across the genre. Instead, it randomly selected 17 fictional works from most popular stories like *Khemarin-Inthira* in 1960 to the relatively latest one *Ngao heang fon* in 2011.

## **Chapter III**

### **Review of literature**

This chapter mainly deals with the review of previous studies related to the present study. The previous research applying Discourse Analysis as guideline of the study is discussed in 3.1 and the studies concerning Thai-Cambodian Relations are presented in 3.2.

#### **3.1 Discourse Analysis and literature in Thailand**

“Discourses on ethnic minorities in Thailand: a study of the relationship between form and meaning,” conducted by Krisadawan Hongladarom (2000), gives a good example of applying Discourse Analysis in the context of Thai society. Krisadawan Hongladarom applied the analytical framework on ‘hilltribes’ – ethnic minorities in Northern Thailand by asking questions about the role of journalists toward the hilltribe people. It also looks at the semantic and discursive features, and the contrastive ideologies from the different sources of ‘text and talk’ about these ethnic groups. The study focuses on front-page news in several Thai newspapers and productions from a weekly TV series. The research found that racism still pervades in Thai news discourse. Consequently, the finding sheds lights into the research on how we talk about other cultural and ethnic groups and how we maintain our identities by alienating the other.

In the research entitled “Ideologies on ‘the Khmers’ in Thai Newspaper Discourse: the case of the anti-Thai riots in Cambodia in 2003,” Chanokporn Puapatthanakun (2005) studies the ideology on ‘the Khmers’ as presented in various types of discourse, by focusing on the report of anti-Thai riots in Cambodia in Thai newspapers. The researcher was interested in the linguistic strategies the news writers use to depict the images of ‘the Khmers’ and the ideology derived from those images.

In the end the research reveals that nine linguistic strategies were adopted in constructing the ideology on ‘the Khmers’. Those are selective choices of words, coining epithets, rhetorical structures, presupposition manipulation, passive syntactical structure, quotation, detailed narratives, punctuation marks and font sizes, and highlighting. The depicted images are the villain, the dependant, the untrustworthy and ignorant people, and the enemy of the Thais. Consequently, these images underline the nationalistic ideology and the Thai national sentiment onto Thai public. These two sets of idea lead to the ‘us and them’ concept and that ‘we are superior to them.’

Nitipong Pichetpan (2010) conducted a study using a conceptual and analytical framework similar to that of Chanokporn Puapattanakun, but focusing on a different time frame. The study is entitled “The discourse of the 2008 Preah Vihear dispute from Thai daily newspapers: a study of the relationship between language and ideology,” It aims to (1) analyze what are the ideologies represented in the texts examined and (2) what are the linguistic devices exploited to represent and/or construct such ideologies. The study found that there are eight linguistic devices exploited. Those are lexical choice, metaphor, metonymy, presupposition, modality, irony, quotation, and using a routine pattern of discourse.

As a result, the ideologies derived from the analysis are that “the Khmers make troubles for the Thais,” that “the Khmers are tricky while the Thais play by the rules,” and that “the Thais are tricked by the Khmers.” Another interesting point is that when interpreting the meanings of lexical items repeatedly found in the texts, the study also reveals that the hidden ideology is that “the Thais are morally superior to the Khmers.”

Soranee Wongbiasaj, Hatthaya Jantharamangkorn and Satanan Piangboontha (2004) conducted an interesting and useful discourse study in Thai literature on the topic “Awarded children’s books: a discourse and literary analysis.” The research team chooses to study 13 children books that won a

literary award from governmental and non-governmental organizations in Thailand. The concept governing the study is social discourse in children books. According to the definition they provided, discourse is a system and process of producing or controlling meanings of elements in a society in order to construct or establish them as 'realities' or 'natural, indisputable facts,' through the use of language. As for the analytical framework, they follow the logical explanation about discourse in children books by critical linguistics, discourse studies, and literature studies.

The research reveals that through verbal and visual linguistic and literary mechanisms, various social meanings and ideologies are inscribed in these story books, including gender, age hierarchies, and power relation among agents or actors. What they found particularly interesting is the use of linguistic devices or strategies, such as choice of words, connectors, sentence structures, and visual conventions as well as narrative and fictional style of writing to trivialize the power relation. The research also says that the link between the discourses of Thai children's story books a Thai society and culture by attempting to build identity and suggest middle-class children with the place they should belong to and good behaviors they should follow. In other words, the books serve as a loop in the discourse chain of conditioning, controlling, and transforming the ideological consciousness of the society to enable every member to 'live happily ever after.'

To conclude, the review of studies applying Discourse Analysis as their methodology can be beneficial to the practice of discourse 'read-off'. However, since the studies (Krisadawan Hongladarom, 2000; Chanokporn Puapattanakun, 2005; and Nitipong Pichetpan, 2010) conduct the analysis in newspapers, the methodology guided by these researches was adjusted to suit the fiction texts that I analyzed. However, since these studies focused only on specific disputes between Thailand and Cambodia as reported by the contents in newspapers, it is necessary to look beyond such limited period of time and events so as to have the holistic view toward the Khmers, already shared in Thai society. The present study is based on data from in contemporary Thai fiction

whose theme, settings, scenes and so on are centered on the Khmers can top the previous studies and shed more light into the Thais' perception of the Khmers.

Added to this, the work of Soranee Wongbiasaj, Hatthaya Jantharamangkorn and Satanan Piangboontha (2004) helped me concerning the methods of analysis. They clearly show how to interpret the implied ideologies in the children book essential to lay out the pattern for the present study, especially in the fiction.

### **3.2 Studies concerning Thai-Cambodian Relations**

Mongkol Visitstump (2008) conducted a research titled "Thai-Cambodian relations under the Thaksin Shinawatra's administration (2001-2006)" in order to show (1) how Thailand and Cambodia, albeit neighboring countries sharing historical background and culture, are full with the sense of discord, prejudice and domination as a consequence of history, nationalism and socio-economic disparities and (2) how the antagonistic type of relations reflect in the Thaksin Shinawatra's premiership, which eventually leads to misunderstanding and mistrust between the peoples of both countries. In the research, the theory of International Conflict is used to prove the above arguments and analyze the formation and implementation of foreign policy of Thailand under the Thaksin Shinawatra's administration.

The research finally concludes that the anti-Thai incidences, occurring several times during Thaksin period, were not provoked by political factors alone, but also the contempt and attitude of superiority and inferiority among the Cambodians, historical background of antagonism, gap of socio-economic development, Thailand's economic and cultural domination, roles of media, etc.

Another study about Thai-Cambodian relations is "Proposed guidelines for the promotion of mutual understanding between the Kingdom of

Thailand and the Kingdom of Cambodia based on the analysis of historical contents in the social studies textbooks,” by Matthaneeya Phongsuwan (2004). The finding is that in the textbooks of both countries, the historical content of politics related to the relationship between Thailand and the Kingdom of Cambodia mostly involves warfare, especially during the Ayutthaya period. However, the pictorial illustrations in the textbooks of Thailand feature mostly the historical content of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the social and cultural aspects. In contrast, the textbooks of the Kingdom of Cambodia feature the historical content in the political aspects in the equal volume as those in the social and cultural aspects. Furthermore, the textbooks display the records that whenever Thailand was weakened or attacked by Burma, Cambodia always took the opportunity to dispatch an army to attack the eastern provinces of Thailand.

As for the aspect of art and culture in the present and the past, Cambodia was influenced by the ethical beliefs of Brahmanism and Hinduism. The image of Thailand portrayed in the historical content in the Cambodian textbooks is that the Thai race migrated from the south of China into the land of Cambodia and later established its own kingdom. The relationship between the two countries mostly involved warfare, which was started from the Thai side that attacked Cambodia. Each attack of the Thais weakened Cambodia because Thailand brought back scholars richly educated in the area of culture and besides, confiscated all Cambodia's valuables and heritages. Therefore, each Cambodian monarch put all effort to take all the land back from Thailand.

The research, at the end, proposes that to promote mutual understanding between Thailand and the Kingdom of Cambodia, it is necessary to decrease the historical content for warfare and disputes and instead, to increase the historical content for the relationship of economic, social and cultural aspects to challenge a broader view and more friendly relationship. In addition, a more variety of historical evidence and documents must be used as reference materials by avoiding the historical distortion. Lastly, the tone in the language used in the textbooks must be neutral in order to avoid causing prejudice against each other.

Another useful study about Thai-Cambodian relations by a group of researchers led by Pornpimon Trichot et al. (2006) entitled “Thai newspapers and the construction of the images of Southeast Asia.” In this study, the part concerning Cambodia is noteworthy. With the use of Content Analysis and documentary research of news, editorials, regular articles, satirical cartoons and photos along with the news contents in Thai daily newspaper, the study reveals that Cambodian (known as the Khmers) has negative images: culturally inferior to Thailand, untrustworthy, pauperized, disloyal, harmful and having unstable relationship. All these images are perceived by majority of Thai people and continually reproduced from the past to the present; from the loss of Temple Preah Vihear to Cambodian in 1962 to the crisis of arson of Thai embassy in Phnom Penh. Thai newspapers took advantages of the latter event by stirring up the above images of Cambodian. Although many small disputes occurred around the borderline between the two countries, the arson of Thai embassy was arguably the turning point in Thai-Cambodian relations to be more deteriorated.

The research argues that most of the knowledge about each other is restricted to the creation of images and attitudes against the culture of neighboring countries; although, the images created were not intended to cause harm to the Khmers. The research also discovers that the process of socialization and development of attitudes of neighboring countries were rendered true out of national interest, resulting in the creation of hostile images and cultural backwardness of neighboring countries. The ruling group and later the lower levels of the society are allegedly accredited for the commencement of the above process and development. The private sector as well plays a crucial role in imposing and promoting hostile images of neighboring countries through the hands of media, more specifically newspaper.

In conclusion, from the studies on the issue of Thai-Cambodian relations, it can be seen that Thai and Cambodia shares a century-long history. Their relation is hence dubbed as love-hate relation, which is resulted from the



attempt to depict negative images of Thai by the ruling class of Cambodia and *vice versa*, such as that of Mongkol Visitstump (2008), even that of Pornpimon Trichot et al. (2006) in more recent times. Consequently, that sent a strong and profound repercussion on both societies and its effects last a century long, thereby challenging governments, think-tanks, and researchers of both countries to seek for the better solution to calm down the tensions along borderline arisen from time to time and to propose the guideline for diminishing the sense of nationalism stirred up by a particular group of the societies, as shown by the work of Matthaneeya Phongsuwan (2004).

The reviewed literature on this concept is useful to the present study in that they give a guideline analysis when discussing the derived images and ideologies from the selected fictions with the historical background and political incidences between the two countries.

## Chapter IV

### **Images of the Khmers inferred from linguistic strategies in Thai contemporary fiction**

This chapter shows the results of an analysis of linguistic strategies employed by the writers of the selected fiction in order to present the image of the Khmers. The first part of the chapter (4.1) deals with each linguistic strategy found in the study. The second part (4.2) concerns each image derived from the analysis of linguistic strategies. The final part (4.3) is the summary of the chapter.

Meyer (2001: 26) suggests that the analysis of language is necessary in obtaining discourse markers which reveal the image of a particular thing. He refers to Teun van Dijk, who states that a complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text is needed to focus on any property of texts that could vary as a function of social power. In other words, van Dijk suggests concentrating on various linguistic markers, such as lexical style or choice, rhetorical figures or figurative language, syntactic structure and so forth. Then, the further analysis should be centered on the close look at local meanings such as implication, presuppositions, allusion and polarization so as to finally accumulate these entire discourse markers into images.

Additionally, there is another concept to consider when one analyzes the linguistic strategies in a particular text: intertextuality. Traugott & Pratt (2008) explain that intertextuality is a relationship of the texts in each piece of texts, showing the combination of social and historical foundations with the texts modified, and the blend of discourse and genre.

Furthermore, intertextuality of each discourse or the cohesive orders of discourse in a different piece of fiction is necessary to be considered. Regarding the study of Thai fiction related to the Khmers, the images of the Khmers will be successfully produced in the readers' mind, if the readers are able to link the cohesive order of discourse from each piece of fiction to one another. That is, intertextuality is used to achieve that.

#### 4.1 Linguistic strategies found in the selected fiction

There are ten types of linguistic strategies employed by the writers of the selected fiction; namely, lexical selection, epithet, metaphor, allusion and presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques (description, dialogue and summary). They are elaborated in following sections with one example in many example of each strategy.

##### 4.1.1 Lexical selection

Lexical selection means the choice of words. It is the most obvious linguistic strategy to express any ideology. It can be said, for example, that lexical selection (or the use of a particular word) serves as a guideline in interpreting characteristics of people, events and ideas of entities. As a result, in this study any lexical use enables the readers to have a better look at Khmer characters' actions and intention, as portrayed by each piece of fiction. The example of this type of strategy is shown below.

- (1) ขณะที่พระนครมยังรุ่งเรือง [...] และพระเจ้าสุริยวรมันเสวยราชย์อยู่ ณ พระนครนั้น พระองค์มีพระราชประสงค์ที่จะเผยแพร่พระเกียรติคุณของพระองค์เองให้ปรากฏแก่โลก [...] พระองค์จึงตรัสให้เกณฑ์ราษฎรมานับหมื่นนับแสน เพื่อสร้างปราสาทนครวัด

*khàna? thii phrâ? nâkhvôn yaŋ rûŋ-rvôn [...] lî? phrâ?-cào sùrîyâwvôrâman  
sàwǎy-râat yùu nâ? phrâ? nâkhvôn nán phrâ?-oŋ mii phrâ-râatchâpràsòŋ thii  
cà? phǎy-phrè? phrâ? kiàttikhun khvōŋ phrâ?-oŋ eeŋ hái praakòt kè? lóok  
[...] phrâ?-oŋ cŋŋ trət hái keen râatsàdvôn maa náp mĕn náp sĕn phĕa sáaŋ  
praasàt nâkhvôn wât*

whereas that royal Angkor Thom still prosperous [...] and king  
Suriyavaraman proclaim-throne be at royal city that he have royal will  
that will disseminate royal prestige of himself give appear to world [...] he

therefore speak give mobilize people come count ten-thousand count  
hundred-thousand for build castle Angkor Wat

When Angkor Thom was still prosperous [...] and King Suriyavaraman proclaimed the throne of it, the King wished to disseminate His prestige to the eyes of the entire world. He therefore announced to gather people in order to build Angkor Wat.

(*Rueng san samai hin*, 63)

With the choice of words *rúŋ-ruaŋ* ‘prosperous’ and *phrâ? kiàtthikhun* ‘royal prestige’, example (1) shows the positive image, directly showing the glorious and prosperous capital city built by King Suriyavaraman I or the great king of *Khom* when he took the reign (*sàwǎy-râat* ‘proclaim the throne’). It is a huge try to extend the King’s power by creating such magnificent building like *praasàat nâkhôn wât* ‘castles of Angkor Wat’. In doing so, it signifies that *Khom* is advanced in architecture and have enough population to be mobilized by the leader to construct such a world wonder.

#### 4.1.2 Epithet

Epithet is a noun or phrasal noun or even clause referring to any person or event, but it is not a real name of that person or event. Through an epithet, the writer can give the image of a person or event referred to and eventually link the specific meaning of the epithet to the real person or event in the reader’s mind; for example, King Jaravarman the Great. Similar to lexical selection, epithets used by the writer aims at referring to a Khmer person, entity and event.

(2) นี่ใจ เจ้าพินทุวดีที่เขาว่าเป็นเจ้าหญิงลี้ภัยจากเขมร

*ní jai cǎo phinthúwáđii thii khǎo wáa pen cǎo-yǐŋ líi-phai càak khàměn*

this princess Phinthuwadee that they say that be princess refugee from Khmer

‘This is Princess Phinthuwadee who they said is the refugee princess from Cambodia.’

(Amaruetalai, 28)

Example (2) is the way the writer applies an epithet by using the word *cáo-yǐη líi-pai* ‘refugee princess’ to refer to a Khmer princess who escaped from Cambodia after the siege of Phnom Penh by the Khmers Rouge. From this example it can be inferred that the Khmers are pitiful largely because of the word *líi-phai* ‘refugee’, signifying that even the princess had to flee from her country and live in exile in Thailand. This example can generally depict a pitiful image of the Khmer.

#### 4.1.3 Metaphor/simile

Metaphor is an implied comparison between two unlike entities; while, simile is an explicit comparison between two unlike things that is often introduced by *like* or *as*. The nature of metaphor is typically a way of comparing two different concepts by asserting that something is something else; while, that of simile is by asserting that something is similar to something. Metaphor and simile are tools so ordinary that the readers hardly notice it, largely because it is an integral part of their ordinary and everyday language use. The example of metaphor as linguistic strategy in depicting the Khmers’ image is shown below.

(3) “กันมีทางที่จะบุกเข้าไปฆ่าสีหนุแล้ว [...] นั่งรถเก๋งเข้าไปในเพนียดของเจ้าเจ็ยวงศ์นี้”

[...] “ทำเนียบไวย ไม่ใช่เพนียด”

[...] “สำหรับเจ้าสีหนุอยู่เพนียดดีแล้ว เพราะหน้าตาของเจ้าองค์นี้คล้ายๆ ช้าง”

*kan mii thaay thii cà? bük kháo pai kháa sũhànũ lếw [...] náŋ rôt-kềŋ kháo  
pai nai phâníat khốŋ cáo-cíaw oŋ nũ*

*[...] thamniap wđay mái cháí phâníat*

*[...] sãmràp cáo-sũhànũ yùu phâníat dii lếw phrđ? náa-taa khốŋ cáo oŋ nii  
khlây-khlây cháaŋ*

I have way that will invade enter go kill Sihanou already [...] sit car enter  
go in correl of prince one this.

[...] residence ACCLAIM not be correl

[...] for Prince Sihanou be correl good already because face of prince one  
this similar elephant

‘I have a plan to go inside and kill Sihanou. [...] Sitting on the car and go  
into the correl of this prince.

[...] residence, not correl!

For Prince Sihanou, it is good to be correl, because his face is like that of  
an elephant.’

(*Khamen kamhaeng* [4], 57-8)

In example (3) there shows the metaphor and simile in the same time. According to the excerpt, the word *phâníat* ‘correl’ is compared to the residence of the prince; while, the words *khlây-khlây cháaŋ* ‘similar to elephant’ are directly compared to the prince of Cambodia. These strategies together are accounted for showing the writer’s intention to make the Khmers looks inferior to the Thais.

#### 4.1.4 Allusion

Allusion is an implied or indirect reference to a person, event, or thing or to a part of another text, which bases on the assumption that there is a

body of knowledge that is shared by the author and the reader and that therefore the reader will understand the author's referent. This study found that allusion is also used by the writers to depict the Khmers with many types of image. The following excerpt is one of the example of allusion found in the texts studied.

- (4) รับสั่งให้ผมตามหาตัวท่านอธิบดีเพื่อให้รับพาคคนไทยสองคนเข้าเฝ้าฯโดยด่วน พระองค์จะดูหน้าและจะตัดหัวเสียบ  
ประจานไว้กลางเมืองที่อนุสาวรีย์พระยาละแวกทั้งสองคน

*râp-sàη-hái phôm taam hăa tua thăan athībōdii phǎm hái-rīp phaa khon thai  
สวัη khon kháo-pháo dooy-dùan phráʔ-ōη càʔ duu năa lɛʔ càʔ tàt húa siap  
pràcaan wái klaaη mhaη thii anusăawarii phráʔ-yaa làwéek thăη sวัη khon*

order me follow seek body mister director-general for hurry bring msn  
Thai two man appear-before-loyalty rapidly. His-majesty will see face and  
will cut head stab pillory keep central town at monument Praya Lawaek  
both two man

‘[He] ordered me to follow director-general to quickly two Thai men to  
see him. His majesty would look at their faces and behead them, stabbing  
and pillorying both of them at the center of the town around the  
monument of Praya Lawaek.’

(*Khamen kamhaeng* [5], 46)

The above excerpt is an example of allusion found in the selected fiction. In example (4) the name of *phráʔ-yaa làwéek* ‘Phraya Lawaek’ is alluded by the writer in order to show the reader that in the past the Thais used to defeat Praya Lawaek or the Khmer king. This example therefore signifies the image that the Khmers are inferior to the Thais.

#### 4.1.5 Presupposition

Presupposition is the shared background assumptions that are taken for granted when we communicate, yet essential to the construction of connected discourse. Presuppositions are also important as the term for a particular kind of inference when the writers want to give hints or introduce the suggesting statement whether it is true, credible or convincing. In this study, presupposition strategy is used to depict several images of the Khmers, as shown by below exmple.

(5) เพราะฉะนั้น เขมรจึงรุกรานเสียนจนต้องแตกसानซ่านเซ็นไปทั่ว

*phrôchànân khàměn cμη rŭk-raan sĭa-con khŏm tŏwη tĕk-sĕan-sĕan-sen pai thúa*

Therefore Khmers then invade so-that *Khom* must separate go all-over

‘Therefore the Khmers attacked *Khom* so that the *Khom* were widely dispersed.’

(Prasat phuetthesuan, 194)

In example (5), the writer uses the word *rŭk-raan* ‘attack’ as the action of the Khmers against *Khom* so as to presuppose that Khmers must be another group, not *Khom*, because if the Khmers were *Khom*, it is impossible that Khmers would attack people who are considered to be themselves.

#### 4.1.6 Pronoun

Pronoun is a word which can be used as a substitute of a noun or noun phrase. When used, ponouns are ranked in honorific registers or a class of words that encode a wide variety of social relationships.



- (6) ท่านมีพระประสงค์จะให้ท่านเหล่านี้ได้เรียนรู้ภาษาไทยและวัฒนธรรมไทยบ้าง ก็เลยรับสั่งให้พี่ช่วยสืบหาครูผู้หญิงไปจากบ้านเรา

*tháan mii phrâ?-pràsǝŋ cà? hái tháan-lào-níi dái rian-ríuu phaasǎa thai lɛ?*  
*wàthânâtham thai báaŋ kǝw-lǝy rǎp-sàŋ hái phíi chúay sǝn-p-hǎa khruu phúu-*  
*yŋ pai càak bán rao*

he have intention will let those get learn language Thai and culture some  
 then order give sister(me) help search-for teacher woman from house  
 we(our)

'He intended to let them learn Thai language and culture. Therefore, he  
 ordered me to help search for a female teacher from our country.'

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 108)

Example (6) show the way the writer uses pronoun *rao* 'we' to imply the differentiation between the Thai as "we" and the Khmers as "others". In this example, the sense of inferior of the Khmers can be drawn from the statement in that the Khmer characters want to know Thai language and culture.

However, in the same example we can also see that the writer pay respect to the Khmer royal family by using pronouns *tháan* 'he'. This can be one of the examples showing another image that the members of Khmer royal family are respectable.

#### 4.1.7 Negative sentence

Negative sentence is the way to state that something is not true or incorrect. A negative adverb is added in order to negate or cancel the validity of the whole sentence. In Thai language, a negative sentence is made by using negative words: *mái* 'no', *mái cháii* 'not be', *mái dái* 'not able'.

- (7) ไม่ใช่หรือครับคุณอา ขอมก็คือขอม เขมรก็คือเขมร

*mái-chái rǎok-krâp khun-aa khǎwǎm kǎw-khunn khǎwǎm khàměn kǎw-khunn khàmén*

not be PART uncle Khom be Khom Khmer be Khmer

'It is not that, Uncle. *Khom* is *Khom*. Khmer is Khmer.

(Prasat phruetasuan, 193)

Example (7) shows how the writer tries to use the strategy of negative sentence to support the following sentences. The word *mái-chái* 'not be' is employed in the above statement to directly tell the readers in following sentence that *khǎwǎm kǎw-khunn khǎwǎm khàměn kǎw-khunn khàmén* 'Khom is Khom, Khmer is Khmer', signifying some Thais perceived the image that *Khom* is not the Khmers.

#### 4.1.8 Adversative passive

In Thai syntactic structure, the adversative passive is syntactically marked by the verb of reception *thùuk* or *doon* 'touch' put in before the main verb so as to indicate that its subject is negatively affected. This study found that adversative passive is used in the fiction to show, for example, that the Khmers are potential to harm the Thais.

- (8) หากสุริยา วรมัน คือพระเจ้าสุริยะวรมันจริง ศรีก็ไม่พ้นต้องถูกวิญญาณดวงนี้ตามราวี้อีก

*hàak sùrîyaa wǎw-râman khunn phrâ?-cáo sùrîyâwǎw-râman ciŋ sǐi kǎw mái phôn tǎwŋ thùuk winyaan duan nǐ taam raawii ìik*

if Suriya Woraman be King Suriyavaraman real Sri then not pass must

PASS spirit one this follow annoy again

'If Suriya Woraman were real King Suriyavaraman. Sri then cannot escape from being annoyed by this spirit again.'

(Prasat pruetthesuan, 365-66)

Example (8) shows the use of adversative passive against the Khmers with the words *thùuk winyaan duaj nĩ taam raawii* 'be annoyed by this spirit'. According to the story, the word *winyaan* 'spirit' is the essence of the Khmers drawn from the storyline. This phrase then suggests that the Khmers are trying to cause trouble to the Thais. The image that the readers can infer from this statement is that the Khmers in the story are potentially harmful to the Thais.

#### 4.1.9 Citation

Citation is the quoting of a published and unpublished source or a well-known author in support of a fact. This strategy allows the writers to render discourse more credible than only describing or asserting the behavior of the characters. Therefore, it gains the credibility of the source of reference which is mostly famous. A quote of famous person's speech or written piece makes a specific message more convincing, decisive and feasible to happen in general people's world or, in particular, the readers' world.

- (9) นายบำเรอผอมและพูดไทยยังแปรง [...] บางทีก็ปนภาษาเขมรให้วุ่นไปหมด เลยทำให้นึกถึงนายพุตซ้อน ใน “ลกเขมร” ตอนที่แกพูดว่า “แต่คุณยังเมินเข้าใจ เอ! แต่ว่า ผม ก ไม่รูเหมือนกัน **Vous savez**”

*naay bam-rəə phǎwǎm lɛʔ phúut yaŋ prɛ̀ɛŋ [...] baŋ thii kǔw ɔn phaasǎa khàměn hái wúun pai mòt ləəy tham-hái nũk-thǎy naay phúutsǔw nai “thòk khàměn” tǔw thii kɛɛ phúut wǎa “tɛɛ khayom yaŋ məwɔn kǎo-jai ee! tɛ̀wǎa phom kǔw mai ruu mɛan-kan wuu saavee”*

mister Bamroe skinny and speak Thai still unclear [...] some time then mix language Khmer confuse go all then make think-of mister Phutsorn in “Tok Khamen” when that he speak that “but I still no understand ACCAIM I then not know too Vous savez”

Mister Bamroe is skinny and spoke Thai unclearly [...] sometime he speak with the mix of Khmer language, so confused. That makes her think of Mister Phutsorn in “Tok Khamen” in the his conversation “but(Khmer) I(Khmer) still don’t(Khmer) understand, eh! but I then don’t know too. You know(French).”

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 127)

Example (9) is the use of citation by quoting some parts of *thòk khàměñ* ‘Tok Khamen’, one of the most well-known Thai literatures about the Khmers written by an iconic Thai scholar M.R.Krukrit Pramroj. When applying this strategy, the writer makes her own statement convincing and in the same time the Khmers look funny and then inferior.

#### 4.1.10 Narrative techniques

Narrative techniques (or devices) are the way the writers use linguistic tools in their literary works to develop the story by narrating the paragraph and show the holistic view of their characters.

The importance of narrative techniques for any literary structure especially for fiction is that narrative is the organization of a series of events in the form of a story. It is obvious in the case of fiction. A fiction usually commences with a description of a place or a character. This kind of linguistic strategy is considered as the elemental layout in creating a fiction and instruments of a writer to insert his/her idea in the work.

The study found that there are three kinds of narrative techniques commonly used by the writers are the technique of description, dialogue and summary.

#### 4.1.10.1. Description

Description is the use of words to describe what characters look like and how they behave, help situate actions, and generate feeling and attitude in readers.

- (10) เครื่องประดับปราสาท เช่น หน้าบันหรือทับหลัง ก็มักจะนิยมสลักเรื่องราวของเทพเจ้า [...] ปราสาทแห่งนี้อาจเป็นเพียงอโรคยาศาล หรือโรงพยาบาลที่กษัตริย์ขอมสร้างขึ้นตามหัวเมืองต่างๆ ที่พระองค์แผ่พระราชอำนาจไป  
ถึง

*krúaŋ-pràdàp praasàat chéen náa-ban rǎm tháp lǎŋ kǎw mâk cà? nǐyom salàk  
rúaŋ-raaw khǎwŋ théppacǎo [...] praasàat hĕŋ-nú àat pen phiaŋ arookhayaa  
sǎan rǎm rooŋ-phayabaan thǐi kasàt khǎwŋ sǎaŋ khǎm taam hǎa-mhaŋ tàaŋ-  
tàaŋ thǐi phrâ?oŋ phĕe phrâ?-ráatchâ-amnáat pai-tǎŋ*

decorations castle such-as pediment or lintel then usually will favor  
sculpt story of gods [...] castle this perhaps be only Arokaya pavilion or  
hospital that king Khom build up along province all-sort that He extend  
Royal power go-to.

‘Decorations of this castle such as pediments or lintels usually portray the  
stories of gods. This castle was perhaps a Arokaya pavilion or hospital  
that king of Khom built in provinces that his royal power extended to.’

(Soy saeng chan, 174)

Example (10) is the description of places. The word *kasàt khǎwŋ* ‘king of Khom’ is used as given credit to the mentioned place, which signifies the image that the *Khom* is powerful. It is because the king of *Khom* is able to vastly extend power in the ancient times, making by the relative clause *thǐi phrâ?oŋ phĕe phrâ?-ráatchâ-amnáat pai-tǎŋ* ‘that extend power to’.

#### 4.1.10.2 Dialogue

Dialogue is the conversation between or among characters in order for the writer to show how various characters exchange their views and in the same time allows the readers to get into those characters' thought.

Dialogue is the most common technique found after the analysis of the selected fiction. It allows both Khmer and Thai characters to transmit idea, thought, overall information and so on directly to the readers. With this kind of technique the readers are able to get access to the personalities and real intentions of any character.

(11) “ไม่เห็นมีอะไรนี่ [...] ฉันไม่รู้รู้สึกอะไรเลย”

“ผู้จัดการโฮเต็ลนี้ แก่เป็นชาวฝรั่ง [...] เอาใจแต่เฉพาะพวกผิวเดียวกันเท่านั้น แต่นั่นแหละ สำหรับเราคงจะสะดวกสบายเพราะพระบารมีก็ได้ล่ะ” [...]

“พระบารมี” [...] หมายถึง พระบารมีของเสด็จพระองค์เจ้าหญิงผกาเป็นแน่แท้

*mái hên mii ària nîi [...] cǎn mái rîu-sùk ària loey*

*phúu-càt-kaan hooten nîi kEE pen chaaw-fràŋ [...] ao-cai tEE-chàphô? puák pǎw diaw-kan tháo-nân tEE-nán-lê? sǎm-ràp rao khoŋ-cà? sàduak-sàbaay phrô? phrâ?baarâmi [...]*

*“phrâ?baarâmi” [...] mǎy-thÿŋ phrâ?baarâmi khǎwŋ sàdèt -phrâ?-oŋ yǎŋ phàkaa pen nEE-thEE*

not see have what that [...] I not feel what at-all

manager hotel this he be westerner [...] take-care only group skin same only however for we(us) maybe convenient comfortable because royal-prestige has then able PART [...]

“royal-prestige” [...] mean royal-prestige of Her-royal-highness-princess Phka be certain

‘There is nothing [...] I feel nothing about it at all.

The manager of this hotel is a westerner and takes care only of people with the same skin as his [...] however, for us, it would be convenient and comfortable possibly because of the royal prestige. [...]

“[R]oyal prestige” [...] means royal prestige of Her royal highness princess Phaka certainly.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 117)

Example (11) is the dialogue between Thai characters talking about a member of royal Khmer family or the conversation put in quotation marks. The writer uses dialogue as transmitting conversation of main characters to show that *sàdèt -phráʔ-oy yǎn phàkaa* ‘Her royal highness princess Phaka’ the Khmer character is very kind and prestigious to the two Thais. It can be inferred from the dialogue that the Khmer royal family is graceful and respectable.

#### 4.1.10.3 Summary

Summary is a brief explanation of character’s thought or the sum-up of the situation in a particular point in the fiction. It is a technique necessary for the readers to track what has happened in the story and for the writer to condense certain events.

- (12) โชคชะตาบ้านเมืองเขมร โจรโบราณทำนายไว้ล่วงหน้าว่าจะเกิดกบฏครั้งใหญ่และยาวนาน ก่อนที่ฝรั่งเศสจะเข้ามาเอาเขมรเป็นอาณานิคม

*chóok-chátaa báan-məŋ khàmměn hoon boraan tammaay-wǎi lúəŋ náa wáa càʔ kəət kàlii-yúk khráŋ yài léʔ yaaw-naan kəəŋ thii fràŋsèt càʔ khaó maa ə khàmměn pen aanaanikhom*

fortune city Khmer fortuneteller ancient forecast in-advance that will happen Kali-Yukta time big and for-long-time before that France will enter come take Khmer be colony

‘The ancient fortuneteller had forecasted the fortune of the Khmers that there would be Kali Yukta (dark age) for a long time before French would come to the Khmers and took them as colony.’

(*Nang man*, 254)

Example (12) is the use of summary to explain the characteristics of the Khmers. The words marking the summary are *tammaay-wâi lúat náa wáa* ‘forecast that’. Also, with the words *kəət kàlii-yúk khráŋ yài lē? yaaw-naan* ‘would be Kali Yukta for a long time’ and *ao khàměn pen aanaanikhom* ‘take the Khmers as colony’, the writer sums up the *chóok-chátaa báan-muay khàměn* ‘the fortune of the Khmers’ that they are always in trouble. Therefore, it can be inferred from this summary that the Khmers are pitiful.

The above examples are given here only to show how many kinds of linguistic strategies were found in this study and how each kind of strategy are employed when the writer portrays the Khmers’ image in general.

The next part is the images inferred from these kinds of linguistic strategies. More examples of each inferred image are also provided to show that the Khmers are represented in such types of image.

#### **4.2 Images of the Khmer inferred from the linguistic strategies**

From the analysis of linguistic strategies in selected fiction, specific images of the Khmers were inferred and divided into four groups; that is, (1) *Khom* or the ancient Khmers, (2) Khmer leaders and soldiers, the Khmers in general and (4) Khmer royal family. Each group is depicted with various types of images.

These read-off images are considered as outcomes of Thai writers’ linguistic strategies, backed up by the shared ideologies among the Thais (which will be presented in Chapter 5).



#### 4.2.1 *Khom* or the ancient Khmers

For this group of the Khmers, there are three types of image represented in the fiction: (1) that “*Khom* was powerful,” (2) that “*Khom* is not the Khmers and (3) that “*Khom* is mystical.”

##### 4.2.1.1 *Khom* was powerful.

This type of image about Khmers remains correlated with the differentiation of *Khom* and the Khmers, but added a positive element in writers’ view by disregarding the fact that *Khom* and Khmers as the same and mentioning only about *Khom*. Examples of linguistic strategies showing such image are listed below

- (13) พระเจ้าชัยวรมันที่ ๗ เป็นกษัตริย์ผู้ยิ่งใหญ่องค์สุดท้าย ขอมเจริญรุ่งเรืองที่สุด

*phrâ? cáw Chaiyâwôrâman thii cèt pen kàsàt phúu yîng-yài oŋ sùd-tâay khǝm càrǝn rún-ruaŋ thii-sùd*

Phraçao Chaiyaworaman number seven be king one great one last  
Khom prosper flourish the-most

‘King Chayavaraman VII was the last great King. *Khom* attain the zenith  
of their prosperity.’

(Amaruetalai, 79)

Example (13) is lexical selection strategy. The words *pen kàsàt phúu yîng-yài* are used to describe *phrâ? cáw Chaiyâwôrâman thii cèt* ‘King Jayaworaman VII’. These phrasal words are used to give honor to the Khmer character or *Khom*. The novelist tends to talk about the king of *Khom* in the respectful manner by such words. As well, in here the words *càrǝn rún-ruaŋ thii-*

*sùd* ‘the most prosperous’ are employed to show that the *Khom* was very prosperous, which support the positive word describing the king of *Khom*.

- (14) นครธมไม่ใช่เทวสถาน ที่สร้างถวายเป็นเทวพลีแก่พระอิศวร แต่สร้างเพื่อให้เป็นนครหลวงสมัยยุคขอมเรืองอำนาจจริงๆ

*nákhwom thom mái cháí thewâsàthăan thîi sáaη thàwăay pen thewâphlii kèε phrâ?-isŭan tèε sáaη phŭa hái pen nákhwom-lŭaη sàməi yŭk khăwom ruŭaη-ammáat ciŋciŋ*

city Thom not be shrine that build give be god-dedication to Shiva but build for give be capital period time Khom be-in-power really

‘Angor Thom is not the shrine built for worshipping Shiva. But it was built to be the capital of *Khom* when they were in power.’

(*Khemarin-Inthira*, 134)

- (15) เฉพาะกล่องเงิน เป็นสมบัติสืบมาจากยุครุ่งเรืองของอาณาจักรขอมโบราณ

*chàphô? klŭwŋ ηwəŋ pen sŏmbàt sŭŋp maa càak yŭk ruŭŋ-ruŭaη khăwŋ aanaacàk khăwom boraan*

only box silver be property inherited come from period prosperous of kingdom *Khom* ancient

‘Only the silver box was the property inherited from the time when the kingdom of *Khom* was still prosperous.’

(*Nang man*, 254)

Although cut from different fiction, examples (14) and (15) use lexical selection strategy to show the reader that, during the *Khom*’s periods, *Khom* was civilized, powerful and prosperous. In doing so, the writers choose

the words *រក្សា amnát* ‘in power’ in (14) and *រុងរឿង* ‘prosperous’ in (15) to depict such image.

Beside lexical selection, the following example is the strategy of epithets as discourse markers to indicate why kings of *Khom* are divine and are those whom really should be paid respect to by the commoners.

- (16) พระองค์จักทรงกระทำเช่นนี้เพื่อประกาศอาณาเขตเสมือนส่วนหนึ่งของอาณาจักร [...] โดยผู้นำความเจริญมาสู่ดินแดนเหล่านั้นคือองค์จอมทัพใหญ่ [...] ก่อสร้างความสำเร็จแก่ประชาชนผู้อยู่ใต้การปกครองของพระองค์ราวกับเทพผู้มาโปรดอาณาประชาราษฎร์ในยุคสมัยนั้น

*phrâ? oŋ càk soŋ-kràtham chén-nîi phíia pràkàt aanaakhèt sàtmǎan sùan nìiŋ  
khǎwŋ aanaacàk [...] dooy phúu nam kwaam càrǎen maa sùu din dɛɛn lào nán  
khun ŋ-cɔwŋ-tháp-yài [...] kǎw-sáaŋ kwaam càrǎen kɛɛ pràchachon phúu yùu  
tái kaan-pòk-krǎwŋ khǎwŋ prâ? oŋ raaw-kàp thép phúu maa pròt  
aanaapràcharát nai yùk sàmmǎi nân*

He will conduct like-this for proclaim land alike part one of kingdom [...] by one lead prosperity to land all these be supreme-commander [...] build prosperity to people who be under governance of him as-if god who come love population in time period that

‘He would conduct in this way in order to proclaim the land as though it were part of the great kingdom [...] the person who bought the prosperity to these lands was the supreme commander [...] built up the progress to people under his throne’

(*Chantra-usakhane*, 472)

Example (16) is the way the writer directly explains the quality of the king of *Khom* and how they exert their power as widely as they could do, by the choice of words *nam kwaam càrǎen maa* ‘bring the prosperity’ and the use of

epithet *oη cωm thâp yài* ‘the supreme commander’ to refer to the competence and greatness of *Khom*’s kings. In order to honor the kings of *Khom*, the writers tend to tell the readers about the benevolence of the kings to their people.

- (17) สมัยเมื่อราชธานีของขอมครั้งกระโน้นยังรุ่งเรืองสุดขีด ด้วยอำนาจบารมีขององค์สุริยวรมันที่ ๑ พระบาท  
กัมรเตงคชต...ผู้ยิ่งใหญ่เหนือดินแดนสุวรรณภูมิแห่งนี้

*sàmai múa rátchâthaanii khḁḁḁ khḁḁḁ khrâḁḁ-kràḁḁon yaḁḁ rúḁḁ-ruaḁḁ sùt-khḁḁit  
dúay amnát baarámii khḁḁḁ oη-sùrîyâworâman thîi-nḁḁḁ phrâbât-  
kamrâteḁḁkhâchâtà? ... phúu yíḁḁ-yài nḁḁḁ dîn-dēen sùwannáphuum hḁḁḁḁ nḁḁḁ*

period when royal city of *Khom* that-time remain prosperous atmost by  
power and charisma of king-Suriyavaraman the-first the-royal  
Kamratengkachata ... the-one-who great over land Suwannabhumi one-  
this

‘In the period when the capital of *Khom* in the past remained the most  
prosperous with the power and charisma of king Suriyavaraman I, the  
royal Kamratengkachata ... the Great over this Suwannabhumi land.

(Prasat Phruetthesuan, 426)

Similar to above example, example (17) pinpoints that the king of *Khom* is powerful and civilized with the epithet *phúu yíḁḁ yài nḁḁḁ dîn dēen sùwannáphuum hḁḁḁḁ nḁḁḁ* ‘the Great over this Suwannabhumi land’. The writer conveys the message to the reader that the king of *Khom* makes *rátchâthaanii khḁḁḁḁ khḁḁḁḁ khrâḁḁḁ kràḁḁḁon* ‘the captal of *Khom* in the past’ extremely prosperous by using such epithet referring to the king.

- (18) กษัตริย์อันดำรง ‘รูป’ แห่งเทพ จึงได้รับศรัทธามั่นคง ไพร่ยำเียงเทวะเช่นใดย่อมยำเียงกษัตริย์ฉันนั้น นี่คือ  
อำนาจจากศรัทธา อำนาจที่ยั่งยืน

*kàsàt an damroy 'rúup' hèey théep' cny dáí-râp sàthaa mán-khoj phrái  
yamyeey theewâ? chéen dai yóom yamyeey kàsàt chǎn nân nûi khm̄ amnáat  
càak sàthàa thii yáy-yhm̄*

king which maintain 'figure' of Deva so gain fait unshakable commoner  
respect Deva like what therefore respect king like that this be power from  
faith power that long-lasting

'The king which maintained 'figure' of a god should gain the unshakable  
faith. The commoners should respect their king in the same way they  
respected the god. It's the power from faith. The long-lasting faith.'

(Suriyaworaman, 89)

In example (18), the words *rúup hèey théep* 'figure of Deva' is used as metaphor by the writer to refer to the king of *Khom*. Deva for the Thais is considered very sacred, when the writer uses this epithet to represent the king of the *Khom*, it helps create the positive image of the king of *Khom*, which is compared to the powerful divine.

Moreover, the image that *Khom* was powerful is intensified by the strategy of citation or the way of quoting the idea or the name of the famous to make the statement more convincing. By this strategy, there appears the credibility when writer creates characters and thought of characters or describe the scenes or events.

- (19) ทศนะในการปกครองของพระองค์ [ชัยวัฒน์ที่ ๗] แตกต่างจากกษัตริย์พระองค์ก่อนๆ [...] เหมือนที่ ยอร์ช เซ  
เดย์ มองว่ามันเป็นทศนะในเชิงปฏิวัติหรือคะ?

*tátsaná? nai kaan pòkkrōj khōwōj phrá?ōj [Chaiyáwōrâman thii cet] tēek-tàōj  
càak kàsàt phrá?ōj-kōwōn-kōwōn [...] mǎn thii Yōt Seedee mōwōj wáa man pen  
tátsaná? nai chōwōj pàtiwât rǎ kǎ?*

viewpoint in rule of His [Chayavaraman VII] differ from kings previous-reigns [...] like that George Coedès view that it be viewpoint in manner revolution or-not PART?

‘His [Chayavaraman VII’s] attitude in ruling the country was different from that of His ancestors, just like what George Coedès viewed that it was a revolutionary kind of attitude.’

(*Kaeoratklae*, 111)

Citation strategy is exemplified in (19) when *Yôt Seede* ‘George Coedès’ is referred to as the expert on Southeast Asian issue. By citing the George Coedès’ idea about the king of *Khom*, the phrase shown to the readers becomes so credible that the image of the powerful *Khom* obviously presented.

- (20) ราชอาณาจักรขอมโบราณ [...] หนังสือเล่มนี้บอกว่า พระเจ้าชัยวรมันที่ ๗ ชอบสร้างอโรคยาศาลาไว้ทั่ว มี  
กระทั่งถึงเมืองเพชรบุรี ลพบุรี

*râtchâ-aanaacàk-khăwm-boraan [...] năŋ-sŭu lém nŭi bŏwk wáa phrâ-cáo*  
*chayáwvŏráman thŭi-cèt chŏp sáaŋ arookâyaasáala wái thŭa mii kràtháŋ*  
*thŭŋ muaŋ phétbŭrii lŏpbŭrii*

Royal kingdom of ancient Khom [...] book one this tell that king Jayavaraman the-seventh like build Arokayasala keep very-where have even to city Petchaburi Lopburi

‘Royal kingdom of ancient Khom [...] this book says that king Jayavaraman VII liked to build Arokayasala everywhere; there were also in Petchaburi and Lopburi.’

(*Hub kao kin khon*, 11-12)

Example (20) is the way the writer cites to the documentary book *râtchâ-aanaacàk khăwm boraan* ‘Royal kingdom of ancient Khom’ and quotes

some parts of the book to show how King Jayavaraman VII was very powerful in the ancient time. Although this book's title is specially invented to especially use in the fiction, the writer can also give the credibility to the statement he/she tries to show the image that *Khom* is very powerful.

- (21) สมเด็จพระยาตากษัตริย์ทรงพระนิพนธ์ไว้ในนิราศนครวัด ว่าเมื่อพระเจ้าชัยวรมัน พยายามจะพ้นจากอำนาจพวก  
 ขวา ก็ได้อาศัยพรหมณ์หนึ่ง [...] เป็นราชครูและที่ปรึกษา [...] มาแต่เขาหิมาลัยในอินเดียนั่นเอง จึงเป็นที่  
 เข้าใจว่า ไทยเราคงจะได้เรื่องรามเกียรติ์ไปจากขอม

*sǒmdèt krom phrâyaa damroŋ soŋ-phrâ?nîpon wái nai nîrát nakhoŋ wát wáa  
 mǎa phrácáochaiwǎráman phayayam cà?phôn càak amnáat phuak chawaa  
 kǎw aasǎi phraam nǐŋ [...] pen rátchakruu lè?thíi-prùksǎa [...] maa tɛɛ khǎo  
 himalai nai india nà?eeŋ cŋŋ pen thǐi kháo-cai wáa thai rao khoŋ-cà?dái rǎaŋ  
 raammakian pai càak khǎwŋ*

Somdet krom praya Damrong write keep in Nirat Nakorn Wat that when king-Jayavaraman try-to will escape from power the-Javaneses then ask-for Prahm one [...] be great-master and counselor [...] come from mountain Himalaya in India there therefore be that understand that Thai we maybe get story Ramayana go from Khom

'Prince Damrong wrote in Nirat Nakorn Wat that when King Jayawaraman tried to escape from the power of the Javaneses, he asked for the help of one Bhrahmin, the great master and counselor who came from Himalaya Mountain in India. Therefore, it is understood that we the Thais adopt Ramayana from *Khom*.'

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 133)

Example (21) use the citation of iconic person in history of Thailand *sǒmdèt krom phrâyaa damroŋ* 'Prince Damrong' and his work *nîrát nakhoŋ wát* 'Nirat Nakorn Wat' with the quote *wáa mǎa phrácáochaiwǎráman*

*phayayam cà? phôn càak amnáat phuak chwaa k໋ວ aasăi phraam nຸ່ງ [...] pen râtchakruu lè? thii-prùksăa* ‘that when king Jayawaraman tried to escape from the power of the Javanese, he asks for the help of one Brahmin, the great master and counselor’. Such quote is used to support the statement that *thai rao khoṅ cà? dái rúaṅ raammakian pai càak kh໋ວມ* ‘we the Thais adopt Ramayana from Khom’. With citing famous person of Thailand and his work, the writer is able to signify that Khom -- whom the Thais adopted *raammakian* ‘Ramayana’ from -- is rich in culture and more civilized.

As for the narrative techniques, the examples for description and summary are such as below excerpts.

- (22) ณ นครยโสธรปุระอันยิ่งใหญ่โอฬารของพระเจ้ายโสธรมณที่ ๑ ซึ่งสร้างขึ้นเป็นราชธานีใหม่แห่งขอมแล้วเสร็จ  
บ้านเมืองเต็มไปด้วยความเจริญรุ่งเรืองในทุกวิถีทาง มั่งคั่งด้วยการค้า โอ่อ่าด้วยศิลปกรรม

*nâ? nâk໋ວນ yâsôotharapûrâ? an y໋ືṅ-yài oolaan kh໋ວṅ phrâ?-cáo*  
*yâsôowວຣາມານ thii-nຸ່ງ s໋ຍ໋ງ sáaṅ kh໋ຍ໋ນ pen râatchathaanii mài hèṅṅ kh໋ວມ*  
*lêṅw sèet báan-mຸ່ງṅ tem pai dúay kwaam-càṅອອນ rຸ່ງ-rຸ່ງṅ nai thúik w໋ithii-*  
*thaaṅ máṅ-káṅ dúay kaan-kháa òo-àa dúay s໋nlâpàkam*

at city Yasotharapura that great gigantic of king Yasovaraman the-first  
that build up be capital of Khom already finish town full go with  
prosperity in every method way wealthy with trade manificent with work-  
of-art

‘In the great Yasothara Bura of King Yasotharavaraman I who founded  
this city as new capital of *Khom*, the prosperity reached every sector. The  
city was wealthy from trade and magnificent with work of arts.

(Sang Sayong, 630)



The example (22) shows the way the writer delicately describes the image of *Khom* by the help of the words *kwaam-càrəən rúŋ-ruaŋ* ‘prosperity’, *máŋ-káŋ* ‘wealthy’ and *òo-àa* ‘magnificent’. In doing so, the readers will get the picture of the great king and his city.

Next example is summary. When the writers intend to introduce the image of *Khom* as the powerful, they also use this kind of technique.

- (23) จากประวัติศาสตร์และภูมิศาสตร์ขอมที่ได้ศึกษามาอย่างละเอียดแสดงว่าราชอาณาจักรขอมในสมัยนั้น  
เจริญรุ่งเรือง และมีอาณาเขตกว้างใหญ่ไพศาล เมื่อแผ่อำนาจไปที่ใดก็สร้างเมือง สร้างเทวสถาน คือปราสาทหิน  
ไว้เป็นสัญลักษณ์แห่งอำนาจทุกที่

*càak prâwàtsàat lē? phuumîsàat khǎm thîi dái sĕksǎa maa yàaŋ-lâ-iat sàdεεŋ  
wáa râatchâ-aanaacàk khǎm nai sàmmǎi nóon càrəən-rúŋ-ruaŋ lē? mii  
aanaakhèet kwáaŋ yài phaisǎan mĕa phĕε amnáat pai thîi-dai kǎw sáaŋ mĕaŋ  
sáaŋ theewâsàthǎan khĕm praasàat hĭn wái pen sǎnyâlâk hĕεŋ amnáat thúk-thîi*

from history and geography Khom that already study come thoroughly  
show that royal-kingdom Khom in period that prosperous and have  
territory vast big huge when extend power go where the build town build  
shrine be castle stone keep be symbol of power everywhere

The complete study about history and geography of *Khom* shows that the  
kingdom of *Khom* in ancient time was so prosperous and widely  
expanded its territory. Wherever its sphere of influence reached, new  
towns were to be built as well as temples or stone castles as the symbol  
power.

(Amaruetalai, 142)

Example (23) is the attempt to summary the power of *Khom* with the help of lexical selection strategy *sàdεεŋ wáa* ‘show that’ to summarize the following sentence that is true: *râatchâ-aanaacàk khǎm nai sàmmǎi nóon càrəən-rúŋ-*

*ruaŋ lē? mii aanaakhèet kwáaŋ yàì phaisǎan* ‘the kingdom of *Khom* in ancient time was so prosperous and widely expanded its territory’. Therefore, the readers are able to get the idea of powerful *Khom* by explaining how large the kingdom of *Khom* is and to what extent *Khom*’s sphere of influence reaches.

#### 4.2.1.2 *Khom* is not the Khmers.

The image that *Khom* is not Khmers is shown by many linguistic strategies. The writers tend to use words to signify that *Khom* are not the Khmers, the words such as *phít kàp* ‘different from’, *mái dái plɛɛŋ pen* ‘not change to’ and *mái cháí* ‘not be’ are employed to pinpoint that the Khmers are the other race that took over the land where *Khom* used to live around, as shown by following examples.

- (24) เหตุเกิดในดินแดนขอม ประเทศบ้านเกิดของฉันเอง แต่ขอมยุคนั้นไม่ใช่เขมรที่เรารู้จักกันอยู่เดี๋ยวนี้ เต็มไปด้วย  
ความเจริญรุ่งเรือง และความโอ่อ่าสง่างามเหลือประมาณถูก ผู้คนก็มีจิตใจสูง มีความรู้ความสามารถเป็นเยี่ยม  
ในทางที่ตนถนัด

*hèet kəət nai din-dɛɛn khǎm pràtéet báan-kəət khǎm cǎn-eeŋ tɛɛ khǎm yúik  
nân máí cháí khàměn thii raw rúu-càk kan yùu dǎaw-nii tem pai dúay kwaam-  
càɔəŋ-rúŋ-ruaŋ lē? kwaam-òòà-sàŋà-ŋaam lǎa pràmaan tùuk púu-khon  
kǎw mii cǐt-cai sǔuŋ mii kwaam-rúu kwaam-sǎmáat pen yíam nai tháŋ thii ton  
thànàt*

cause happen in territory *Khom* country homeland of myself but *Khom* period that not be Khmers that we know together be this-time full go with prosperity and magnificence left count correct people the have mind high have knowledge ability be excellent in way that one expert

‘It happened in *Khom* territory, my home country. But *Khom* at that time is not the same Khmers we actually know. It was full with prosperity and

considerably magnificence. [*Khom*] people lived their live moral high ground and excellent competence in each branch of their interests.’

(*Sang sayong*, 629)

In example (24), there are two strategies found: lexical selection and negative sentence. As for lexical selection, the writer uses the words *kwaam-càrəən-rúŋ-ruaŋ* ‘prosperity’, *kwaam-òòà-sàŋà-ŋaam* ‘magnificence’, *cìt-cai sǔuŋ* ‘having moral high ground’ and *yíam* ‘excellent’ to show that *Khom* is very civilized.

These words are employed to support the other strategy: negative sentence. With word choice *mái cháí* ‘not be’ in the conversation between the Khmer character and the Thai one in the example (13), it is convincing that *Khom* is not today’s Khmers. It seems to be interestingly effective to convince the readers, for that the writer makes a Khmer person -- who is supposed to know well about themselves -- delicately deliver this idea. So, this statement successfully put such idea in the readers’ mind.

Apart from lexical selection strategy, presupposition strategy also takes part in making the discourse that *Khom* is not the Khmers, as shown in the following example.

(25) เขมรก็จะต้องเป็นคนอีกชนชาติหนึ่ง ที่เข้ามารุกรานขอม ขอมสู้ไม่ได้ก็ต้องแตกหนีเข้าไปในลาว

*khàmměen kǔw cà? tǔwŋ pen khon ìik chon cháat nùŋ thii kháw maa riik raan  
khǔwm khǔwm sǔu mái-dái kǔw tǔwŋ tɛ̀k rón nǐ kháw pai nai laaw*

Khmers then will must be man another ethnic one that enter come  
invade Khom Khom fight unable then must break move-back escape  
enter go in Lao

‘The Khmers must be another ethnic group who chased away Khom. Khom were unable to defend so that they had to retreat into Laos.’

(Prasat phruetthesuan, 251)

The example (25) uses the signifying words as marker to persuade the readers to believe accordingly. The signifying word *ik chon cháat n̄h* ‘another ethnic group’ is crucial to presuppose that the following statement is true. After doing so, the image left hanging in their way of thinking is that *Khom* is definitely not Khmers in the present time.

- (26) ขอมหายไปทางไหนกันละ ขอมไม่ใช่เขมรในปัจจุบันหรือหรือ [...] ทำไมถึงจะใช้ละคะ ในเมื่ออารยธรรมอันยิ่งใหญ่ของขอมนะ ไม่ได้ตกมาเป็นสมบัติของคนชาติเขมรเลยสักอย่าง

*kh̄w̄m h̄ay pai thaaŋ n̄i kan là? kh̄w̄m mái cháit khàměn nai pàtcùban r̄òk r̄h̄ [...] tam mai th̄h̄ cà? cháit là? kh̄? nai m̄á aarâyâtham an yíŋ-yài kh̄w̄n kh̄w̄m nà? mái dái tòk maa pen s̄mbàt kh̄w̄n khon cháat khàměn l̄ay s̄k-yàŋ*

Khom disappear go way where together PART Khom not be Khmers in today PART QUES [...] why to will be PART in when civilization that great of Khom PART not get fall come be heritage of man nationality Khmers pass one-thing

‘Where was *Khom* gone to? *Khom* was not today’s Khmers, was it? [...] Why should it be so? The Khmers inherit none of the great civilization from the Khom.’

(Prasat Phruetthesuan, 59)

Example (26) is an attempt to tell the reader that *Khom* is certainly not ancestor of the Khmers with the presupposition that *kh̄w̄m mái cháit khàměn nai pàtcùban r̄òk r̄h̄* ‘Khom was not today’s Khmers’ and *mái dái tòk maa pen*

*sǎmbàt khǎw khon cháat khàměn* ‘did not inherited to Khmers at all’. In the same example, it also shows lexical selection with the words *an yíŋ-yài* ‘which is great’, signifying that Khom was great, but the Khmers is not.

- (27) เรื่องขอมเป็นเรื่องดีเก่าบรรพ์นับพันปีมาแล้ว [...] อารยธรรมของขอมเป็นอารยธรรมสูงมาก ผิดกับเขมร  
ปัจจุบัน ที่ไม่มีอะไรเป็นของตัวเอง

*rúəŋ khǎw pen rúəŋ dək-dam-ban nâp phan pii maa lêew [...] aarâyâtham  
khǎw khǎw pen aarâyâtham thii sǔuŋ máak phít kàp khàměn pàtcùban thii  
mái mee àrai pen khǎw tua-eeŋ*

story Khom be story ancient count thousand year come already [...]  
civilization of Khom be civilization high very wrong with khmer today  
that not have what be of themselves

‘The story of *Khom* is the story of something thousand years ago. *Khom*  
civilization is very high civilization, different from today’s Khmers who  
have nothing as their own.’

(Prasat Phruetthesuan, 45-46)

In example (27), choice of contrastive word *phít kàp* ‘different from’ is applied to signify that Khmers are not *Khom*. The lexical choice of *rúəŋ khǎw pen rúəŋ dək dam ban nâp phan pii maa lêew* ‘the story of *Khom* is the story of something in thousand years ago’ is also used to support the idea that that *Khom* is not Khmers in today world.

- (28) อย่างไรเสียก็ต้องมีขอมอยู่ที่ไหนสักแห่งในโลกนี้ อาจจะเป็นที่เมืองไทยเราเองก็ได้ ขอมไม่ได้แปลงเป็นเขมร  
แน่นอน

*yàəŋ-rai-sǎ kǎw tǎwŋ mii khǎw yùu thii-nǎi-sàk-hèeŋ nai lóok nǐ àtcà? pen  
thii thai raw eeŋ kǎw dái khǎw mái dái pləeŋ pen khàměn nɛɛnɔw*

however khom be then must have somewhere in world this perhaps be at  
thai we ourselves able khom not get transform be Khmers certainly

‘However, there must be *Khom* somewhere in this world. Perhaps here in Thailand. *Khom* certainly did not transform to the Khmers.’

(Prasat Phruetthesuan, 222)

With the same strategy of negative sentence, example (28) show that the words *t໋ວງ mii kh໋ວມ ຍຸນ ທີ່ ນ້ຳ ສັກ ພຣຸ໋ງ* ‘there must be *Khom* somewhere’ is true by strengthening the idea with negative sentence that *ມ້ຳ ດ້ຳ ພຣຸ໋ງ ປັນ* ‘not transform to’. By negative sentence in here, the writer directly tells the reader that *Khom* is not the Khmers at all.

#### 4.2.1.3 *Khom* is mystical.

The image that the *Khom* are mystical can be found in many pieces of fiction with the use of linguistic strategies such as lexical selection and narrative techniques to describe the *Khom* characters and mystical behaviors. The following excerpts can illustrate such image depicted by the writers.

(29) *ທີ່ນີ້ມີອາວຸກຣຣ໌ແຮງນັກ ຍັງດີທີ່ຮູ້ຄຸນກັບມາໄດ້ ເລີຍມີຄົນມາເຫຼົ້າແລ້ວຫາຍໄປເລີຍ ຫຼາຍຄົນ*

*thii-nii mii aathǎn reeṅ nǎk yaṅ dii thii khun klǎp maa dǎi khǎy mii khon  
maa thǎw lǎew hǎay pai chǎy chǎy lǎay khon*

here have mystery strong much still good that you return come able  
used-to have man come travel and disappear go without-sign many man

‘Mystery in here is so strong. It’s such a good thing you’d come back.  
There used to be many visitors who were just out of sight.’

(Prasat phruetthesuan, 151)

(30) เราต้องอาถรรพ์มันเสียแล้ว

raw *tóvɥ aathǎn man sǎ-lêew*

we hit-by mystery it already

‘We’ve already hit by the mysterious magic.’

(*Hub khao kin khon*, 277)

In example (29)-(30), despite cut from different piece of fiction, the words such as *aathǎn reey nâk* ‘mystery so strong’ and *tóvɥ aathǎn* ‘hit by mysterious magic’ allow the reader to understand that the Khmers are common to the mystery, no matter what kind of aspect they are such as atmosphere, setting, scene or action of the *Khom* characters.

(31) ก้าวออกมาสิ มาสู่สมถาลัย-นครอาถรรพ์ของพันธุมเทวีที่ท่านอยากรู้จัก

*káaw òv k maa sii maa sùu àmárûtaalai nâkhwon aathǎn khvǎvɥ Phanthumtheewii*  
*thii thán yàk ríu-càk*

step out come PART come to Amaruetalai city mystic of Phanthumthewi  
that you want know

‘Step over here! Come to Amaruetalai-Mystic City of Phanthumthewi  
whom you’d like to know.’

(*Amaruetalai*, 628)

In example (31), the feeling of strangeness and mystical atmosphere is shown to the readers with the use of the epithet *àmárûtaalai nâkhwon aathǎn* ‘Amaruetalai the mysterious city’. These words imply the mysterious and scary type of place and the city built by *Khom*. Additional to this, the writer emphasizes the scary sense of the Khmer place by choosing the

strongly negative word *aathǎn* and put in such epithet to make the *Khom* place really scary to the Thais.

Moreover, the below example is the description technique used by the writers to portray the picture of *Apsara*, the most common reference to *Khom* when talking about art and culture as well as one of the popular characters in Thai contemporary fiction.

- (32) มีเสียงหนึ่ง ดังกึกก้องโหยหวนขึ้นจากรูปสลักนางอัปสรขอมทันทีทันใด และน่าสะพรึงกลัวสุดขีด [...] แน่นอน  
...มันเป็นเสียงภูตจากนรกขุมลึกที่สุด

*mii sǎŋ nùŋ daŋ kùk-kǒwŋ hǒoy-hǔan khǎm càak rûup-sàlàk naaŋ àpsǎwŋ  
khǎwŋ than thii-than-dai lǎi? náa-sàphruiŋ-klua sùt-khǐit [...] nǎe-nwŋ ... man  
khuu sǎŋ phúut càak nârók khǐm lǎik thii-sùt*

have sound one loud resoundingly groaning up from sculpture Nang Apsara Khom all-at-once and scary extremely [...] of-course ... it be sound ghost from abyss pit deep the-most

‘All at once there is a loud and extremely scary sound groaning out from the sculpture of Khom Apsara. [...] Of course, it was the sound of a ghost from the deepest abyss.’

(*Sang sayong*, 611)

With the words *náa-sàphruiŋ-klua sùt-khǐit* ‘extremely scary’ and *sǎŋ phúut càak nârók khǐm lǎik thii-sùt* ‘sound of ghost from the deepest abyss’, example (32) shows how the writer describes *Apsara* as the ghost which gives the scary kind of feeling to the readers because *rûup-sàlàk naaŋ àpsǎwŋ khǎwŋ* ‘sculpture of *Khom Apsara*’ represents the *Khom* mystery in the story.



- (33) นางอัปสรานั้น [...] ใบหน้าขาวโพลน ดวงตาลงโบ้ เธอใช้มืออันขาวซีดเห็นเส้นเลือดสีดำล้าที่  
แตกกระแหงจนน่าขนลุกลุบได้ไปมาที่ใบหน้าของหมอภาคย์

*naaŋ àpsàraa ton nân [...] bai-náa khǎaw phloon duaŋ-taa kluaŋ-bõo thəə cháí  
mɯɯ an khǎaw sít hěn sén lúat sǐi dam khlâm thúi tək rǎhǎŋ con náa-khǒn-lúk  
lúup-lái pai maa thúi bai-náa khǎaw mǎw pháak*

Nang Apsara one that [...] face white all eyes sunken she use hand that  
white pale see line blood color back dark that broke crack until give-a-  
goose-bump caress go come at face of doctor Phak

‘That Apsara has all-white face. Her eyes are sunken. Her pale and  
cracked hands with blackened blood line so that it could give someone a  
goose-bump, if seen. She used those hands to caress Dr. Phak’s face.’

(*Sap apsara*, 138)

In example (33), *Apsara* is described negatively to show how scary it is with the lexical choice of *bai-náa khǎaw phloon* ‘all-white face’, *duaŋ-taa kluaŋ-bõo* ‘eyes are sunken’ and *duaŋ-taa khluaŋ-bõo* ‘pale hands with blackened blood line so that it could give someone a goose-bump’. The image of evil spirit is painted to *Apsara*, which makes Thai character feel terrified by. This image is similar the below example.

- (34) นางอัปสรศิลาอายุพันปี ได้คืนชีพลุกออกมาจากเสาหินเก่าแก่ โบราณโบราณแล้ว อย่างน่าพิศวง และน่าสยของขวัญ  
สุดขีด!

*naaŋ àpsǎw sǐlaa aayúu phan pii dái khɯɯ chíip lúk ðək maa càak sǎo hǐn  
kào- kèe borám-boraan léew yàaŋ-naá-phítsàwǎŋ lé? náa-sàyǎwǎ-khwǎn sùt-  
khít*

Nang Apsara stone age thousand year already return life stand out come  
from pillar stone very-old ancient already amazingly and scary the most

'A thousand-year-old stone *Apsara* had resurrected from the ancient stone pillar. Amazaing and the scariest!'

(*Sang sayong*, 21)

In example (34), the word *khum chíip* 'resurrect' is used as presupposition that *Apsara* was a ghost. Also, the stone *Apsara* is described in an apprehensive way with the lexical choice of *náa sàyvǎŋ khwǎn sùt-khít* 'the most scary'. So, the readers will certainly have the image of *Apsara* ghost in mind. This type of image of *Apsara* is found in almost Khmer or *Khom* stories about ghost. Not only is scary feeling of Thai character shown but strangeness to the readers, since a ghost or scary creature is something that one would not like to associate with. When any Thai characters come across this kind of creature, they tend to stay away and try not to make understanding of it, except being spellbound by *Apsara*.

Furthermore, description as narrative technique is employed to depict the Khmer character with mystical image, as shown below.

- (35) วรรณกายของเทวีเหนือหัวแห่งอมฤตาลัยสั่นสะท้านไปทั้งองค์ [...] ซีกร่างที่เป็นสาวสดงดงามไม่มีที่เปรียบนั้น  
ค่อยแปรเปลี่ยนไปเป็นเหี่ยวยุบลงทุกที จนในที่สุด ก็กลายเป็นหญิงชราเหี่ยวหง่อมอย่างสมบูรณ์เต็มตัว นอนคุดคู้  
สิ้นเต็มอยู่ข้างโลง

*wǎwrǎ-kaay khǎwǎŋ theewii nǎa hǔa hǎeŋ àmârítalai sǎn-sàtǎan pai tháŋ oŋ*  
[...] *sík ráaŋ thii pen sǎaw sòt ɲòt-ŋaam mái mii thii pǎiap nǎn khǎwǎy prɛɛ-*  
*pǎian pai pen hǎaw yǎn loŋ thúk-thii con nai-thii-sùt kǎw klaay pen yǎŋ cháraa*  
*hǎaw ɲǎw yàaŋ-sǎmbuun tem tua nǎw khúit-khúu sǎn-thǎm yuu kháaŋ looŋ*

body of Devi over head of Amaruetai shaking go all body [...] part  
body that be girl fresh beautiful not have that compare that slowly change  
go be whither wrinkle down everytime unil in-the-end the turn be

woman old whither aged completely full body lie curl tremble at side coffin

‘The body of supreme Devi of Amaruetai was shaking uncontrollably. [...] a part of body that used to look like uncomparably beautiful girl slowly turned withered and wrinkled, then finally completely became aged and withered women, lying aside the coffin.’

(*Amaruetai*, 706)

In example (35), the *Khom* character is presented as the ghost with the use of verbs in serie *sàn sàtáan* ‘shaking’, *prɛɛ plian pai pen h̄iaw yon* ‘turned withered and wrinkled’ and *klaay pen ȳŋ ch̄âraa h̄iaw ɲòɔm* ‘became aged and withered women’. With these words describing the character, the reader will obviously receive the image of the mystical *Khom*.

#### 4.2.2 The Khmers leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal.

Another significant image about the Khmers is primarily about the Khmer leaders and soldiers. A number of selected fictional works seemingly presented in the image of this group people in the similar way of writing. That is, the writers tend to give to the readers the corrupt and tyrannical image of the Khmer leaders and the officials under the command of the leaders such as soldiers, as shown in the following examples.

Interestingly, lexical choice is the predominant strategy found as markers in nearly every type of discourse including this one. The following example shows how lexical selection plays a convincing role to the readers.

- (36) การปกครองที่มีรากฐานอันแข็งแกร่งอยู่ที่การฉ้อราษฎร์บังหลวง จนในที่สุดก็ถึงกาลพังพินาศด้วยรัฐประหารเมื่อเดือนกรกฎาคมปี ๑๙๙๖ [...] สภาพบ้านเมืองที่ยังคงล่าหลัง ย่ำแย่ ไร้การดูแล เขียวยา และแก้ไข

*kaan-pòk-khrວຽງ thii mii ráak thǎan an khém-khě̂y yuu thii kaan-ch໌ວ-rát-baη-lǎ̂n con nai thii sùt k໌ວ thǎ̂n kaan phaη-phĩnǎat dúay rǎtthàpràhǎan mǎa dǎan kàràkàdaakhom pii nǎ̂n phaη káo r໌ວy káo sǐp hòk [...] sàpháap báan-m uaη thii yaη lâa-lǎ̂n yám-yé̂e rǎi kaan-duu-lɛɛ yiaw-yaa lɛ̂? káe-khǎi*

governance that have root base that firm at corruption until finally then to time collapse by coup d'état when month July year 1996 [...] condition city that still underdeveloped severe lack-of-taking-care treatment and resolve

'The governance firmly based on the corruption [...] finally led to the collapse by coup d' état in July 1996 [...] the condition of city was still severely underdeveloped and lacked of treatment and resolution.'

(Kaeoradklao, 174-75)

In example (36), the writer uses the words *kaan-ch໌ວ-rát-baη-lǎ̂n* 'corruption' and *sàpháap báan-m* *uaη thii yaη lâa-lǎ̂n yám-yé̂e rǎi kaan-duu-lɛɛ yiaw-yaa lɛ̂? káe-khǎi* 'the condition of the city was still severely underdeveloped and lacked treatment and resolution' to describe the Cambodia's state of society after the coup d'état in 1996 and the new group of Khmer leaders took control of the country. Such words are the strategy to explain and show how bad and corrupt the Khmer leaders are.

- (37) รัฐบาลลอน นอล เป็นรัฐบาลที่หย่อนสมรรถภาพขาดความเข้มแข็ง ที่ร้ายที่สุดก็คือคอร์รัปชั่นระดับบาทหนัก ดังนั้นสงครามกลางเมืองที่ทำให้ชาวกัมพูชาหายไปราวหกแสนคน จึงสร้างความเจ็บปวดขมขื่น

*rǎtthàbaan ລວນ ນວນ pen rǎtthàbaan thii y໌ວນ sàmatthàpháap khàat kwaam khém-khě̂y thii rǎay-thii-sùt k໌ວ kh̄m̄ kh໌ວrǎpcháan rǎbàat nàk daη-nân s໌ŷkraam klaaη m̄uaη thii tham-hái chaaw-khamphuuchaa hǎay-pai raaw hòk sě̂en khon c̄uaη sáaη khwaam-cèp-puàt khǎm-kh̄m̄*

government Lon Nol be government that loose capability lack strength  
the the-worse then be corruption spread heavily therefore war mid city  
the make Cambodians disappear approximately six hundred thousand  
men then create hurt bitterness

'Lon Nol's government lacked ability and strength. The worst was the severely widespread corruption. So, the civil war making approximaly six hundred thousand Khmers disappear inflicted bitter pain so badly.'

(*Chamlak wai nai paendin*, 95)

The readers can directly understand after reading the example (37) is that the mentioned government in the statement is led by such notorious group of Khmer people. The writer uses strongly negative meaning of words to describe Cambodian government led by General Lon Nol such as *yðm sàmàtthàpháap* 'loose capacity', *khàat kwaam khém-khěŋ* 'lack strength' and *khvrapchán râbàat nàk* 'severely widespread corruption'.

(38) มีหลักฐานว่าเขาเคยพัวพันกับอดีตผู้นำจอมโหดอย่างพรพอล

*mii làk-thǎan wáa khǎo khəy phua-phan kàp àd̄iit-phúu nam cəm-hòt yàaŋ phvmp̄hɔn*

have evidence that he used-to involve with ex-leader cruel like Porn Pon

'There is evidence that he used to be involved with the cruel ex-leader Porn Pon.'

(*Kaewratklao*, 158)

Example (38) shows how epithet is used to make the Khmer leader *phvmp̄hɔn* 'Porn Pon' look bad to the reader. The epithet *àd̄iit-phúu nam cəm-hòt* 'cruel ex-leader' contains the strong words that signify the cruel leader

of the Khmers. Then the image that one can gain from this statement is the tyrannical leader of the Khmers.

- (39) พรพล – คนที่ถูกประณามจากคนทั้งโลกว่าโหดเหี้ยม ชั่วร้าย และทำให้คนเชื้อชาติเดียวกับหล่อนล้มตายไปนับ ล้านคนแล้ว

*Phovn Pon – khon thii thiiuk prànaam càak khon tháŋ lóok wáa hòot híam chúa ráay lé? tham hái khon chhâ-cháat diaw kap lóon lóm taay pai nâp lán khon léew*

Porn pon – man that PASS condemn from people entire world that ruthless wicked and make man race same with her fall die go count million man already

‘Porn Pon – the man who was condemned by the entire world for the root of evil cause and who killed millions of people belonging to the same clan as her.’

(Kaeoratklaao, 291)

Example (39) shows the way this strategy directly refer to the leader of Khmer Rouge -- Pol Pot -- who destroyed Cambodia with his political view by committing the crime against his own people so that the world denounces him for the cause of mass killing. A clause *khon thii thiiuk prànaam càak khon tháŋ lóok wáa hòot híam chúa ráay lé? tham hái khon chhâ-cháat diaw kap lóon lóm taay pai nâp lán khon léew* ‘the man who was condemned by the entire world for the root of evil cause and who killed millions of people with the same clan of her’ is used here as epithet, so that the image of the wicked and the tyrant is depicted for the Khmer leader.

Also, in the same example adversative passive is also employed to show that the Khmer leader is tyrannical with the words *thiiuk prànaam* ‘be denounced’ from international community that he is tyrannical.

- (40) พรพลเป็นความชั่วร้ายเพียงหนึ่งเดียวที่ต้องกำจัดให้สิ้นซาก

*phɔɔnphon pen kwaam-chúá-ráay phiaŋ-nèŋ-diaw thii thǎŋ kam-càt hái sîn-sáak*

Porn Pon be wickedness only that must eradicate give complete

‘Porn Pon is the only wickedness that is necessary to be completely eradicated.’

(Kaewratkiao, 38)

In example (40), the writer uses simile strategy to compare the Khmer leader *phɔɔnphon* ‘Porn Pon’, a Khmer character referred to Pol Pot one of the Khmer Rouge leaders. The words *pen kwaam-chúá-ráay* ‘be the wickedness’ is used to make the Khmer character similar to the wicked. Therefore, the image that the reader can derive from such simile is the one with bad characteristic.

- (41) พวกเขาถูกผู้นำของแกที่เรียกว่าเขมรแดงฆ่าล้างโคตรแทบหมดเผ่าพันธุ์ ต่อมาผู้นำของพวกเขาแตกแยกกลายเป็นเขมรสามฝ่ายสี่ฝ่ายประจานตัวเองไปทั่วโลก

*phúak kɛɛ thùuk phúu-nam khǎwŋ kɛɛ thii ríak wáa khàměn dɛɛŋ kháa láan khóot thɛɛp mət phào phan tǎw-maa phúu-nam khǎwŋ phúak kɛɛ kǎw tɛɛk-yéek klaay pen khàměn sǎam sǐi fāay pràcaan tua-eeŋ pai thúá lóok*

you PASS leader of you that call that Khmer Rouge kill wash clan almost entire race later leader of you then break turn be Khmer three side four side proclaim itself all-over world

‘You were genocided by your leaders called Khmer Rouge. Later your leaders then broke into three or four sides, just proclaiming themselves all over the world.’

(Hub kao kin khon, 157)

Example (41) is an attempt to directly tell the reader about the brutality of Khmer Rouge leaders by using adversative passive *thiuk* [...] *kháa láaη khóot théep môt phào phan* ‘be genocided’ to describe the Khmer Rouge leaders’ action against their own people. The image of the tyrant is therefore presented in the above statement.

- (42) เขารู้สึกราวกับว่า ผู้ชายที่ยืนอยู่ตรงหน้า ไม่ใช่บิดาผู้ให้กำเนิด แต่เป็นผู้นำของกลุ่มพลังฝ่ายแดงที่ใครๆ ก็ยำเกรง และหวาดกลัว – สาริน

*khǎo rúu-sèk raaw-kàp-wáa phúu-chaay thii yuηm yùu troη-náa mái-chái bídaa phúu hái kamnòət tèε pen phúu-nam khǎwη klum phâlaη fàay dεεη thii khrai-khrai kǎw yam-kreeη lê? wàat-klua -- sǎarin*

He feel as-if guy that stand be in-front-of not be father who give birth but be leader of group power side red that whoever then in-awe and afraid-of -- Sarin

‘He felt as if the guy who was standing in front of him was not his father, but the leader of the Red Army of whom everyone is in awe and afraid – Sarin.’

(Kaeoratklae, 185)

In example (42), Sarin -- the Khmer character intentionally referred to Ieng Sary, a former Khmer Rouge leader -- is depicted as a person who influences the Khmers in negative way, with the strong words *phúu-nam khǎwη klum phâlaη fàay dεεη thii khrai-khrai kǎw yam-kreeη lê? wàat-klua* ‘whom everyone are in awe and afraid of’. That is the Khmers need to do whatever in accordance with the leader’s command or paid respect him with fear.



Furthermore, with the same technique the Khmer leaders are also described as those who are the corrupted.

- (43) ปกติประเทศเขมรในยุคแรกคือฐานส่งบำรุงกำลังอันสำคัญยิ่งของสหรัฐ [...] แต่ความโลภมากของบรรดาข้าราชการทำให้เกิดการคอร์รัปชันกันอย่างวินาศสันตะโร กระทั่งเกิดการปฏิวัติขึ้น

*pàkàtì pràthéet khàměn nai yúik rĕĕk khm̄ thǎan sòŋ bamruŋ kamlaŋ an  
sǎmkan yíŋ khvǎŋ sàhàràt [...] tĕĕ kwaam-lóop-máak khvǎŋ bandaa  
kháarâatchâkaan tham-hái kĕət kaan-khvǎŋpcháan kan yàaŋ-wínáatsǎntàroo  
kràtháŋ kĕət kaan-pàtìwât khm̄*

usually country Khmer in period primary be base sent nurture force that important very of the-States [...] but greed of all beureaucrats make happen corruption together damaged-severely until happen coup d'état

'Usually, the former state of Cambodia was the important base for the United States. But the greed of bureaucrats had severely damaged this country with corruption, until there happened a coup d'état.'

(Phanom Pen taek, 147)

Example (43) shows that the Khmer bureaucrats who are supposed to treat and lead the people in a proper way appear other way round, with the lexical selection of *kwaam-lóop-máak* 'greed' and *kaan-khvǎŋpcháan kan yàaŋ-wínáatsǎntàroo* 'severely damaged corruption'. It is primarily because the corruption is widespread among these bureaucrats so that the country has to face the chaos of coup d'état.

As for the Khmer soldiers, the writer also presents them as those who are corrupt and also brutal to the Khmer laymen or the Khmers in general. Lexical choice is the main strategy here so as to make them look accordingly.

- (44) นายทหารเขมรแดง พอรับ “สินน้ำใจ” จากผมไปเท่านั้น ก็แสดงอาการกิริยาพิณอบพิเทาผมอย่างออกนอกหน้า

*naay thâhăan khâmăen dεεŋ phov rāp “sĭn nām cai” càak phǎm tháv-nân kǎv sàdεεŋ aakàp kĭrĭyaa phĭnǎp-phĭthaw phǎm yàaŋ-òvk-nǎvk-náa*

man soldier Khmer Rouge when accept “bribe” from me go just so express action respecting openly

‘When accepting “bribe” from me, that Khmer Rouge soldier openly had the respectful manner.’

(Phanompen taek, 662)

In example (44), the words *rāp* ‘accept’ and *sĭn nām cai* ‘bribe’ are used to show the corrupt Khmers soldier who basically supposes to lead the Khmer people into better condition, especially since war time as the settings of the storyline.

- (45) ทหารเขมรแดงซึ่งควบคุมการอพยพอยู่ ก็สุดกระสุนไล่หลังชาวเขมรอย่างเหี้ยมโหดทารุณ

*thâhăan khâmăen dεεŋ sĭŋ khūāp-khum kaan-òppháyóp yūu kǎv sàlūt kràsĭn lái lǎŋ chaaw-khâmăen yàaŋ-hĭam-hòt thaarun*

soldier Khmer Rouge that control evacuation be then shot bullet chase Khmers brutally tormented

‘Khmer Rouge soldiers that controlled the evacuation shot out to brutally chased away the Khmers’.

(Phanom pen taek, 471)

In example (45), lexical selection is employed with the words *sàlūt kràsĭn lái lǎŋ chaaw khâmăen yàaŋ hĭam hòt thaarun* ‘shot out to brutally chase away the Khmers’. The image given to the Khmer Rouge soldier is the brutality of the Khmers against its own people.

### 4.2.3 The Khmers in general

This group of the Khmers is generally referred to the Khmer laymen. The images found as the representation of this group are found in three types: (1) that “the Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais,” (2) that “the Khmers tend to trigger problems and trickily cause harms to the Thais” and (3) that “the Khmers in general are pitiful.”

#### 4.2.3.1 The Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais.

After analyzing the texts studied, it is found that the writers try to portray the Khmers as inferior to the Thais by various linguistic strategies: lexical selection, allusion, presupposition, passive sentence and narrative techniques. The words, for example, *súu thai raw mái dáí* ‘cannot compare to ours’ is represented the writer’s idea toward the Khmers with the use of lexical selection.

The following excerpts are the example of how the writers provide this type of image to the Khmers

(46) แต่ฝีมือลายมือสู้ไทยเราไม่ได้เลยนะคะหม่อม

*tɛ̀ fii-mái-laay-mu súu thai raw mái dáí ləy nâ? khâ? məm*

but skill fight Thai we unable really PART Mom

‘But their craftsmanship cannot be compared to ours.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 200)

Example (46) shows us how the writer makes the Khmer characters inferior to the Thais. Such words *súu thai raw mái dáí* ‘cannot compare to ours’ directly tell the reader that the Khmers are not able to be compared to the Thais regarding skill of arts or the words *fii-mái-laay-mu* ‘craftsmanship’.

Also in the same example, the words *thai raw* ‘us Thai’ is the use of pronoun “we” to modify “Thai” and makes it clear that the writer has adopted the notion “we” and “others” or Thai (we, exclusive) and Khmer (others). In doing so, the writer introduces the notion of “us” and “others” by presenting the Khmers as “other”, while the Thais as “us”.

(47) เมื่อครั้งเขมรยังเป็นข้าฝรั่งเศส

*múa khráŋ khàměn yaŋ pen khíi-kháa fràŋsèet*

when time Khmer still be servant French

‘When the Khmers were still servant to the French’

(*Phanom pen taek* [4], 56)

Example (47) is the use of simile *pen khíi-kháa* ‘be servant’ to show the negative comparison to the Khmers. These strong simile words can be interpreted that the Khmers are inferior to the French who took them as the colonized. It also signifies that the Thais are superior since they are not colonized by any Western nation at all.

(48) มึงก็ตาย เหมือนกับหมาเขมรที่เรื้อนตัวหนึ่ง

*muiŋ kɔw taay mǎan-kàp mǎa kàměn khíi-rúan tua nùŋ*

you then die like dog Khmer leprosy body one

‘You will die like a leprosy Khmer dog.’

(*Phanom pen taek*, 107)

Example (48) is the use of simile in making the Khmers look inferior by the words *mǎan-kàp mǎa kàměn khíi-rúan* ‘like a leprosy Khmer dog’.

The image that the readers can infer from this example is that the Khmer is inferior to the Thais; the character who delivers that statement.

- (49) ธงไตรรงค์ของเรายังคงโบกสะบัดสง่างามอยู่บนเสาธงเหนือเขาพระวิหารเหมือนเช่นเดิม

*thoŋ trai roy khwǎŋ raw yaŋ khoŋ bòok sàbàt sàŋàa ŋaam yùu bon sǎw thoŋ nǎa  
khǎw phrâ?wihǎan mǎan chén-dǎam*

flag three color of ours still fluttering flipping be above pillar flag over  
mountain Preah Vihear like again

‘Our three-colored flag is still fluttering above the pillar over the Temple  
of Preah Vihear.’

(*Khamen kamhaeng [3], 29*)

In example (49), the words *thoŋ trai roy khwǎŋ raw* ‘our three-colored flag’ is chosen to allude to the important symbol of the Thais and to show the upper hand of the Thais over the issue of Preah Vihear Temple and then signifying the superior to the Khmers as a whole.

Additional to allusion, the pronoun strategy is applied in (48) too with the word *raw* ‘we’ to make it clear that the Thais exclusively can claim Preah Vihear Temple as the Thais’, not the Khmers’ or “others”.

- (50) ไม่ใช่แค่เขาพระวิหารหรือที่เคยเป็นของไทย แต่เขมรทั้งประเทศเลยก็เคยเป็นเมืองขึ้นของไทยมาแล้ว ตั้งแต่ครั้ง  
สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช [...] ฉันทน์จามาจากพงศาวดาร

*mái-chái khéε khǎo phrâ?wihǎan rǎw k thii khǎy pen-khwǎŋ thai tēε thǎŋ  
prà?ihéet loy kǎw khǎy pen muan khǎn khwǎŋ thai maa-léew táŋ-tēε khraŋ  
Sǎmdét Phrâ?Náreesǎanmǎhǎarát” [...] “chǎn cam-maa-càak  
phongsǎawádaan*

not only mountain Preah Vihear that used-to belong of Thai but Khmer entire country really then used-to be colony of Thai already since time Somdet Phra Naresuanmaharat [...] I recall-from the chronicle

‘Not only did the Temple of Preah Vihear use to belong to Thailand, but the entire Khmer country was also a colony of Thailand in the reign of King Naresuanmaharaja’ [...] ‘I read it from the chronicle.’

(*Khamen Khamhaeng [1], 14-15*)

Exmple (50) shows another allusion to *khăo phrâ?wihăan* ‘Preah Vihear Mountain’, the writer alludes to *phongsăawâdaan* ‘the chronicle’ to solidify the message sent by the Thai character. The image of the inferior is given to the Khmer with such allusion that the whole Khmer country used to belong to the Thais.

- (51) ต้องฟื้นฟูเรื่องเก่าเสียก่อนค่อยเริ่มเรื่องใหม่ คราวก่อนสมเด็จพระนเรศวรตัดหัวพระยาละแวก คราวนี้ทหารไทยจะตัดหัวนโรดม

*tɔɔŋ fũm rŭaŋ kào sŭa-kòɔn khɔɔy rɔɔm rŭaŋ mài khraaw-kòɔn sɔmdèt-phrâ?-nâresuan tət hŭa phrâ?yaalâwĕĕk khraaw-nŭi thăhăan thai cà? tət hŭa nârodom*

must restore story old before then start story new last-time king-Naresuan cut head Praya Lawaek this-time soldier Thai will cut head Narodom

‘It is necessary to restore the old story before starting the new one. Last time king Naresuan beheaded Praya Lawaek; this time Thai soldier will behead Narodom.’

(*Khamen kamhaeng [1], 19*)

Example (51) clearly alludes to the history of king Narasuan of the Thais who beheaded Praya Lawaek of the Khmers with the words *tàt hũa phrâ?yaalâwék* ‘behead Praya Lawaek’. The statement shows the inferiority of the Khmers by the words *tàt hũa nâroodom* ‘behead Narodom’ as the allusion to such historical moment. Although this example is talking about king Narodom, who is one of member of Khmer royal family, in here he is assumed to be the leader of the Khmers.

- (52) ถ้าคุณอ่านประวัติศาสตร์มาบ้าง คุณก็คงรู้ว่า พระนเรศวรมหาราชของเราเสด็จไปตีกรุงกัมพูชาเมื่อสี่ร้อยปีมาแล้ว [...] ผมจำได้ว่าพระยาละแวกถูกตัดคอเอาเลือดล้างพระบาทด้วย

*tháa khun àan pràwàtsàat maa báaη khun kǎw khoη rûu wáa phrâ?  
nâresũanmâhãaráat khǎwη rao sàdèt-pai tíi kruη kamphuuchaa mýa sîi rǎw y pii  
maa lêew [...] phǎm cam dáai wáa phrâ?yaalâwék thiuk tàt khǎw ao lúat lâaη  
phrâ?-bàat dúay*

if you read history come some you then maybe know that king  
Naresuanmaharaj of us go beat city Cambodia when four hundred years  
come already [...] I remember able that Praya Lawaek PASS behead take  
blood wash feets of him too

‘if you’ve ever read history, you’d know that our king Naresuanmaharaj  
had taken over Cambodia for 400 years ago. [...] I remember that Praya  
Lawaek was beheaded and his blood was used to wash the King’s feet.’

(*Sombat kamput*, 27)

Example (52) gives the Khmers the image of the inferior to the Thais, by allusion of the phrase *phrâ?yaalâwék thiuk tàt khǎw ao lúat lâaη phrâ?-bàat* ‘Praya Lawaek was beheaded and his blood was used to wash the King’s feet’ to refer to Thai chronicle. The writer sets up the scenario that two Thai men are talking to each other about the Khmers by referring to the appalling incident

in the history of war between the Thais (Siamese) and the Khmers. The two Thai men strengthen their thoughts by the referring to the incident that one of the Khmer kings used to be defeated by the Thai king.

(53) ใครๆ ก็อยากหนีจากแดนสงครามเข้ามาอยู่ฝั่งไทย

*khrai-khrai kɔ̀w yàak nǐ̀ c̀aak deen sǎkhraam kháo maa yùu fàŋ Thai*

who-who then want escape from land war enter come be side Thai

‘Every one wanted to escape from the land of war, and come to stay in Thai side.’

(Nang Man, 252)

In example (53), the words *nǐ ... kháo maa yùu fàŋ Thai* ‘escape ... to stay in Thai side’ is used by the writer to presuppose that Cambodia is war-tone country and everyone wants to escape to the better place, which is certainly Thailand. With such presupposition, the Khmer land look inferior to the Thai one, or in the other way round Thailand is superior over Cambodia.

(54) กษัตริย์เขมรหลายพระองค์เสด็จไปจากเมืองไทยด้วยซ้ำ

*kàsàt khàměn lăay phrâ?-oŋ sàdèt-pai c̀aak mhaŋ-thai dúiay-sâm*

king Khmer many ones go from Thailand even

‘Many Khmer kings even went from Thailand.’

(Soy saeng chan, 185)

With the use of words *sàdèt-pai c̀aak mhaŋ-thai* ‘went from Thailand’, example (54) may presuppose that the Thais used to take over the Khmers and that the Khmers used to be subject to the Thais because the Khmer



kings were raised in Siam (Thailand) and later they were ordered to return and governed the Khmer land under Thai patronage.

What is more, below examples is the pronoun strategy in making the Khmers as “others” are inferior to the Thais as “we” or “us”.

- (55) ขนบธรรมเนียมของเรา ไทยเอาแบบอย่างมาจากเขมรตีkdำบรรพ์ เดียวนี้เราเจริญขึ้น จนเขาอยากรู้ภาษาไทย  
อยากจะศึกษาวัฒนธรรมของเรา

*khànpòp thamniam khវ័យ រោ thai ao bèεp yàaη maa càak khàměn dèk-dam-  
ban đăaw-núi rao càrəən khឺn con khăo yàak rûu phaasăa thai yàak cà? sùksăa  
wâtthânâtham khវ័យ រោ*

convention tradition of we(ours) Thai take model come from Khmer  
ancient now we prosper up until he want-to know language Thai want-  
to learn culture of we(ours)

‘Our Thai conventions follow the model from the ancient Khmer.  
Nowadays we are so developed that they want to learn Thai language  
and our culture.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira, 73*)

Example (55) directly shows the strategy of pronoun *rao* ‘we(ours)’ *khăo* ‘they’ in terms of cultural relations between the Thai (Siamese) and the Khmers. With such pronouns the writer implies that the Khmer culture is inferior to the Thai one by writing that *yàak rûu phaasăa thai yàak cà? sùksăa wâtthânâtham khវ័យ រោ* ‘they want to learn Thai language and our culture’. By saying that the Thais are more developed and the Khmers wants to learn Thai language, the readers can imply that the Thais are superior to the Khmers.

- (56) พระแก้วองค์นี้ จำลองโดยช่างฝรั่งเศสเพื่อให้เหมือนกับพระแก้วที่กรุงเทพฯ ในสมัยสมเด็จพระนโรดม ทำด้วยเนื้อแก้วสีเขียว หาไม่มรดกฝีมือโบราณไม่

*phrāʔ-kéew oŋ nī camlɔwŋ dooy naay-cháaŋ fràŋsèet pháa-hái mǎn kàp  
phrāʔ-kéew thii kruŋthéep nai sàmai sǒmdèt nâroodom tham dúay nǎa-kéew sǐi  
khǎaw hǎa-chái mɔwákòt fii-mɛn boraan mái*

Phra Kaew one-this duplicate by craftman French to-be the-same with  
Phra Kaew at Bangkok in period king Narodom make of crystal color  
green not-be emerald skill ancient not.

‘This Phra Kaew is duplicated from that in Bangkok by a French  
craftman during the time of King Narodom. It was made of green-colored  
crystal, not emerald, which is ancient skill of work.’

(*Khemarin-Inthira*, 200)

In example (56), the words *hǎa cháii ... máii* ‘not be’ is the negative sentence strategy to deny that the Emerald Buddha in Phnom Penh is not the real one, signifying the inferior of the Khmers. To emphasize that, the writer uses the word *camlɔwŋ* ‘duplicated’ to support the idea that the Khmer belonging is inferior to the Thai one.

- (57) เพราะไม่ใช้บ้านเมืองของเรา [...] จะให้พิเศษเหมือนกับบ้านเรานั้นไม่ได้

*phrɔʔ máii cháii báan mɛaŋ khɔwŋ rao [...] càʔ hái dii wísèet mǎn-kàp báan rao  
nán máii dáii*

because not be house city of we(ours) [...] will give good special like  
house we(our) that not able

Because here is not our home country [...] it is impossible for it to be as  
good and special as that of ours.

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 365)



In example (58), the writer cites *bèep-rian mûa phǒm pen dèk* ‘textbooks when I was a child’ which contains the historical events showing the Khmers are inferior to the Thais. In doing so, the reader<sup>๓</sup> who may have the same experience with the writer’s citation is convinced by the statement.

- (59) สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ ได้ทรงพระนิพนธ์ถึงกษัตริย์กัมพูชาพระองค์นี้ไว้ใน “นิราศนครวัด” ว่า “นี่ลูกเจ้านายของข้า ข้าเป็นข้าพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้ามาแต่ก่อน” ดังนี้

*sǒmdèt krom phrâyaadamroṅraachaanûphâap dái soṅ-phrâ?-nîphon thḥṅ kàsàt kamphuuchaa phrâ?-oṅ nî wái nai “nîráat nákhṵṵn wát” wáa “nîi lûuk cáo-naay khḍṵṵn kháa kháa pen kháa phrâ?-bàat sǒmdèt-phrâ?-cṵṵmkláo maa tèḥ kḍṵṵn” daṅ nî*

prince Krom Prayadamrongrachanuphap got write to king Cambodia one this keep in “Nirat Nakorn Wat” that “this child master of I(mine) I be servant King Rama IV come from previous” like this

‘Prince Krom Prayadamrongrachanuphap had written to this king of Cambodia in “Nirat Nakorn Wat”, as such, “this son of my master, I used to be a servant of King Rama IV”’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 222)

Citation plays a significant role in example (59). In the above statement, the writer cites *sǒmdèt krom phrâyaadamroṅraachaanûphâap* ‘Prince Krom Prayadamrongrachanuphap’ and his work *nîráat nákhṵṵn wát* ‘Nirat Nakorn Wat’ by quoting some parts of that book in order to especially emphasize that quotes. What the reader can interpret from this statement is that even the king of the Khmers still claims himself as the servant of the Thai king; therefore, the Khmers overall are inferior to the Thais.

Also, the writers tend to use the description technique to tell the readers that the Khmers are inferior to the Thais.

- (60) อินทิราเข้าไปดูจนใกล้ จะได้แลเห็น พระราชนิพนธ์รัชกาลที่ห้า ไกลบ้าน เงาะปา, พระราชนิพนธ์ของสมเด็จพระมหาธีรราชเจ้ารัชกาลที่หก มัทนะพธา มหาตมะ นารายณ์สิบปวง [...] ไม่น่าเชื่อว่าจะได้มาพบหนังสือประเภทวรรณคดีของไทย ในต่างแดน [กัมพูชา]

*inthîra kháo pai duu con klái cà? dái læ-ěnh phrârâatchânîphon râtchâkaan  
thîi-háa klai báan ɲô? pàa phrârâatchânîphon kh វ័យ sôm dèt phrâ?  
mâhăathiirârâatcáo râtchâkaan thîi-hòk mâtthânâphaathaa mâhăatâmâ?  
naaraay sîp paaɲ [...] mái-náa-chíá wáa cà? dái maa phôp năɲs ម្ត pràphéet  
wannâkhâdii kh វ័យ thai nai tàaɲ dɛɛn [Cambodia]*

Inthira enter go watch till close will able see royal-writing reign the-fifth  
Klai Bann Ngo Pa royal-writing reign the-sixth Matthanapatha  
Mahatama Naray Sip Pang [...] unbelievable that will able come find  
book kind literature of Thai in different land [Cambodia]

'Inthira gets close to have a better look at royal writings of king Rama V:  
Klia Baan and Ngo Pa, and that of king Rama VI: Matthanaphatha,  
Mahatama and Naray Sip Pang. It is unbelievable to have a chance to  
find this kind of Thai literature in other country [Cambodia].'

(*Khemarin-Inthira*, 186)

In example (60), the writer describes the Khmer house is full of the royal famous writings of King Rama V and VI, *klai báan ɲô? pàa* 'Klia Baan, Ngo Pa' and *mâtthânâphaathaa mâhăatâmâ naaraay sîp paaɲ* 'Matthanapatha, Mahatama, Naray Sip Pang'. It is the description to show that the Khmers admire and value Thai literature. The readers who know such writings tend to be convinced by the statement, so that the sense of Thai superiority considering literature is implicitly attached to the readers' mind. Then, the readers will

eventually see the image that the Khmers are inferior to the Thais even in the realm of arts and literature.

(61) “ประวัติของเขมรเป็นยังไงวะ”

“[...] เป็นชาติที่สกปรกและขี้เกียจครับ [...] เขมรสกปรกไม่อนามัย ถ่ายอุจจาระตามใต้ถุนเรือน”

เสีหงวนหัวเราะก๊าก

*pràwàt khǎwǎn khàmmǎn pen yaŋŋai wâ?*

*[...] pen cháat thǐi sòkkàpròk lĕ? khǐi-kĭat khrâp [...] khàmmǎn sòkkàpròk mái anaamai thàay-ùtcaarâ? taam tái-thún rhan*

*sĭa nŋuan hǎarǎw? kâak*

history of Khmer be how PART

[...] be nation that filthy and lazy PART [...] Khmer filthy not sanitize  
do-a-poo follow under house

Sia Nguan laugh-out aloud

‘What is the history of Khmers?’

[...] They are filthy and lazy, my Lord [...] they are filthy and not sanitized, doing a poo under their own house.’

Sia Nguan laughed out aloud

(*Khamen kamhaeng [3], 72*)

With the dialogue or the conversation in quotation marks, the image of the Khmers in example (61) is that of the under developed, in other words, the inferior, with the choice of words *sòkkàpròk lĕ? khǐi-kĭat* ‘filthy and lazy’ and *mái anaamai* ‘not sanitized’. It is so simply because the writer uses dialogue to directly portray the Khmers as those who are filthy and lazy.

- (62) สมเด็จพระเจ้ากรุงกัมพูชา [...] ได้รับพระราชทานเครื่องราชอิสริยาภรณ์มหาจักรีบรมราชวงศ์อีกด้วย [...] จากเหตุผลนั้นกระมัง อินทிரาคิต เจ้านายทางกัมพูชา จึงสนพระทัยในภาษา และวัฒนธรรมเรามากขึ้น

*sǝmdèt-phráʔ-cáo kruŋ kamphuuchaa [...] dái rāp phrââatchâthaan khriáŋ  
râatchâ-itsàriyaaphວນ mǎhǎacàkkriibວຽວrommââatchâwoŋ ïik-dúay [...] càak  
hèet-phǎn nán kràmaŋ inthîraa khît cáo-naay thaaŋ kamphuuchaa cŋŋ sǝn-  
phrá-thai nai phaasǎa lĕe wǎthhânâtham rao máak khĕn*

King city Cambodia [...] receive royal-give insignia Maha  
Chakriboromrachawong also [...] from reason that probably Inthira  
think royalty way Cambodia thus interested in language and culture  
we(ours) much up

'King of Cambodia [...] also received the royal insignia Maha  
Chakriboromrachawong [...] probably from that reason, Inthira thought,  
Khmer royalty are thus interested in Thai language and culture so much.'

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 223)

In example (62), summary plays a large part in making the Khmers look inferior the Thais. The writer summarizes the Thai-Cambodian relations with the word *càak hêt-phǎn nán* 'from that reason', which gives the reader the provision that the Khmers feel interested in Thai language; then, it is look like Thai culture is richer than that of the Khmers.

#### 4.2.3.2 The Khmers in general tend to trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais.

After analyzing the texts studied, it is found that the writers try to portray the Khmers as those who tend to trigger problem and trickily cause harm to the Thais by various linguistic strategies: lexical selection, metaphor simile, allusion, presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques.

(63) คนทำสวนที่บ้านผมชื่อนายเจี๊ยเป็นเขมร

*khon tham sǔan thii báan phǎm chǎn naay Cia pen khàméén*

gardener at house I(my) name mister Jia be Khmers

‘My gardener’s name is Jia. He is Khmer.’

(*Khamen kamheang [1], 35*)

Example (63) depicts the Khmer with such image by using lexical selection strategy. The writer employ such words *khon tham sǔan* ‘gardener’ and *pen khàméén* ‘be the Khmers’ to describe that the Khmer character has lower social status than the Thai character who is his employer, so the Khmers in this statement is inferior to the Thais.

(64) ตาเฒ่า [ตัวละครชาวเขมร] โหดเหี้ยมเกินมนุษย์

*taa tháw [a Khmer character] hòt híam kǎn mânúit*

man old [a Khmer character] brutal beyond human

‘Old man [a Khmer character] is more brutal than a human [would do]’

(*Hup khao kin khon, 245*)

In example (64), the words *hòt híam kǎn mânúit* ‘more brutal than a human’ is the way the writer describe quality of *taa tháw* ‘old man’ who is the Khmers in the story and make it similar to the brutal one.

(65) พวกเราเป็นของหาได้ยากยิ่ง เป็นเหยื่อสังเวยที่วิเศษยิ่ง [...] วามพราหมณ์ต้องการเอาใจทูลครา



*phúak raw pen khḍḍḍ hǎa-dái yáak yíḥ pen yḥa sǎḥwḍy thii wísèet yíḥ [...]*

*Waamâphraam tḍḍḍ-kaan aw-cai thûrâkhaa*

we all be thing rare find difficult very be victim offering that special very  
[...] Wamaphram want please Turaka

‘We are a rare thing. We are a great victim for offering [...] Wamaphram  
wants to please Turaka.’

(*Hup khao kin khon*, 153)

In example (65), the writer employs the strategy of lexical selection to show that the Thais are vulnerable to the wickedness of the Khmer characters. The words *pen yḥa sǎḥwḍy* ‘be a great victim for offering’ obviously tell the readers that the Thais are victimized by the Khmer character *Waamâphraam* ‘Wamaphram’ and in no position to protect themselves against the Khmer character’s malpractice.

(66) เหมรเล่นงานเราไว้ย อ่าเสี่ยร้องขึ้นดั่งๆ พวกเราสู้มัน

*khâmĕen lĕn-ḥaan raw wóoy aasĭa rḍḍḍ khĕn daḥ daḥ phúak raw síu man*

Khmers tackle we(us) EXCLAIM” A-sia cry up loudly “we all fight them

‘The Khmers attack us, loudly cry A-sia, we all fight them’

(*Khamen Khamhaeng [1]*, 80)

Example (66) is another image of the tricky and trouble maker signified by the strategy of lexical selection. The writer chooses the negative words *lĕn-ḥaan* ‘attack’ to show that the Khmers are potential to trickily cause harm to the Thais.

Interestingly, with the same example (65)-(66), all of the writers use pronoun strategy to make sense of the polarization between “us” and

“others”. In (65) the words *puak raw* ‘we-all’ to use to differentiate from the Khmer character who make “us” the Thais as their victim or *yha sǎŋwəəy* ‘a great victim for offering’. In (66) the pronoun *raw* ‘we(us)’ is also use as objective of the sentence to make the Thais look vulnerable to the Khmers who aim to attack or harm “us” (or *lén-ŋaan* ‘attack’). It is clear by such pronoun that the writers convey the notion of “us” and “others” by making the Khmers as “others” and look negative to the Thais as “us”.

- (67) ตายแล้ว [...] ก็นางตะเภาทะ [เขมร] นั้นมันตัวร้ายที่สุดเลยนี่ครู [...] คนมาสร้างนครวัดก็หมื่นก็แสนก็  
เป็นแฟนมันทั้งนั้น

*taay lɛɛw [...] kɔw naaŋ taphaohəp? [Khmers] nân man tua-râay thii-sùt ləəy nîi  
khruu [...] khon maa sáaŋ nâkhəwəw wât kii mɛ̄m kii sǎɛn kɔw pen fɛɛn man  
tháŋ nân*

Die already [...] then Miss Taphaoho [Khmers] that it the-wicked the-  
most already that teacher [...] man come build Angor Wat how-many  
ten-thousand how-many hundred-thousand be boyfriend it all that

‘My goodness [...] Miss Taphaoho [Khmer] is the most wicked of all,  
teacher. [...] All men came to build Angor Wat became her boyfriends.’

(*Rueng san samai hin*, 80)

In example (67), the words *tua-râay thii-sùt* ‘the most wicked one’ is used in the statement to depict the Khmer character *naaŋ taphaohəp?* ‘Miss Taphaoho’ with the image of the one who can cause harm and has bad behavior, due the fact that the Thais do no value a woman who has many boyfriend or husband. Therefore, the image of the bad Khmer woman is presented in the above statement with lexical selection strategy.

- (68) ศาลโลกก็เชื่อถือแผนที่ปลอมของเขมร ศาลโลกไม่คำนึงถึงความเป็นจริงของสันปันน้ำ

*sǎan lóok kǎw cháa-thǎn pǎen-thíi plɔɔm khǎwɔŋ khàmǎn sǎan lóok mái  
khamnɛŋ thǎŋ khwaam-pen-ciŋ khǎwɔŋ sǎn-pan-nâm*

court world then believe map fake of Khmers court wold not consider to  
the-fact of water-parthing

‘The International Court of Justice believes the fake map. They don’t  
consider the fact about water parting.

(*Khamen Khamhaeng [1], 9*)

Example (68) illustrates how the writer creates the conversations containing negative message about the Khmers and let the Thais character speak it out. With the allusion to *sǎn-pan-nâm* ‘water parting’ and negative words *pǎen-thíi plɔɔm* ‘fake map’, the statement provides the Khmers with the image of bad people who take advantage on Thailand as in the case of map manipulated by the International Court of Justice in favor of the Khmers.

Apart from aforementioned strategies, presuppositions are another strategy to show that the Khmers are potential to harm and cause trouble to the Thais. The following example will explain accordingly.

- (69) คงจะยาก สราวูตค้านขึ้นอย่างไม่เห็นด้วย พวกมันจับตัวคุณพ่อไปเพราะหวังสมบัติที่จมพร้อมกับเรือ แล้วเขมร  
เสรีก็ไม่ได้รวมเป็นกลุ่มเป็นก้อน

*khoŋ-càʔ yáak Sàrawút khâan khǎm yàaŋ-mái-hǎn-dúay “phúak-man càp tua  
khun phǎw pai phrǎw wǎŋ sǎmbàt thii com phrǎwɔm-kàp ruə léew khàmǎn sǎerii  
kǎw mái-dái ruam pen klǎm pen kǎwɔn*

Maybe difficult Sarawut oppose disagreeably “they-all capture body dad  
because hope treasure that sink with ship and Khmers liberal then do-not  
assemble be group be band.

‘It may be difficult, disagreeably opposed Sarawut, They captured dad because they want treasure that sank down with the ship, and the Liberal Khmers were not united.’

(*Sombat kamphut*, 31)

In example (69), the words *koŋ-cà? yáak* ‘may be difficult’ is the signifying words to indicate that the following statement is unlikely. That is to say, *khoŋ-cà? yáak* signifies that the Khmers are not easily to track down after kidnapping a Thai character, thereby showing the image of those who trigger the problem to the Thais.

Furthermore, adversative passive is also applied by the writer to depict the Khmers as those who take advantage on the Thais since the Thais are shown as the vulnerable to the mystified action of the Khmers. The adversative passive suggests the misfortune of the subject signifying the Thai who were affected by the Khmer, who were cruel.

(70) ใช่ เหมือนถูกผีดูดเอาเลือดเอาเนื้อไปหมดทั้งตัว

*chái mǎn thùuk phǐi sùup aw líad aw nǎa pai mòd thâŋ tua*

Yes like PASS ghost suck take blood take flesh go empty all body

‘Yes, it looks like his blood and flesh were sucked out of his body by the ghost.’

(*Sang Sayong*, 69)

In example (70), it is obvious that the word *thùuk* ‘touch’ as adversative passive signifier shows the importance of the following verbs which definitely affected the subject of those sentences. Example (70) shows how the missing subject is abused (or more precisely *sùup aw líad aw nǎa* ‘suck blood and

flesh’) by the Khmer character, whereby in the same time the writer uses metaphor *phii* as the Khmer character and the Thai character is harmed by such character in this story.

- (71) เขมรอาจจะทำได้สองทางคือใช้กำลังบุกเพื่อยึดเขาพระวิหาร [...] หากมันไม่กล้าทำอย่างนี้ มันก็คงร้องต่อมนตรีความมั่นคงของสหประชาชาติ [...] เราผู้เป็นจำเลยก็จะต้องบังคับให้คืนเขาพระวิหารตามคำพิพากษาของศาลโลก

*khàmměn àatcà? tham dáii sǎwŋ thaawŋ khmm cháii kamlaŋ bùk phíia yŋ khǎo  
phrá? wíhǎan [...] hàak man mái kláa tham yàawŋ nŋi man kǎw khoŋ rǎwŋ tǎw  
montrii khwaam-mán-khoŋ sǎhǎpráchaacháat [...] rao phúu pen camlǎey kǎw  
cà? thùuk baŋkháp háii khmm khǎo phrá? wíhǎan taam kham phípááksǎa  
khǎwŋ sǎan lóok*

Khmers perhaps conduct able two way that use force assault for take mountain Preah Vihear [...] if it not dare do like this it then may call to council security of the-United-Nations [...] we who be defendant then will PASS force give back mountain Preah Vihear according-to judgment of court world

‘Khmers could perhaps conduct in two ways. First they could use force to take over mountain of Preah Vihear. [...] If they dared not to do so, they might call for the Security Council of the United Nations. [...] we as defendant would definitely be forced to return the mountain of Preah Vihear according to the Judgment of the Internation Court of Justice.’

(*Khamen kamhaeng [3], 63*)

The statement in example (71) gives the readers with the idea that the Khmers take advantage on the Thais by using adversative passive with the words *thùuk baŋkháp háii khmm* ‘be forced to return’. This example shows the

negative image of the Khmers by applying such passive structure with the incident of the claim over the Temple of Preah Vihear by the Khmers.

- (72) ซากร่างของเพื่อนกำลังถูกคน [เขมร] ย่างกิน

*sáak-ráaŋ khwǎŋ phéan kamlaŋ thùuk khon [khmers] yáaŋ kin*

corps of friend CONT PASS men [Khmers] grill eat

‘The corps of a friend is being grilled for eating [by the Khmers].’

(*Hub kao kin khon*, 269)

- (73) ทุกทั่วตัวคนที่อยู่ตรงนั้นต่างถูกภาพมายา [เขมร] สะกดตรึง

*thúik thúá tua khon thúi yùu troŋ nân tàaŋ thùuk pháap maayaa [khmers] sàkòt-truŋ*

all entire body man that be right there all PASS image luring [Khmers]  
spellbind still

‘Everyone there was spellbound by the luring image [by Khmers].’

(*Hub kao kin khon*, 274)

- (74) ดวงหน้าเพื่อนถูกไฟ [เขมร] ลวกไหม้จนบิดเบี้ยวผิดสภาพ

*duaŋ-náa phéan thùuk fai [khmers] luák-mái con bít-bíaw phít sàpháap*

face friend PASS fire [Khmer] burn till writhe different shape

‘A friend’s face was burnt by the fire [of Khmers] so that it became writhed from the real shape.’

(*Hub kao kin khon*, 275)

Examples (72)-(74) are cut from the same fiction and show the same strategy of passive structure. With the words *thùuk khon yáaη kin* ‘be grilled for eating’, *thùuk pháap maayaa sàkòt-truη* ‘be spellbound by the luring image’ and *thùuk fai lúak-mái con bìt-bíaw phít sàpháap* ‘was burnt by the fire so that it became writhed from the real shape’, the writer makes the Thai characters look vulnerable to the Khmers’ wrongdoing. Although they are not the Khmers *per se*, the words *khon* in (72), *pháap maayaa* in (73) and *fai* in (74) represented the Khmers’ wrongdoing. These sentences give the Khmers with the image of the troublemaker and the wicked.

(75) เจ้าสมนึกก็คงถูกมัน [เขมร] ใช้อำนาจบังคับให้ทำร้ายคุณสกันธีในแบบเดียวกันนะซีครับ

*cáo sǎmnǔk kǎw khon thùuk man cháí amnáat bankháp hái tham-ráay khun sàkan nai bèep diaw kan nà? sii khráp*

PRON Somnuk then probably PASS it [Khmer] use power force to harm Mister Sakan in pattern same PART PART PART

‘Somuk was probably forced by its [Khmer] power to harm Mister Sakan in the same way.’

(*Sang sayong*, 626)

In example (75), adversative passive is pinpointed by the words *thùuk man [Khmer] cháí amnáat bankháp* ‘be forced by its [Khmer] power’, which signifies that Thai character falls under the control of the Khmers and he has to commit a crime against his will.

(76) หน่วยจารกรรมของไทยเรา [...] ถูกเขมรจับได้ [...] ถูกซ้อมทรมานไปเดือน แล้วก็ถูกยิงเป้าไปแล้ว

*núay caarākam khǎwη thai rao [...] thùuk khàmǎn càp dái [...] thùuk sǎwm thaarun pàa-thùan léew kǎw thùuk yìη páo pai léew*

unit espionage of Thai we [...] PASS Khmers catch ale [...] PASS beat-up  
brutal wild and then PASS shot spot go already

‘Thai unit of espionage [...] was caught by the Khmers [...] was brutally  
beaten up and then was shot already.’

(*Khamen kamheang* [4], 85)

Example (76) shows the serial of adversative passive *thùuk khàměn cày dái* ‘be caught by the Khmers’, *thùuk sǎm thaarun pàa-thàn* ‘be brutally beaten up’ and *thùuk yìng páo* ‘be shot’ in one complex sentence. These adversative passive are used to describe the condition of Thai character which becomes victimized to the Khmers.

#### 4.2.3.3 The Khmers in general are pitiful.

The image that the Khmers are pitiful can be found in various piece of fiction. Nevertheless, it can also be said that this type of image is neither negative nor positive. The pitiful sense of writings is randomly able to be seen around the passages about the Khmers in general. That the Khmers are pitiful is presented by a number of linguistic techniques such as lexical choice, epithets, metaphor, presupposition, citation and narrative techniques. Examples that show how the Khmers are made pitiful are shown below.

- (77) เรา [เขมร] ถูกอัดแน่นเหมือนปลากรอบปอง [...] ระยะทางจากบ้านเราไปถึงถนนมณีวงศ์ไกลราว ๒ ไมล์ ใช้  
เวลาถึงสามวันสามคืน ตลอดทาง ทหารเขมรแดงผู้ควบคุมได้ยิงปืนขึ้นฟ้า และยิงเข้าไปในบ้านเป็นระยะๆ พลาง  
ตะโกนเสียงขรม เดินไป เดินไป

*rao [Khmers] thùuk àt-néén mǎan plaa-kràpǎng [...] ráyá? thaaŋ càak báan rao  
pai thǎy thànǎn mániiwǎŋ klai raaw sǎwŋ mai cháǐ weelaa thǎy sǎam wan  
sǎam khum tǎlǎw thaaŋ thǎhǎan khàměn dεεŋ phúu khúap-khum dái yìŋ*





Ms. Phinthuwadee descended from Khmer royalty, doctor. She just took political refuge to live in Bangkok for a while.

(*Amaruetalai*, 243)

Example (78) is epithet strategy. The epithet *cáo thaay khàměn* ‘Khmer royal member’ is described with the words *līi phai kaan tmaay* ‘take political refuge’. This statement shows that even the Khmers in high social status had to flee from their own country since there happened the civil war and genocide against their own people; therefore, the image of the pitiable Khmers is introduced to the readers’ mind.

(79) สี่ร้อยปีต่อมา พวกแกก็ระส่ำระสายกลายเป็นเขมรอพยพ ไปขอซุกหัวในดินแดนของพวกข้า

*sīi rǒy pii tǒw-maa phúak kεε kǒ rásəm rásǎay klaay pen khàměen òppháyóp  
pay khǎ sūk hǔa nai din-dεen khǎwǎ phúak-kháa*

four hundred year later you all then disorganize become be Khmer  
refugee go beg hide head in territory of we all(ours)

‘Four hundred years later you all would become disorganized and turn to  
be refugee Khmers, taking refuge in my territory.’

(*Hup kao kin khon*, 157)

Example (79) is the strategy of epithet; *khàměen òppháyóp* ‘refugee Khmers’. When talking about the general Khmer people, the writers infer them to those who need help from others and seek asylum in Thai territory. This gives the image of those who struggle to survive by coming to the host country like Thailand or the pitiable who seeks an aid from the Thais.

(80) พินทุวดี วงศ์ยโสธร เป็นเจ้าหญิงแห่งกัมพูชาผู้ลี้ภัยการเมือง เมื่อครั้งเขมรเปลี่ยนผู้นำ

*pinthúwâdii wongyásōothōm pen cáo-yǎn hèēn kamphuuchaa phúu lǐ-phai  
kaan-muay mǐa khraṅ khàměn plian phúu-nam*

Phinthuwadee Wongyasothorn be princess of Cambodia who take-refuge politics when time Khmer change leader

‘Phinthuwadee Wongyasothorn was the princess of Cambodia who took political refuge by the time Khmers changed their leaders.’

(Amaruetalai, 11)

Example (80) is the use of epithet *cáo-yǎn hèēn kamphuuchaa phúu lǐ phai kaan muay* ‘the Cambodian princess who take political refuge’. This epithet shows that even the Khmers with high social status also fall into the pitiful condition. The readers will get the image of the pitiable Khmers even with the member of Khmer royal family.

Furthermore, the image implied the pity of the Khmers is also depicted with metaphor/simile, as shown in following examples.

(81) พนมเปญได้กลายเป็นแดนขยะที่สมด้วยซากศพ ซากสุนัข หมู เป็ด และไก่เน่าๆ

*Phánom Peen dái klaay pen deen khàyà? thǐi sǔm dúay sáak-sòp sáak sùnâk  
mǐu pèd lê? kài nǎw nǎw*

Phnom Penh already become be land garbage that accumulate with dead-body remains dog pig duck and chicken rotten spoiled

‘Phnom Penh has become the land of garbage composed of dead body, remains of dogs, pigs, ducks and rotten chicken.’

(Chamlak wai nai pandin, 132)

In example (81), simile words *klaay pen deen khàya?* ‘become land of garbage’ used above to compare them to the capital city of the Khmers. So, when reading off the implication behind the metaphor, the readers are likely to give the compassion to the Khmers who cannot deny living in such condition and are eventually exposed to the image of pitiful people or the Khmers who need to live in such *deen khàya?*.

- (82) สภาพร่างกายของหมวดโรยบอบซ้ำจนมองดูเหมือนกับซากมนุษย์ที่ตายไปแล้ว จมูกยุบ...ใบหูขาดวันทั้งสองข้าง

*sàpháap ráaη-kaay kh វ័យ miət rooy bòp-châm con m ឃាន-kàp sáak  
mânûit thii taay pai lêew càmùuk yûp bai-húu khàat-wín thâη sáwη kháaη*

condition body of Lieutenant Rooy wounded look like corps human that  
die go already nose fallen ... ear torn two side

‘The condition of Lieutenant Rooy’s body was badly wounded so that he  
looked like human corps. His nose was fallen and both ears were torn  
down.’

(*Phanom pen taek*, 117)

Example (82) depicts the Khmer character with image of the pitiful by using the simile *măan kàp sáak mânûit thii taay pai lêew* ‘look like human corps’. When reading this metaphor, the readers tend to feel compassionate with the emotional loaded words *sáak mânûit*, signifying the plight of the pitiful Khmers.

- (83) มีทหารเขมรแดง ๒ คนเข้าไปยึดแขนยึดขาโสธาน ในลักษณะซึ่งพิศให้เพื่อนอีกคนซึ่งเป็นคนโชคดีจับฉลากได้  
“เล่น” ของดี แพทย์ฝึกหัดชาวเขมรเป็นคนแรก

*mii thâhăan khâmĕn dεεŋ sǎwŋ khon kháo pai yĕt khăa sǎoŋthaan nai lâksàná?  
khĕŋ-phrĕt hái phĕan ĩik-khon sĕŋ pen khon chóok-dii càp-chàlàak dáí “lĕn”  
khǎwŋ dii phĕt fĕk hàt chaaw-khâmĕn pen khon rĕk*

have soldier Khmer Rouge 2 men enter go fix arm fix leg Sothan in  
postion spread-out give friend another that be man good-luck draw-luck  
able “play” thing good doctor apprentice Khmers be men first

‘There are two Khmer Rouge soldiers going to fix and spread out  
Sothan’s arms and legs and letting the other who drew luck to be the  
first to “play” good thing of the apprentice doctor.’

(*Phanom pen taek*, 602-3)

As well, example (83) uses the metaphor “*lĕn*” *khǎwŋ dii* ‘play a good thing’ to explain how pitiful the Khmer character is largely because she is being harrassed by the Khmer Rouge soldiers. Consequently, the image of the pitiful who gets harassed by the soldier is presented to the reader.

- (84) เสียงกระสุนปืนใหญ่ประจำรถถัง [...] เสียดแทงความรู้สึกของผมและสองสาวเขมรอย่างบอกไม่ถูก เพราะ  
เท่าที่มองเห็นเป็นการฆ่าและล้างผลาญชนเขมรเผ่าเดียวกันเอง

*sǎŋ kràsŭun pĕn yài pràcam rô-tǎŋ [...] sĕt-thĕŋ khwaam-rĭu-sĕk khǎwŋ  
phǎm lĕ? sǎwŋ sǎaw yàŋ-bòk-mái-thĕuk phĕ? tháw-thĕi mǎwŋ-hĕn pen kaan-  
kháa lĕ? láŋ phlăan chon khâmĕn phàw diaw-kan-ĕŋ*

sound bullet gun big station tank [...] pierce feeling of mine and two girl  
Khmer unexplainably because as-far-as see be killing and wash race men  
Khmers the-same

‘The sound of cannon stationed in the tank [...] unexplainably pierced the  
feelings of two Khmer girls and of mine. As far as I could see, it was the  
genocide against their own people. ‘

(*Phanom pen taek*, 586)

Example (84) is the strategy of metaphor with the words *siat-theey* ‘pierce’. The sound of the cannon shot is compared to an arm piercing into the feeling of the character. Also, the words *kaan-kháa lê? láay phlăan chon khămĕen phàw diaw-kan-eej* ‘genocide against their own people’ are assigned by the writer to give the picture of Khmers’ torment. The readers tend to feel compassionate with the incident in the same way a Thai character does in that particular moment of the story.

- (85) ภาพของคนไข้ที่ถูกบังคับให้เดินต่างๆ กำลังป่วยหนัก เป็นขบวนอันยาวเหยียดครั้งนั้น นับได้ว่าเป็นภาพที่โหดเหี้ยมทารุณที่สุดเท่าที่ข้าพเจ้าเคยประสบพบเห็น

*pháap kh ๓๖๗ khon-khái thii thuiuk ban-khâp hái dǎon thâŋ-thâŋ kamlaŋ pùay nàk pen khàbuan an yaaw-yiat krâŋ-nân nâp-dái-wáa pen pháap thii hòot-híam thaarun thii-sùt tháw-thii kháaphâcáw khǎy pràsòp phòp hĕn.*

picture of patient that PASS force let walk despite being sick seriously be caravan that very-long that-time regard-as be picture that brutal tormented the-most as-far-as I used-to face find see

‘The picture of the patients who were forced to walk in a long line despite the fact that they were still seriously ill was regarded as the picture of the most brutality and torment picture I have ever seen.’

(Chamlak wai nai paendi, 107)

Example (85) is the mix of adversative passive and lexical selection, the writer employs adversative passive *thuiuk ban-khâp* and the words *hòot-híam thaarun thii-sùt* ‘the most brutal and tormented’ in order to support the following statement and make it convincing enough to hold in readers’ mind. The readers might be able to perceive that the Khmer have the image of the

pitiable, for that Khmer *khon-khái* ‘patients’ are forced to pitifully follow what they are not willing to do despite being ill.

The image of the pitiable to the Khmers is also depicted by strategy of citation.

(86) เดวิด แชนด์เลอร์ ผู้เขียนหนังสือเล่มนี้ [...]

[...] บางศพถูกล่ามโซ่ติดกับเตียงเหล็ก บางศพลำคอของเหยื่อถูกเชือดจนขาดรุ่งริ่ง

*Dewid Chεendlε phúu khian nǎŋsǔn lém-nii [...]*

*[...] baaŋ sòp thùuk láam sóo tít kàp tiaŋ lèk baaŋ sòp lam-khɔ khǎw yùu thùuk chǎat con khàat rúng-ríng*

David Chandler who write book this [...]

[...] some corps PASS fasten chain next-to bed iron some corps neck of victim PASS cut until torn ragged

‘David Chandler who wrote this book [...]

[...] Some corpses were tied with chain next to the iron bed. Some victims, their heads were cut off the corps.’

(*Ngao haeng fon*, 15)

In example (86), citation strategy in the mentioned example is the quote from documentary written by the expert of Cambodian and Southeast Asian issues. The quote is used in italic by the writer. After seeing the quoted passage in this part which shows the Khmers as the victims of the Khmer Rouge brutality, the readers incline to trust the writer who tries to refer the credibility of other more factual source of writing.

Aside from above-mentioned strategies to portray that the Khmers are pitiable, the following examples are the use of adversative passive strategy.

- (87) ไม่เฉพาะแต่คนไข้เท่านั้น ประชาชนและข้าราชการเขมรที่โดนต้อน ออกมาจากสถานที่ทำงาน ก็โดนทหารเขมร  
ฆ่าตายโดยไม่มีเหตุผลอย่างหยาบโหดทารุณอีกด้วย

*mái chàphố? tềε khon khâi tháo nân pràchaachon lê? kháarátchâkaan thúi doon  
tố๓ ๓๓k maa càak sàthăan-thúi tham-ṅaan k๓๓ doon thâhăan khăměn kháa  
taay dooy mái mii hêt-phôn yàaη-hòt-híam thaarun ìik-dúay*

Not only but patient only people and bureaucrats Khmer that PASS drive  
out come place work then PASS soldier Khmer kill die by not have reason  
brutally tortured also

‘Not only patients, but also general people and bureaucrats were driven  
out of their workplaces and were brutally killed by Khmer soldiers  
without reason.’

(Phanom pen taek, 459)

In example (87), adversative passive is applied here with the word *doon t๓๓* ‘be driven’ and *doon thâhăan khăměn kháa taay* ‘be killed by the Khmer soldier’ to show the pitiful condition of the Khmer patient, general people and bureaucrats.

- (88) เจ้าหน้าที่ประจำสนามบิน [เขมร] หนีออกพ้นสนามบินได้เพียงเล็กน้อย ก็ถูกทหารเขมรผสมเวียดนามเหนือ  
[...] ระดมยิงเอาล้มตายเกลื่อนบริเวณ

*cáo-náa-thúi pràcam sànáam-bin [Khmers] nǐ ๓๓k phón sànáam-bin dáí phiaη  
lêk-n๓๓y k๓๓ thuiuk thâhăan khăměn phàsôm wiatnaam nǎ [..] râdom-yiη ao  
lôm thaay klĕan borĭween*



officials at stationed airport [Khmer] escape out of airport able only little then PASS soldier Khmer mix Vietnam North [...] granade take fall die dispersedly area

‘The officials stationed at the [Khmer] airport could not escape afar. They were granaded to death all over the area by the Khmer-Northern Vietnam soldiers.’

(*Phanom pen taek*, 365)

- (89) ผู้นำกลุ่มปัญญาชนหัวก้าวหน้าคนหนึ่ง เกิดในครอบครัวนักการทูต [...] ถูกสังหารภายหลังการเข้ายึดอำนาจของรัฐบาลเขมรแดงเพียง ๒ วัน

*phúu-nam klùm panyaa-chon hũa-káaw-núa khon nỳn kòət nai khróv-khrua nâk-kaan-thúut [...] thùuk sảnhảan phaay-lản kaan káo yít amnát khốv râtthàbaan khàmẻn đєn phiay sốv wan*

Leader group intellectual progressive one one born in family diplomat [...] PASS kill after enter hold power of government Khmer Rouge only 2 days

‘A leader of progressive intellectuals born in a diplomat family [...] was killed only two days after the Khmer Rouge government seized power’

(*Ngao haeng fon*, 27)

Despite cutting from different fiction, the statements in both (88)-(89) are presented with adversative passive words *thùuk thảhảan khàmẻn phàsỏm wiatnaam nửa [...]* *râdom yin ao lỏm thaay* ‘be granaded to death by the half-Khmer and half-Nothern Vietnam soldiers’ in (88) and *thùuk sảnhảan* ‘be killed’ in (89). The image that the Khmer is pitifully being tortured is introduced to the readers of both pieces of fiction.

Moreover, the image of pitiful Khmers is also depicted by narrative techniques. Here are some of the examples of description, dialogue and summary.

- (90) ปัญหาคอมมิวนิสต์และปัญหากัมพูชาอันหนักหนาสาหัส ได้ส่งเขาไปสู่แดนดินถิ่นทุรกันดาร ฝากปากท้องและ  
ความต้องการไว้กับโชคชะตา

*panhăa khommuunît lê? panhăa kamphuuchaa an nâk năa săhàt dái sòŋ  
khăo pai sùu dɛɛn-din-thìn thûrâkandaan fàak pàak thwŏŋ lê? kwaam-tŏŋ-  
kaan wái-kàp chók-châtaa*

problem communist and problem Cambodia that heavy serious able send  
him go to land faraway entrust mouth stomach and need at fortune

‘The problem of Communist and problem of Cambodia were very  
serious. They made him leave for the remote area and pray to the fortune  
for food and fate.’

(Chamlak wai nai paendin, 616)

Example (90) is described by a Thai character who tries to tell his/her partner of conversation about the misfortune of the Khmers and the cause that makes them so pitiful, with strong negative words *panhăa kamphuuchaa* ‘problem of Cambodia’ and *pai sùu dɛɛn din thìn thûrâkandaan* ‘leave for the remote area’. What the study found is the repeating discourse of the Khmers, similar to the other technique in making them look accordingly.

- (91) ชนชาตินี้เป็นชนชาติที่น่าที่งน่าสนใจเป็นที่สุด [...] ยามรุ่งเรืองเฟื่องฟู ก็ขึ้นสู่ความเป็นมหาอาณาจักรอัน  
ยิ่งใหญ่ [...] ยามตกอับ ก็ร่วงดังกระแทกดินแล้วทะเลาะลงลงบาดาลไปได้อย่างคาดไม่ถึง

*chon-cháat nîi pen chon-cháat thîi náa-thŏŋ náa-sŏn-cai pen thîi-sùt [...] yam  
rúŋ-ruaŋ-fŏŋ-fuu kŏw khŏn sùu khwaam-pen mâhăa aanaacàk an yíŋ-yài [...]*

*yaam tòk-ap kɔɔ rúaŋ-dīŋ kràthéék din lɛ̀ew thâluʔ-thâluaŋ loŋ baadaan pai  
dái yàaŋ-khàat-mái-thǎŋ*

ethnic this be ethnic that amazing interesting be the-most [...] when  
prosperous then up to being large kingdom that great [...] when decline  
then fell-down hit ground and pierce down beneath-world go able  
unexpectedly

‘This ethnic is the most amazing and interesting. [...] When prosperous,  
it became the great kingdom. [...] When declined, it then fell down, hit  
and pierced through the ground unexpectedly.’

(Chamlak wai nai paendin, 393)

With the words *rúaŋ-ruaŋ fúaŋ-fuu* ‘prosperous’, *mâhăa-aanaacàk* ‘the great kingdom’, *tòk-ap* ‘declined’ and *rúaŋ dīŋ kràthéék din lɛ̀ew thâluʔ thâluaŋ loŋ baadaan* ‘fell down, hit and pierced through the ground’, example (91) is the writer’s attempt to describe that although the Khmers once have the most powerful kingdom, but now have themselves turned drastically upside down, when they came to the point of declination. So, it is such a pity to look back at what they had experienced in the past.

- (92) ด้วยพระมหากรุณาธิคุณแห่งสมเด็จพระนางเจ้าฯ พระบรมราชินีนาถ องค์สภานายิกาสภาอากาศไทย จึงมีพระ  
ราชเสาวนีย์โปรดเกล้าโปรดกระหม่อมให้สภาอากาศไทย จัดสร้างศูนย์รับผู้ลี้ภัยชาวกัมพูชาขึ้น

*dúay phrâʔ mâhăa-kârûnaathîkhun hɛ̀ɛŋ sǒmdèt-phrâʔ-naaŋ-cáo  
phrâborommâraachîniináat oŋ-sàphaa naayîkaa sàphaa kaa-cháat thai cɛŋ mii  
phrârátchâsăowânnii pròot-kláo-pròot-kràmòom hái sàphaa kaa-cháat thai càt  
sáaŋ sǔun râp phúu-lîi-phai chaaw-kamphuuchaa khǎn*

with royal mercy of Her-Majesty-the-Queen the-chairperson council  
redcross Thai so have royal-order please let council redcross Thai manage  
build center receive refugee Cambodians up

‘Thanks to the royal mercy of Her Majesty the Queen, the honorable chairperson of Red Cross Thailand, who commanded to establish the refugee camps for Cambodian refugees.’

(*Chamlak wai nai paendin*, 193)

Example (92) is the writer’s technique of summary by the words *dúay phrâ? mâhãa-kàrûnaathîkhun* ‘thanks to the royal mercy’ to sum up the Thais’ benevolence. The writer uses epithet of *oη-sàphaa naayîkaa sàphaa kaa-cháat thai* ‘the honorable chairperson of Red Cross Thailand’ to refer to the royal duties of Her Majesty the Queen. This example signifies that *phúu-lîi-phai chaaw kamphuuchaa* ‘Cambodian refugees’ who pitifully come to ask for help in Thai territory. After being summarized in this way, the Khmers look nothing but those who needs help and are blessed by the Queen’ mercy.

(93) “[...] ทำไมประเทศมันถึงยากจนจนขั้นแค้นถึงขนาดนั้น ทำไมไม่มีผู้อพยพลี้ภัยถึงได้แน่นชายแดนอย่างนั้นละเอ็ง”

โมกษธรรมพยักหน้าเห็นด้วยกับคำพูด

[...] *thammai pràthéet man thǎy yáak-con-khón-khén thǎy khànàan nân*  
*thammai mii phúu-o-pháyóp-lîi-phai thǎy dáai néen chaay-déen yàaη-nân là?*  
*êη*

*móoksàtham pháyák háa hěn dúay kàp kham-phúut*

why country it to impoverished to even that why have refugee to able  
 overcrowded border like-that PART you

Moksatham nod face see together with wordings

‘Why is the country in such impoverished condition? Why are there so many refugees overcrowded at the border?’

Moksatham gives him a nod, agreeing in what he said.’

(*Kaeoratklaao*, 237)

The type of image rendered by dialogue technique or the conversation in quotation marks in example (93) is the image of pitiful Khmers. They are impoverished and have to evacuate to Thailand's border just to ask for help, with the word of *phúu-òppháyôp lli-phai* 'refugees' and the word choices of *yáak con khón khéen thǎn khànàan nân* 'such impoverished' to describe *pràthéet* 'the country' (which is referred to the Khmers country).

#### 4.2.4 Khmer royal family

From the linguistic analysis, it is found that the members of Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable. This type of image can be seen in only several pieces of fiction. It is also found that the writers depict the Khmers' image that the Khmer royal family is graceful and respectable with the use of lexical selection, pronoun and narrative techniques. Interestingly, lexical selection is found as the prime strategy.

(94) สุภาพสตรีวัยห้าสิบกว่า ใกล้หกสิบ แต่ผิวพรรณลักษณะสุขภาพยังแข็งแรง ประทับอยู่อย่างสง่างาม [...]

นั่นคือพระองค์เจ้าหญิงพระองค์หนึ่งของประเทศกัมพูชา

*sùpháap sàtrii wai háa sǐp kwàa klái hòk sǐp tèt phǐw phan láksàna?*  
*sùkkhàpháap yaŋ khǎn rɛɛŋ pràtháp yuu yàaŋ sàŋàa phàa phǎy [...] nán*  
*khun phrá?oŋcáawyíŋ phrá?oŋ nǎn khǎwŋ pràthéet kamphuuchaa*

gentle lady age fifty than close sixty but complexion appearance health  
 still strong sit in gracefully [...] that be Her Royal Highness Hers of  
 country Cambodia

'The lady in late 50 years of age but still looking healthy was sitting  
gracefully. She is one of the princesses of Cambodia.'

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 175)

Lexical selection plays an important role in example (94). The words *sàηà phàa phǎøy* ‘gracefully’ are assigned to be one of the characteristics of the Khmer princess and show that she is healthy and graceful in gesture.

(95) ท่านเป็นนักการทูต รับผิดชอบเรา [... ] พระทัยโอบอ้อมอารี ไม่ถือพระองค์

*tháan pen nāk-kaan-thúut rāp-sàη phairǎ? [...] phrá?-thai òp-ǎm aarii mái thǎn phrá?-oη*

He be diplomat talk beautiful [...] heart generous not hold himself

‘He was diplomat, talking beautifully [...] generous and not arrogant.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 116)

Example (95) provides the Khmer character with the image of the perfect man with good occupation by the positive words *nāk-kaan-thúut* ‘diplomat’ and good characteristic especially by the royal language *rāp-sàη phairǎ?* ‘beautifully talk’ and *phrá?-thai òp-ǎm aarii mái thǎn phrá?-oη* ‘generous, not arrogant’. In here a member of Khmer royal family look graceful in manner by the choice of royal language; for the Thais this kind of language is preserved for the royal family signifying the honoration of them. In this case, the way the writer uses royal language to describe the Khmers character in royal family can signify that the Khmer royal family is honored in the same level as the Thai one.

(96) [เจ้าหญิง] โสคนเทียมหน้าเขา นัยน์ตาดำลึกลับกับสีผม ดูขึ้นเงา...เป็นเงาของความคิดแหลมคม เงาของการวางตัวถือตนปนเอาใจยอมตาม เงาของความแกร่งกล้าอันซ่อนอยู่

*[princess] sǎokhonthia mǎoη nǎa khǎo nai-taa dam-khlàp rāp kàp sǎi phǎm duu khǎn-ηao ... pen ηao khǎoη khwaam-khít lǎem-khom ηao khǎoη kaan-waaη-tua thǎn-ton pon ao-cai yǎm-taam ηao khǎoη khwaam-krèηη-kláa an sǎm-yùu*

[princess] Sokhonthia watch face he(his) eyes raven along with color hair look reflected ... be reflection of thought acute reflect of haughtiness arrogant mix pleased acquiesced reflect of strength that disguise

'[princess] Sokhonthia looked at his face. Her raven eyes got along with her hair. That was a reflection of acute thought, of being haughty mixed with being acquiesced, and of inner strength.'

(*Chamlak wai nai paendin*, 74)

Unlike previous example, example (96) shows the mix of two strategies in one statement. In here the writer employed epithet *[princess] sòokhonthia* and later uses the lexical selection to positively describe the Khmer princess by the words *nai-taa dam khlàp râp kâp sïi phôm duu khún ηao* 'raven eyes got along with the hair, looking shining'. Also, the writer uses metaphor words such as *ηao khḍḍḍη khwaam khít lḗem khom* 'reflect of acute thought', *ηao khḍḍḍη kaan-waay-tua thḥ-ton pon ao cai yḍḍm thaam* 'reflect of being haughty mixing with being acquiesced' and *ηao khḍḍḍη khwaam krèḗḗ klúa an sḍḍm yuu* 'reflect of inner strength' to describe the characteristic of the Khmer princess. This description of the Khmer character gives her the image of the graceful.

More examples of epithet given to the Khmer royal family is shown below.

- (97) ท่านชายเขมรินทร์ [...] ทำไมทุกคนจะต้องกล่าวขวัญถึงเจ้าชายเขมรองค์นี้นัก [...] เพราะว่าท่านมั่งคั่ง มี การศึกษาดีจากประเทศฝรั่งเศส [...] เมื่อเข้ามาในท้องทรงสบาย กวาดสายตาไม่พบ “สุภาพบุรุษพิเศษ” [...] อินทிரาก็ถอนใจยาวด้วยความโล่งใจ

*tháan chaay khàmḗrin [...] thammai thúik khon cà? tḍḍη klàaw-kwāan-thḥḥ cáo-chaay-khàmḗn ḍḍη nḥ nāk [...] phrḍḍ-wáa tháan máḥ-kháḥ mii kaan-sḥksāa dii càak pràthét fàràḥsèet [...] mḥa kháo maa nai hḍḍḍ soḥ sàbaay kwàat-sāay-taa*

*mái phốp “sùphâapbùrùtphîsèet” [...] inthîraa k໋ວ th໋ວn-cai yaaw dúay kwaam-lóoη-cai*

Prince Kameran [...] why every one will must talk-to prince khmer one this much [...] because he wealthy have education from country France [...] when enter in room Song Sabaay look-around not find “gentleman special” [...] Inthira breath-out long with relief.

‘Prince Khemarin [...] why everyone has to talk about this Khmer prince so much [...] because he was wealthy and educated from France [...] when entering the room Song Sabaay and looking around, not seeing the “special gentleman” [...] Inthira breathed out with relief.

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 220)

In example (97), epithet *cáo-chaay-khàměn* ‘Khmer princess’ and *sùphâapbùrùtphîsèet* ‘special gentleman’ referred to the Khmer prince are assigned by the writer to support the good quality of him in the other sentence surrounding such epithets. This statement then gives the Khmers with the positive image or the ones whose characteristics are very special to the Thai character.

Similar to the other strategy, narrative techniques such as summary and dialogue are employed to show that the Thais and the Khmers royal family are in the same level of grace and respect, as illustrated by following examples.

- (98) จากประวัติศาสตร์ที่พวกเราเรียน เป็นความจริงที่ว่า ทั้งเขมรและไทย ต่างเอาแบบอย่างประเพณีและวัฒนธรรมซึ่งกันและกันไปใช้กับบ้านเมืองของตัวเอง [...] ยิ่งถ้าเป็นเรื่องเจ้านาย เรื่องเกี่ยวกับพระเจ้าแผ่นดินพระมหากษัตริย์แล้ว ดูเหมือนแทบจะแยกไม่ได้ทีเดียว



*càak pràwàtsàat thii píak-rao rian pen kwaan-ciŋ thii-wáa tháŋ khàměn lē? thai tàaŋ ao bēep-yàaŋ pràpheenii lē? wátthánâtham súŋ-kan-lē? kan pai cháŋ kàp báan mhaŋ khǎw tua [...] tháa yíŋ pen rúaaŋ cáo naay rúaaŋ kǎaw-kàp phrá?cáo-pēen-din phrâmāhǎakàsàt lēew duu mǎan thēep cà? yéek mái dáŋ thii-diaw*

from history that we study be fact that both Khmer and Thai all take model tradition and culture together go use with house town of oneself [...] more if be story royalty story concerning king king already look like almost will differentiate not able really

‘From history that we had studied before, it is true that both Khmers and Thais took a good model of each other’s tradition and culture and applied in their own country. [...] especially concerning the kings, it seemed unable to able to really differentiate from one another.

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 156)

Example (98) shows summary that the Thai and Khmer royal family are equal and befriended. With lexical selection *pen rúaaŋ cáo naay rúaaŋ phrá?cáo pēen-din phrâmāhǎakàsàt lēew* ‘concerning kings’ and presupposition *duu mǎan thēep cà? yéek mái dáŋ thii diaw* ‘seem not to be able to differentiate at all’, the Khmers are depicted to be at the same level of culture to the Thais. Therefore, the image of the graceful is given to the Khmer royal family.

- (99) จากประวัติศาสตร์จะทราบว่าราชสำนักไทยกับราชสำนักกัมพูชาสนิทสนมรักใคร่กัน มาตั้งแต่รัชกาลของ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

*càak pràwàtsàat cà? sáap wáa ráatchá-sǎmnǎk thai kàp ráatchá-sǎmnǎk kamphuuchaa sànit-sànoŋ rák-krái kan maa táŋ-tēē ráthákaan khǎw phrābàatsǎmdèt-phrācǎomkláocáooyùuhǎa*

From history will know that royal-court Thai and royal-court Cambodian close amicable together come since reign of king Rama IV

‘From history we know that Thai royal court and Cambodian royal court are close and amicable to each other since the time of king Rama IV.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 221)

Like previous example, example (99) shows that the Thai and Khmer royal family have good relationship by the phrase *ráatchâ-sămnâk thai kàp ráatchâ-sămnâk kamphuuchaa rāk krái* ‘Thai and Khmer royal court are close and amicable’ and that of citation *càak pràwàtsàat* ‘from history’. The writer summarizes such relations with the help of the words *càak pràwàtsàat* ‘from history’ in order to show that the Khmer royal family are as graceful as the Thai counterpart.

- (100) เจ้าหญิงโสคนเทียทรงเป็นเขมรนิสัยฝรั่ง ประเทศฝรั่งเศสได้ถ่ายทอดแนวคิดและวัฒนธรรมไว้แก่พระองค์ได้มากมายและรวดเร็วกว่าบุรุษและสตรีจากกัมพูชาจะพึงเป็น พระนิสัย ‘โลเล’ [...] ไม่มีในเจ้าหญิง

*cáo-yǐη sōokhonthia soη-pen khàmĕn nísǎi fàràη pràtéet fàràηsèet dái thàay-thówt nεεw-kít lĕ? wátthánátham wǎi kĕε phrá?oη dái máak-maay lĕ? rúat-rew kĕəŋ kwàa bìrùt lĕ? sàtrii càak kamphuuchaa cà? phηη mii phrá?-nísǎi ‘loo-lee’ [...] mái mii nai cáo-yǐη*

princess Sokhonthia be Khmer habit Westerner country France already teach idea and culture keep to her able many and quickly more than man and woman from Cambodia will should have behavior fickle not have in princess

‘Princess Sokhonthia was a Khmer with Western habit. France had quickly taught her with so much idea and culture, like no other men and

women in Cambodia would be able to do so. The kind of fickle behavior was not in her at all.’

(*Chamlak wai nai paendin*, 510)

Example (100) clearly describes that the Khmer princess *cáo-yǐn sǎokhonthia* ‘Sokhonthia princess’ as a character is respectable because she possess the quality of Western manner and disregard the fickle behavior. The writer employs lexical selection *pen khàměn nísǎi fàràŋ* ‘be the Khmers with Western habit’ and *phráʔ-nísǎi* ‘loo-lee’ [...] *mái mii nai cáo-yǐn* ‘fickle behavior is not in her’ to put in as the summary of the princess’ character.

- (101) ฉันอ่านพบในเอกเขมรของอาจารย์ศีกฤทธิ ว่าเสด็จพระองค์หญิงแพงป็อกยุคันธร ก็ได้เคยเสด็จไปประชุมยูเนสโกที่กรุงเทพฯ [...] นั่นเป็นการแสดงว่า เจ้านายฝ่ายในของกัมพูชาก็ได้รับเกียรติจากยูเนสโก

*chǎn àan phóp nai thòk khàměn khǎwŋ aacaan khǎkrít wáa sàdèt-phráʔ-ŋyǐn  
pɛɛŋpǎwkyúkhanthorn kǎw dái-khǎw sàdèt-pai pràchum yuu-néet-kóo thǎi  
kruŋthéep [...] nán pen kaan-sàdɛɛŋ wáa cáo-naay fàay-nai khǎwŋ  
kaamphuuchaa kǎw dái-ráp kiát càak yuu-néet-kóo*

I read find in Tok Kamen of teacher Kukrit that princess Paeng Pok Yukhanthorn then used to go to meeting UNESCO in Bangkok [...] that be demonstration that royalty in-the-court of Cambodia the receive kiat from UNESCO

‘After reading Tok Khamen by teacher Kukrit, I found that Princess Paeng Pok Yukhanthorn used to go to the meeting of UNESCO in Bangkok [...] that shows that the Khmer royalty also receives honor from UNESCO.’

(*Khamerin-Inthira*, 195-96)

In example (101), there are four linguistic strategies altogether making the Khmer royal family look respectable. Those are: citation *thòk khàměñ* ‘Tok Kamen’, *aacaan khũkrít* ‘teacher Kukrit’ and *yuu-nêet-kóo* ‘UNESCO’, lexical selection *sàdèt-pai* ‘go to’, summary *nán pen kaan-sàdεεη wáa* ‘that show that’, and pronoun *cáo-naay fàay-nai* ‘royalty in the court’. All these words are used to signify the importance of the Khmer princess who is honorably invited to the meeting of the international organization like UNESCO as suggested in *Tok Khamen* by M.R. Kukrit Pramoj. With royal language and pronoun, the Khmer princess looks respectable to the Thai reader because it can be interpreted that the writer honors the Khmer royal family.

### 4.3 Summary

The study found ten types of linguistic strategies employed by the writers in order to depict the Khmers' images.

Lexical selection found in selected fiction is rather negative. It is used to provide all types of the image to the Khmers in every group: *Khom*, Khmer leaders and soldiers, the Khmers in general and the Khmer royal family.

Epithet found in this study is two-pronged: showing both negative and positive. Those are: (a) showing positive image of the honorable king of *Khom* (or ancient Khmer kingdom) and the Khmer royal dynasty; and, (b) showing negative image of the Khmer leaders against general Khmers and that of the scary Khmers.

Metaphor, allusion and presupposition as figurative language are used to implicate both negative and positive tones. The selected fictions portray the Khmers in relatively similar way when talking about the Khmer characters by using these rhetorical features. Mostly they are used to portray the image of the pitiful, the inferior, the corrupt and tyrannical and the powerful *Khom*.

Pronouns are applied by the writers to show the positive aspect of the Thais and negative one of the Khmers: the Khmers are inferior to the Thais. More is the use of pronouns representing the Khmer royal family to show positive aspect of them.

Negative sentence are primarily used to directly point out the *Khom* is not Khmers, making the quality of being great as in *Khom* not appear in the Khmers.

Adversative passive is introduced in the selected fiction to make the Thai as the vulnerable and subject to the maltreatments of the Khmers. It is also used to show that the Khmers are subject to the maltreatment from their own people or the bad Khmer Rouge soldiers.

Citation is used to show the image of the Khmers in three main issues: (a) complimenting to the ancient Khmer king's ability in ruling his

territory, and (b) exposing the tragedy of the Khmers during the time of Khmer Rouge and (c) showing that the Khmer royal family are respectable.

Narrative techniques are used to show every type of the image.

Firstly, description is employed to show the image of the king of *Khom* as powerful and civilized. Description of *Apsara* is used to represent it as stranger, evil spirit and witch. Description of the Khmer leaders is used to portray that the Khmer leader are tyrant and corrupted, as well as to show that the Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable.

Secondly, dialogue about general Khmers is used to show that the Khmers are under-developed and inferior. As well, it is employed to show that the Khmers are pitiful.

Thirdly, summary about *Khom* is applied to present them with the picture of the civilized people who have god-like kings, contrasting to that of the today Khmers who are rather pitiful. Summary of the inferior Khmers is also there. Also, it is used to depict the Khmer royal family with positive image of the graceful and respectable.

Considering images of the Khmers, the interpretation of the use of aforementioned linguistic strategies give us various types of image. The Khmers can be divided into four groups with both positive and negative images, as follows:

(1) *Khom* or the ancient Khmers.

a. *Khom* is not the Khmers, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, presupposition and negative sentence.

b. *Khom* was powerful, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, epithet, metaphor/simile, citation and narrative techniques.

c. *Khom* is mystical, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, epithet, presupposition and narrative techniques.

(2) Khmer leaders and soldiers.

Khmer leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, epithet, metaphor/simile, adversative passive and narrative techniques.

(3) The Khmers in general.

a. The Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, metaphor simile, allusion, presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques.

b. The Khmers in general always trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, metaphor simile, allusion, presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques.

c. The Khmers in general are pitiful, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, epithet, metaphor/simile, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques.

(4) The Khmer royal family.

The members of the Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable, as interpreted by the strategies of lexical selection, epithet, citation and narrative technique.

## Chapter V

### Ideologies about the Khmers in contemporary Thai fiction

This chapter presents the results of an analysis of the ideologies inferred from the images presented in the previous chapter.

The Khmers' images are categorized into four groups as shown in the previous chapter. Those are (1) *Khom* or the ancient Khmers: that “*Khom* was powerful;” that “*Khom* is not the Khmers;” and that “*Khom* is mystical, (2) Khmer leaders and soldiers: that “The Khmer leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal, (3) the Khmers in general: that “the Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais;” that “the Khmers in general tend to trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais;” and that “the Khmers in general is pitiful, and (4) the Khmer royal family: that “the members of Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable.” These images reflect underlying ideologies about the Khmers (which are elaborated in next sections).

These read-off images are considered as outcomes of Thai writers' practices of existing discourses which are governed by the already shared ideologies in Thai society. According to van Dijk (2001) and Martin & Rose (2007), ideology basically runs through the ensemble of language and culture. This ensemble is the way the societal members are positioned themselves to define and produce an acceptable way of understanding a certain topic. In this study I apply this definition of ideology. Thus, it means the beliefs, concepts, ways of thinking, ideas and values that shape our thoughts, used to explain or understand a particular society

The result of the study reveals that the selected fiction generally reproduces several ongoing ideologies, similarly appearing in other studies of the Khmers in various sources of text, such as Thai newspapers, primary and high school textbooks for Thai students, as shown in studies by Mattaniya Phongsuwan (2004), Chanokporn Puapattanakun (2005), Pornpimon Trichot et al (2006), Nitipong Pichetpan (2010) and Thibodi Buakhamsri (2012). They all show the ideology that the Thai are superior to the Khmers. Even though some part of the result of this study is similar to the findings in other studies, this study



found something new; i.e., positive elements in the ideology about the Khmers as well.

The content of this chapter is divided into two parts: the ideologies that governed the images of the Khmers as presented by Thai writers and the conclusion of the interpreted ideologies.

## **5.1 Ideologies about the Khmers**

It is found that there are three significant ideologies about the Khmers in contemporary Thai fiction; that is, (1) in- and out-group polarization of the Thais as “we” and the Khmers as “others”, (2) Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the ordinary Khmers at the present time, except the Khmer royal family, and; (3) presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmers.

### **5.1.1 In- and out-group polarization of the Thais as “we” and the Khmers as “others”**

From the result of text analysis in Chapter 4, it is found that the idea that is reflected in some images of the Khmers is in- and out-group polarization which facilitates the process of differentiating between “we” and “others”. This type of ideology is backed up by four images: “the Khmers leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal;” “the Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais;” “the Khmers in general tend trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais;” and “*Khom* is mystical.”

The reason why these images are governed by this type of ideology is in the way the writers emphasize positive things about “us” or the Thais and negative things about “others” or the Khmers.

In many stories, the writers try to show the readers the scenes of brutality, settings of civil wars in Cambodia, circumstances that the Khmer leaders badly treat their own people, etc. These are the ways the writers say negative things about the Khmers, which reflected in the image “the Khmers leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal”.

Also controlled by this type of ideology, almost every piece of fiction obviously strengthens positive things of the Thais as opposed to the Khmers, who are supposed to be “others”. Many stories show that the Khmers try so much to follow Thais’ ways, even copy them, or take refuge in the Thai territory which is considered as the better place, as such in *Khamerin-Inthira* ‘Khamerin-Inthira’, *Amaruetalai* ‘The city of Amaruetalai’, *Chamlak wai nai paendin* ‘Engraving in the land’, etc. Obviously, this phenomenon is reflected by the image “the Khmers are inferior to the Thais but always trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais”

Furthermore, the very strong negative image as governed by “we” and “others” polarization is shown in the story about the ancient Khmers or *Khom* as the mystical. Almost when the writer chose to create the fiction whose theme about the Khmers in this sub-genre, they tend to paint some of the ancient Khmers or *Khom* as ghosts. Therefore, it is simple to see that the ones that make the Thais or “us” scared must be “others”.

From now on I will discuss about the origin or raison d’être of the ideology of “we” against “others” in Thai society.

According to van Dijk (2011: 397-98), the process of polarization is the complex meta-strategy of the ideological emphasis that “group members in a particular society tends to write (speak) positively about own group and negatively about those out-group they define as opponents, competitors or enemies, if only because the others are different”. This process is feasible when the in- and out-group qualities are impressed in accordance with the ideological square (Figure 5.1) or the four complementary overall strategies.

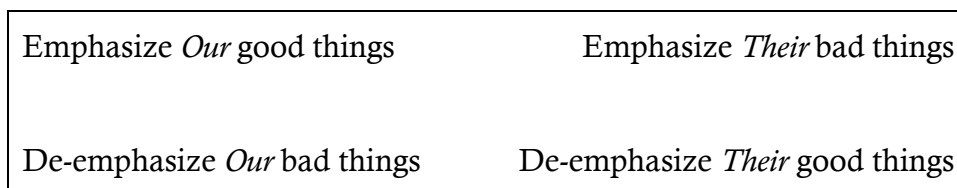


Figure 5.1 The ideological square (van Dijk, 2011: 396)

The emphasis on the negative characteristics of the Khmers as the others are accomplished by diverse structures and strategies, such as lexical selection, presupposition, syntactic structure and so on as shown in Chapter 4.

With regard to Thai–Cambodian relations, the finding of this study shows that “we-others” ideology is found to be reproduced from time to time in the contemporary Thai fiction.

From the historical point of view, Mongkol Visitstump (2008) states that throughout the history from the inception of the establishment of the Thai Kingdom at Sukhothai up to the present, the relations between Thailand and Cambodia have evolved evenly and alternatively between good and bad, friend and foe, ally and enemy, ruler and tributary. Furthermore, the foreign policies of Siam (Thailand) were systematically formulated and implemented from the past with the ultimate goal of preserving national identity and independence. In other words, Siam’s (or Thailand’s) expansion of its influence into the Khmer Kingdom in olden times was bound for securing her national stability, political system and territorial integrity as well as emphasizing the greatness and high prestige of Siam (or Thailand). By that means, the greatness of the Khmer Kingdom was belittled and plenty of conflicts between the two sides were aroused by then. As a result, these marred relations have become root-caused bilateral issues, which are accompanied by mistrust, discord, prejudice and lack of mutual understanding.

Arguably, such historical events and those marred relations turned to be predominant discourses successfully practiced as a consequence of the raising intensification of Thai nationalism during 1940s-1950s, as exposed by Saichon Sattayanurak (2002).

In Saichon Sattayanurak’s view (2002), the process of constructing Thai nationalism was commenced after Thai society began to be a new society during the time when the idea of nation state was flourishing. In so doing, the state reinvented culture, created a body of knowledge of culture and taught their subjects to have culture, or taught their subjects to be civilized. Thai culture was linked with nationalist ideology by the dominant intellectual Luang

Wichitwathakan (1898-1962) during the premierships of Field Marshal Plaek Pibulsongkram's (1940s-50s). Furthermore, Saichon Sattayanurak (2005) states that intellectuals had altered the key aspects and essence of "Thainess" systematically in response to the changing political contexts. Thence, the mainstream construction of "Thainess" overwhelmingly influences the ways of thinking of Thai people. For instance, M.R. Kukrit Pramoj always highlighted the better quality of "Thai nation" than other nations, largely owing to the fact that it has the superior "Thainess", e.g. monarchy, way of governance, language, arts (such as literature, drama, etiquette and customs) and so on.

With such efforts, the idea of "Thainess" was then put in the foreground whenever the Thais manage to think about and recognize its neighboring countries. As a matter of fact, while Thai nationalism and "Thainess" once constructed and defined in order to underscore the integrity and relations among people in the Thais' nation, it is necessary that "others" picture be drawn upon, precisely for highlighting the unity among the Thais. Such move helps determine the in-group stance and undermine the significance of "others" so as to benefit the group members as a whole.

The issue of Preah Vihear Temple can be an example. The dispute between Thailand and Cambodia is a consequence of the reproduced discourse that the Temple should belong to Thailand. According to Santi Pakdeekham (2011: 39-42), the perceptions of the Thais and the Khmers toward the Preah Vihear Temple are *de facto* the matter of Thai nationalism against the legacy of French colonialism on the Khmers. After the leave of the colonizer, Cambodia just followed the claim over the Preah Vihear Temple again as the attempt and process of nation-building.

In a nutshell, many disputes between the Thai and the Khmers resulted from such ideology. According to the findings of this study, it is found that the Thai contemporary fiction is instrumental to the reproduction of "we-others" ideological polarization.

### 5.1.2 Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the ordinary Khmers at the present time, except the Khmer royal family.

The assumption of the Thais about *Khom*, Khmers and the Khmer royal family is arguably blended in the discourse about the Khmers in the selected fiction. This type of ideology, as the result of the analysis reveals, is mostly backed up by the three important images: “*Khom* was powerful;” “*Khom* is not the Khmers;” and “the members of Khmers royal family are graceful and respectful.”

The reasons why these images are governed by this type of ideology is the level of description: specifically talking only about *Khom*, but intentionally omitting the link between *Khom* and Khmers or asserting that they are not the same.

In every piece of fiction related to *Khom*, the writers intentionally disregard the correlation of *Khom* and the Khmers or leave the obscure line between them to the reader without showing any clarification about that. The writers tend to be busy with praising *Khom* and, on the other hand, taking the Khmers for grant or even saying the Khmer is not descended from *Khom* despite the fact that it is an errand (which is shown in other studies that actually they are the same). In doing so, the images of “*Khom* is not the Khmers” and “*Khom* was powerful” are emphasized again and again in many stories either purely about *Khom* or about both of them. Such stories are *Prasat phruetthesuan* ‘Phruetthesuan castle’, *Hub kao kin khon* ‘The valley of the cannibal’, *Chanthra-usakhane* ‘The Southeast Asian moon’, etc. In those stories, if the theme is mainly about the Khmers in general, the Khmer characters are always put in the trouble situations or busy with killing among themselves; in contrast, if the theme is mainly about *Khom*, the *Khom* characters always appear to be good and elegant.

Despite the portrayal of *Khom*’s greatness and the Khmers’ weakness, there seem to be elements of contradiction prevalent in many pieces of fiction; such as, *Khamerin-Inthira* ‘Khamerin-Inthira’, *Chamlak wai nai phaedin* ‘Engraving in the land’, *Khamen Kamheang* ‘The mutiny of Khmers’ and so on.

Such contradiction is that while the writers create the Khmer character in general with inferior characteristics, they also create the Khmer character in the Khmer royal family as an honorable one. In doing so, the writers seem to have forgotten that while honoring the Khmer royal family in their stories, they are at the same time expressing positive opinions about the Khmers too, and they make the story as if the Khmers (in the royal family) and *Khom* are in the same honorable status, so they are possibly be the same. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning the exception of one of the fictional works used in the study: *Khamen khamhaeng*. In that story, the writer intended to directly insult Prince Sihanouk (the status at that time) after Thailand lost the case of Phreah Vihear Temple in 1962 (Roengchai Phuttharo, 2010).

Hereafter I will discuss about the origin or the *raison d'être* of this type of ideology that governs those three image of the Khmers found in the fiction.

It is argued that the idea behind this kind of ideology is the misrepresentation between the two terms: *Khom* and *Khamen* 'Khmers' in Thai language. However, there is much effort by several scholars to find out the origin of the terms *Khom* in order to trace back to where the missing link between *Khom* and the Khmers began. Mongkon Visiststump (2008) and Charnvit Kaset Siri (2009) pinpointed that the two terms are exactly the same in the past, but manipulated so that their meanings become different among the Thais at the present time. Even nowadays some Thais lack correct understanding of the origin of the Khmers and the relations between the history of Angkor Wat and the modern Khmers.

According to Mongkon Visiststump (2008), that the terms *Khamen* 'Khmers' and *Kampucha* 'Cambodians' refer to the major ethnic group in Cambodia, comprising perhaps 90 per cent of the population, nonetheless only the former refers to the language spoken throughout the country. Typically, the terms *Khamen* and *Kampucha* are used interchangeably in written and spoken Thai, but the latter is considered more formal. As the matter of fact, the word *Khom* is derived from the old Thai word *khmer krom* 'lowland Khmers' and, to be

correct, when mentioning about *Khom* and the Khmers, the Thais basically mention about the same thing. This explanation harmonizes with that of Santi Pakdeekam (2011). He elaborates the origin of the two terms by saying that to Thai people the word *Khom* is an ethnic group and appears in the ancient inscription. It is said to derive from the word *karom* or *kraom* in today's Khmer language.

In addition, the manipulation of the meanings of the two terms is reflected in the way of thinking of a considerable number of educated Thais and members of the ruling class, who distinguish between *Khom* and *Khamen*, by considering them two separate ethnic groups. They asserted that it was *Khom* - not the Khmers - who built the majestic temple complexes at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom and who founded one of the world's magnificent ancient empires. They furthered the claim that many Khmer cultural performances, e.g. *Lakhon Preah Reach Trop* or the Royal Ballet Troupe of Cambodia, *Sbaek Thom* or forms of shadow play by leather puppets and various aesthetic dances, are more or less derivatives of Thai ones. This therefore supports the claim of Khmer civilization or *Khom* culture as Thai origin. Such a claim simply discards the fact that the culture is difficult to be traced back to its origin because its nature is fluid. There is the possibility of the exchange of any culture at any time in the past between Thailand and Cambodian so that it is unable to find its provenance.

Similar to the above scholar's idea, Thibodi Buakamsri (2012) argues that such misrepresentation between *Khom* and the Khmers remains constant and seemingly prevalent among Thai public. Since it resonates with the provision that once *Khom* is not the Khmers, the civilization expressed through architectural works and hundreds of artistic masterpieces found in various *Khom* archeological sites in both Thai and Cambodian territories would unlikely to be created by the today Khmers. As a result, this becomes the logical explanation of the discourse that Khmers are a mere ethnic group which is relatively weak, as evidently written in Royal Chronicles of Thailand and apparently reiterated in Thai textbooks.

As in the case of contemporary Thai fiction, it can be inferred from the three aforementioned images that the Thais assume only about the greatness and power of *Khom* in the ancient times, not that of the Khmers in contemporary periods. Worst yet, the Thais tend to perceive that the Khmers in contemporary periods are weak and unable to manage their country.

However, if considering only the Khmers in contemporary periods, the Thais tend to perceive them in positive way too; that is, the members of the Khmer royal family look graceful and respectful. This idea is largely due to the fact that the Thais constantly embrace the concept of monarchical system in the same manner as the Khmers do. This is obviously the quite positive exception against the negative assumption about the Khmers.

All in all, the Thai knowledge about the Cambodians or the Khmers is arguably bond to Thai history which is centered only on the Thai side. Consequently, the exact knowledge about the Khmers or the Cambodians is diverted, and such misrepresentation continues being reproduced from time to time among Thai public. The implication of this ideology is quite obvious, albeit not often in the Thai contemporary fiction.

### **5.1.3 Presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmers.**

The last ideology, found in the contemporary Thai fiction which reflects contemporary Thai-Cambodian relations, is that the Thais are those who always give help to the Khmers despite various problems imposed by them and that the Khmers are scary to the Thais.

This study found that the writers suggest the sense of Thai benevolence toward the Khmers who look pitiful in the same time. This type of ideology is primarily backed up by the image “the Khmers are pitiful”.

The reason why this image is governed by this type of ideology is in the way the writers highlight the Thais’ helping the Khmers and focus on the plight of the Khmers.



Nearly every story whose plot is based on or concerned the war-torn Cambodia implies the sense of pity around the Khmer characters and the Thai mercy around the Thai ones. The former is frequently put in the situation of being subject to maltreatment of the bad Khmers, to war zone, to poverty and the like; while, the latter is always assigned as the benefactor of the former. The example of such stories are *Phanom pen taek* 'Broken Phnom Penh', *Kaewratklao* 'Princess Kaewratklao', *Ngao haeng fon* 'The shadow of the rain', etc.

Interestingly, the existence of this type of ideology can be seen in real life. The found ideology arguably reflects the relations of the two countries in many ways; the most obvious is the incident of Cambodian civil wars which put Thailand in the position of host country, taking care of Cambodian refugees. According to Bunrueng Khatchamay (2000: 59-65), after the Khmer Rouge took control over Phnom Penh and later when the Vietnamese troops raided the Khmer Rouge stronghold, Thailand became the hub of refugees by receiving thousands of the Khmers fleeing into Thai provinces next to warring area. A number of refugees camps for the Khmers were officially established in 1979 with the aids from international non-governmental organization around the area of Surin and Sisaket provinces in the Northeast and Sakaew province (formerly as part of Prachinburi province) in the East

Apart from acting as the helper of the Khmers turmoil in accordance with international norms at that time, Orn-anong Noi Wong (1993: 91, 102) states that another rationale behind Thai stance in Cambodian civil war issue is primarily that the Thai government at that time viewed that the problem of the war in Cambodia would be a possible channel for the superpower outside the region to resort to interfere with this region, if Thailand took the problem of Cambodia for a grant. Therefore, it was necessary that the Thai government pay careful attention to this problematic country, owing to the geopolitical setting and Thailand's capacities in dealing with the outside power and even the members of the region over the Cambodian issue.

It can be said that the Thais tend to accumulate the national pride and integrity among themselves when compared to the Khmers, after being reinforced by nationalist ideology of "we-others" (see 5.1.1) and misguided by the meaning of the *Khom* and *Khamen* (see 5.1.2). These ideologies allow the

Thais to presume the sense of Thai benevolence towards the Khmers. With such presumed mercy and the view toward the Khmers as pitiable people, the Thais inevitably act as a benevolent neighbor whenever the Khmers seek for help.

By and large, the contemporary Thai fiction about the Khmers reproduces such presumed ideology toward the Khmers, as reflect of the relations between Thailand and Cambodian in past decades.

## 5.2 Conclusion

The findings of this study show that in the Thai contemporary there are three significant ideologies about the Khmers fiction as inferred from their images in previous chapter; that is,

(1) In- and out-group polarization of the Thais as “we” and the Khmers as “others”,

(2) Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the ordinary Khmers at the present time, except the Khmer royal family, and;

(3) Presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmers.

As interpreted from the result of the study, the in- and out-group polarization with the initiation of the Thai nationalism by Thai élite during 1940s-1950s and the misrepresentation of the words *Khom* (ancient Khmers) and *Khamen* (the Khmers) were allegedly the negative ideology about the Khmer, introduced to the Thais with the sense of Thai superiority over the Khmers (or Cambodians).

However, there is another set of idea that has not been found in other studies about the Khmers: that the Thais see the Khmers as the pitiful and assume the role of the helper in many ways as possible as they could, simply in order to comply with international norms and show in the global stage and to keep national security at best considering geopolitics of Thailand and Cambodia. In other words, these ideologies toward the Khmers are governed and propelled by nationalistic view among the Thais.

It can be concluded from the study that these ideologies are still explicitly pervasive in Thai everyday life as seen in the case of contemporary Thai fiction and previously in that of newspapers and textbook. If turning back to reconsider those previous studies in newspapers and textbooks, we can find that despite focusing only a certain period of time, the results of them are relatively similar regarding both images of and ideologies about the Khmers. The studies of texts about the Khmers in newspapers -- that of Chanokporn Puapatthanakul (2005), Pornpimol Trichot et al. (2006) and Nitipong Pichetpan (2010) -- and the studies of contents about the Khmers in Thai historical textbooks -- that of Matthaniya Pongsuwan (2004) and Thibodi Buakamsri (2012) -- all show the negative images and ideology that the Thais are superior over the Khmers. However, they did not mention at all about positive side of the Khmers' ancestors: *Khom*.

Another different point found in this study and different from the previous one is that while the Thais assume that the Khmers are weak and failed to properly manage their own country, they simply set another idea about the Khmer royal family aside from this negative viewpoint. To be precise, the ideologies about the Khmers are not totally negative: there is an element of positive aspect pointing to small and high-status group of Khmer people: members of Khmer Royal family. It can be said that this relatively positive aspect of the Khmers, coupled with the idea that the Khmers are pitiful, is different from the results of previous studies.

In the end, the findings of this study reveal that among Thai public who read contemporary fiction about the Khmer, these Thai's ideologies toward the Khmers have propensities for implicitly and continuously being reproduced: the ideologies of Thai superiority over the inferior, mystical *Khom* and pitiful Khmers, the respect for the Khmers in royal classes, and the mistaken belief that *Khom* is not descended by the Khmers, but are two separate groups.

## Chapter VI

### Conclusion

#### 6.1 Summary

The study aims at examining the Thai ideology about the Khmers as presented by a variety of discourse types in contemporary Thai fiction.

The research questions are: (1) what types of linguistic strategies are employed in presenting images of the Khmers?; (2) what are images of the Khmers as portrayed in the texts and what ideologies are derived from the images?; and (3) do the ideologies derived from the study reflect the relations between Thailand and Cambodia?.

The data elicited in the analysis are randomly selected 17 pieces of fiction from 1960 to 2011, the themes, the settings, and the scenes of which are centered around or related to the Khmers. The sub-genres of the fiction range from horror to historical romantic stories. They are: *Amaruetalai* [อมฤตาลัย] ‘The city of Amaruetalai’, *Sang sayong* [sangsayong] ‘Horrible ghost’, *Khamerin-Inthira* [เขมรินทร์-อินทิรา] ‘Khamerin-Inthira’, *Rueang san samai hin* [เรื่องสั้นสมัยหิน] ‘The short story in stone age’, *Khamen kamhaeng* [เขมรกำแหง] ‘The mutiny of Khmers’, *Phanompen taek* [พนมเปญแตก] ‘Broken Phnom Penh’, *Ngao haeng fon* [เงาแห่งฝน] ‘The shadow of the rain’, *Kaeoratklae* [แก้วรัตเกล้า] ‘Princess Kaeoratkao’, *Chamlak wai nai paendin* [จำหลักไว้ในแผ่นดิน] ‘Engraving in the land’, *Hup khao kin khon* [หุบเขากินคน] ‘The valley of the cannibal’, *Sap apsara* [สาปอัปสร] ‘The curse of Apsara’, *Sombat kamphut* [สมบัติกัมพูช] ‘the Cambodia’s treasure’, *Nangman* [นางมาร] ‘The Mara’, *Soy saeng chan* [สร้อยแสงจันทร์] ‘Moonlight necklace’, *Suriyaworaman* [สุริยวอรัมมัน] ‘King Suriyavaraman’, *Chanthra-usakhane* [จันทร์อาชาคเนย์] ‘The Southeast Asian moon’ and *Prasat phruetthesuan* [ปราสาทพฤทเธศวร] ‘Phruetthesuan castle’

This study employed the method of Discourse Analysis to analyze the linguistic strategies and narrative techniques of the writers.

The result of the study reveals that there are ten types of linguistic strategies employed by the writers to depict the images of and generate the ideologies about the Khmers among the Thais; namely, lexical selection, epithet, metaphor, allusion, presupposition, pronoun, negative sentence, adversative passive, citation and narrative techniques.

1) Lexical selection is used in general in two ways: to refer the specific words to the Khmers and to describe actions and characteristics of the Khmers in negative way as well as *Khom* and the Thais in positive way.

2) Epithet is used for expressing a quality regarded as characteristic of the Khmers. It is quite predominant in the texts studied.

3) Metaphor is used for comparing the Khmers with ghosts or evil spirits that possess the quality of wickedness and brutality which are likely to harm the Thais in an uncivilized manner.

4) Allusion is used to refer to a Khmer person, place or event which is beyond but relevant to the Khmers mentioning in the writing. In many works, the dispute over Preah Vihear Temple, Thai literature or royal chronicles and the characteristics of the kings of *Khom* from such literature are used as allusions in order to paint the Khmers as the opportunists, the weak and the enemy, respectively.

5) Presupposition is used to suggest the readers that (a) *Khom* was dispersed and replaced by the Khmers, (b) the Khmers are very pitiful, (c) various problems along borderlines of Thailand and Cambodia are always caused by the Khmers and the Thais have to take responsibility of the consequences as well as get trouble from such problems.

6) Pronouns are used to show the positive aspect of the Thais and negative one of the Khmers: the Khmers are inferior to the Thais, as well as the positive aspect of the Khmer royal family.

7) Negative sentences are used to directly point out the *Khom* is not the Khmers, signifying that the quality of being great as in *Khom* does not appear in the Khmers.

8) Adversative passive is used to signify that the subject of the sentence (mostly the Thai protagonists) is the agent who gets maltreated from the Khmers and to show that the Khmers get maltreated from their own people or the Khmer Rouge.

9) Citation is used to provide the images of the Khmers that (a) the ancient Khmer king's ability in ruling his territory should be complimented and respected and (b) being exposed to the tragedy after the brutality of the Khmer Rouge, the Khmers deserve to be the pitiful.

10) Narrative techniques: three main styles of narrative technique: description, dialogue and summary are primarily found in the study.

a. Description is employed to show the image of the king of *Khom*, *Apsara*, Khmer leaders and the Khmer royal family.

b. Dialogue is employed to create the characters' conversation about general Khmers who are under-developed, inferior and pitiful.

c. Summary is employed to present *Khom* as civilized people who have god-like kings, and give pictures of today Khmers as pitiful and inferior, and members of the Khmer royal family as graceful people.

Through the analysis of linguistic strategies, the study gains a set of images about the Khmers which can be divided into four groups with both positive and negative images, as follows:

(1) *Khom* or the ancient Khmers: that “*Khom* is not the Khmers;” that “*Khom* was powerful;” and that “*Khom* is mystical.”

(2) Khmer leaders and soldiers: that “the Khmer leaders and soldiers are corrupt, tyrannical and brutal.”

(3) The Khmers in general: that “the Khmers in general are inferior to the Thais;” that “the Khmers in general always trigger problems and trickily cause harm to the Thais;” and that “the Khmers in general are pitiful.”

(4) The Khmers royal family: that “the members of the Khmer royal family are graceful and respectable.”

It is found that these derived images are governed by Thai ideologies about the Khmers. By practicing discourses about the Khmers with the use of linguistic strategies in their fiction, the writers actually pose several negative ideologies (controlling those discourses) in the way the readers think about the Khmers. From seven images extracted from the texts, the study inferred ideological implications for the Khmers in three main points, as follows:

- (1) In- and out-group polarization as “we” and “others”,
- (2) Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the Khmers, and;
- (3) Presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmer.

In effect, the result of the discourse analysis says that the Khmers possess good and bad qualities: the good ones are presented as the graceful and respectable members of the Khmer royal family and the bad ones as corrupt leaders and brutal soldiers. The Khmers in general are likely to take advantage on the Thais; although, they struggle to come to Thailand and pitifully seek for better lives, they also trigger many problems to the Thais. While, *Khom* is represented by different groups at the present time and possesses both powerful and mystical quality.

## **6.2 Discussion**

### **6.2.1 The image of the Khmers in contemporary Thai fiction**

The result of the study reveals that the fiction selected to study similarly gives both positive and negative images of the Khmers. The findings of this study justifiably reflect the concept of intertextuality in the discipline of

Critical Discourse Analysis (as suggested in 2.1.3) As shown by the result of the study, intertextuality among the selected pieces of fiction about the Khmers clearly expresses as the combination and modification of texts (pieces of fiction *per se*) regarding social and historical practices among the Thais and the blend of discourse and genre e.g., fiction, text books, newspapers, TV scripts, etc.

Obviously, every piece of the selected fiction reflects the notion that discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those which are produced synchronically or subsequently in the ways of writing and talking in different institutional settings, such as schools, universities, government agencies, the family, etc. (Mayr, 2008; and Fairclough & Wodak, 2011).

All in all, the study proves true the hypothesis that the contemporary Thai fiction portrays the Khmers as unfriendly but pitiable strangers, which implicitly and simultaneously installs the sense of fear and pity amongst Thai public. These images are shared among the fictions writers and conveyed to Thai readers by means of linguistic strategies.

## **6.2.2 Ideologies about the Khmers and their implications for today's Thai-Cambodian relations**

The topics concerning the ideologies about the Khmers can be divided into two dimensions: the relations of ideology and the role of literature and the effect of the found ideologies and relations of Thailand and Cambodia.

### **6.2.2.1 Ideologies and the role of literature**

Chanokporn Puapattanakul (2005) states that images and ideologies existing in Thai chronicles and historical textbooks for Thai students arguably take part in introducing Thai nationalistic view against the Khmers to Thai public as a whole, which eventually influences the process of text creation and intertextuality especially when selecting linguistic strategies and narrative techniques to present the images of the Khmers to the eyes of readers



Like other studies about the Khmers (Pornpimon Trichot et al., 2006 and Nitipong Pichetpan, 2010), the findings of Chanokporn Puapattanakun's work shows the negative images of the Khmers. Consequently, those images significantly lead to the ideologies of the Khmers found in other sources of studies: the "us and them" concept and that "we are superior to them". By the same token, Pornpimon Trichot et al. (2006) and Nitipong Pichetpan (2010) find that the Khmers make trouble for the Thais, that the Khmers are tricky while the Thais play by rules, and that the Thais are tricked by the Khmers.

In contrast, the findings of this study show that the ideologies derived from the analysis of the images found in Thai fiction which governed the thought of fictionists are as follows.

- (1) In- and out-group polarization as "we" and "others",
- (2) Thai assumption about the greatness of *Khom* and the weakness of the Khmers, except Khmers in royal family, and;
- (3) Presumed Thai benevolence toward the pitiful Khmers.

Ideology (1) is seen as the same repetition of existing and prevalent ideologies about the Khmers in others sources of texts. For example, ideology about Thai nationalism against Cambodian wrongdoers can be found in Thai primary and high school textbooks (Matthaniya, 2004, and Thibodi, 2012), which are found in nearly every parts concerning the Khmers in historical textbooks. It is normally full of negative words or tone of writing. Ideology about Thai superiority over the Khmers is also attached to histories of war against the Khmers as explained in the preface of Puangtong Pawakapan's book (2009). What is more, ideology that the Khmers are culturally inferior to Thailand can also be seen in the study by Pornpimol Trichot et al (2006) with evidences found in negative parts of the news related to the Khmers.

However, ideologies reflecting in Thai contemporary fiction do not totally reveal themselves in the negative side, but also the relatively positive one when taking the words *Khom* and *Khamen* (the Khmers) into account that the two words are the same ethnic group. It is so despite the fact that such

misrepresentation is quite common among the theme of the fiction: the *Khom* is not the Khmers. However, Ideology (2) and (3), as shown by the findings of the study, are rarely seen in other sources of texts studies. Therefore, it can be argued that this study opens another aspect of the Khmers seen by the Thai public: the Khmers do not look totally negative to the Thais as those found in previous studies.

As for the relation between ideologies and Thai society, this study also implies that the role of literature and society is inseparably intertwined. That is to say, literature as social tool of ideological reproduction arguably conveys and intensifies the reproduced ideologies from time to time, along with other socializing instruments of Thai society, e.g., newspapers and primary and high school textbooks of history.

In terms of fiction, Sinthusingh et al (2007) explains that how the writers influence the society could be seen in the way they explicitly and implicitly introduce the idea of being a good member of society, or subjective solutions while describing the problem the characters in their fiction. Moreover, the influence of values, culture, and behavior of societal members, found in any piece of fiction, is likely to be gradually infiltrated into the reader's way of thinking and, definitely, living. It could be said that the suggested idea implied in any literary work would probably become the norm of the society, if recognized by the whole society as worthwhile and significant to the lives of societal members.

To consolidate the above idea, in many studies about the fiction and society such as that of P. Siripujaka (2000), P. Monsa-ard (2007), S. Sukkun (2007), S. Wongbiasaj, H. Jantharamangkorn, and S. Piangboontha (2006), their findings agree on the common ground that fiction has a relatively crucial role in effectively reflecting the situation in many periods of history and explicitly and implicitly indoctrinating the discourses to the readers in Thai society.

At the end, it can be concluded that ideologies about the Khmers derived from the discourse analysis of contemporary Thai fiction in this study indirectly send both negative and positive repercussions of presenting the Khmers' image to the Thai readers.

### 6.2.2.2 Ideologies and Thai-Cambodian relations

As shown by the results of this study, when ideologies about the Khmers are presented in the fiction by means of various linguistic strategies, they in turn reflect the current situation of the Thai-Cambodian relations.

For instance, *Khamen Khamhaeng* 'Mutiny of Khmers' (1969) has its settings and theme centered around the territorial claim and enlisting of Preah Vihear Temple. Hostilities between the two countries have not yet been ended since the International Court of Justice or ICJ had announced that the Temple belong to Cambodian in 1965 (Charnvit Kasetsiri, 2009; and International Crisis Group, 2011). Such actions are presented in the fiction so as to reflect the Thai society's reaction to the issue at that time.

This obviously proves that the fiction find their chance to reflect Thai-Cambodian relations in *status quo* in accordance with aforementioned ideologies. Those works are, for example, *Khamen Kamhaeng* 'The mutiny of Khmers', *Chamlak wai nai paendin* 'Engraving in the land', *Phanom pen taek* 'The broken Phnom Penh', etc. The writers take advantage by using history of the relations between the two countries in different points of time as settings and scenes behind the characters in a way that they get trouble from such situations, e.g. wars in border disputes around Preah Vihear Temple, massacre of Khmer people by the Khmer Rouge troops, wars against the Communist in Indochina. These turmoil situations allow the writers to effectively use linguistic strategies to depict the images of the Khmers.

To concluded, the result of the study reveals not only that the relations between Thailand and Cambodia are reflected in the theme, the settings and the scenes of these fictional works, but also that the images of the Khmers as found in the selected fiction do not show totally negative images of the Khmers. The meaning of the word *Khom*, which is in many areas misrepresented that *Khom* is not the Khmers, is accounted for the relatively positive image in the fiction studied. While, in previous studies such as

statement has not been made. As a result, the images presented in those studies reflect only the negative side of the Khmers despite the fact that they conducted the studies with a certain scope of time.

### **6.3 Suggestions**

After studying the discourse on the Khmers in contemporary Thai fiction, I found that there should be more research using other sources of text on the same topics: the Khmer, such as the texts of weekly magazines, scripts of TV programs, non-fiction, travelogues, websites, etc.

Another interesting topic deserves attention is the study of discourse on other Southeast Asian groups of people, i.e. the Burmese, the Lao (or perhaps the people who hold different religious views from the majority of the Thais) in contemporary Thai fiction, since these topics are quite popular among Thai writer or other mass media mentioned above.

The potential research should be conducted in parallel with the previous ones so as to see if their comparative discourses are similar or different and if their results are derived from the same ideological platforms.

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## Appendices

## Appendix A

### Thai Pronunciation and Phonetic Symbols

The phonetics symbols are divided into three basic components; consonants, tones, and vowel symbols. Consonants are divided into initial consonants, final consonants, and consonant clusters. Vowels are divided into nine pairs for short and long vowels and three pairs of short and long diphthongs. Four tones marks represent four of the five tones and a syllable with no tone mark represents a mid tone.

#### 1. Consonant Sounds

##### 1.1 Initial consonants

No.	Symbol	English Sample
1	ch-	“ <b>ch</b> amp”
2	c-	slightly “ <b>j</b> oy”
3	r-	trilled “ <b>r</b> ” as in Spanish
4	ŋ-	“ <b>singer</b> ”
5	ʔ-	“ <b>oh</b> ”
6	p-	“ <b>spin</b> ”
7	t-	“ <b>stem</b> ”
8	k-	“ <b>sky</b> ”
9	ph-	“ <b>pea</b> ”
10	th-	“ <b>take</b> ”
11	kh-	“ <b>key</b> ”

No.	Symbol	English Sample
12	b-	“ <b>boat</b> ”
13	d-	“ <b>dark</b> ”
14	s-	“ <b>say</b> ”
15	f-	“ <b>fame</b> ”
16	m-	“ <b>mine</b> ”
17	n-	“ <b>now</b> ”
18	l-	“ <b>lack</b> ”
19	h-	“ <b>hope</b> ”
20	w-	“ <b>win</b> ”
21	y-	“ <b>yes</b> ”

##### 1.2 Final consonants

No.	Symbol	English Sample
1	-m	“ <b>team</b> ”
2	-n	“ <b>fun</b> ”
3	-ŋ	“ <b>song</b> ”
4	-w	“ <b>cow</b> ”
5	-y	“ <b>boy</b> ”

No.	Symbol	English Sample
6	-p	“ <b>captain</b> ”
7	-t	“ <b>pitman</b> ”
8	-k	“ <b>clock</b> ”
9	-ʔ	<i>phrâʔ</i> ‘monk’

### 1.3 Consonant clusters

	-r-	-l-	-w-
k-	<i>kriŋ</i>	<i>klòp</i>	<i>kwáaŋ</i>
kh-	<i>khrâp</i>	<i>khlum</i>	<i>khwaam</i>
p-	<i>praaiŋ</i>	<i>plii</i>	-
ph-	<i>phriak</i>	<i>phlooŋ</i>	-
t-	<i>traa</i>	-	-
th-	<i>nithraa</i>	-	-

## 2. Vowels

### 2.1 Simple Vowel

No.	Symbol (Short sound)	Symbol (Long sound)	English sample
1	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>	“father”
2	<i>ə</i>	<i>əə</i>	“her” without “r”
3	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ɨɨ</i>	-
4	<i>i</i>	<i>ii</i>	“we”
5	<i>e</i>	<i>ee</i>	“day”
6	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɛɛ</i>	“chat”
7	<i>u</i>	<i>uu</i>	“moon”
8	<i>o</i>	<i>oo</i>	“go”
9	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>	“saw”

### 2.2 Diphthongs and other combination with “w” or “y”

No.	Symbol (Short)	Symbol (Long)
1	<i>iaʔ</i>	<i>ia</i>
2	<i>ɨaʔ</i>	<i>ɨa</i>
3	<i>uaʔ</i>	<i>ua</i>

No.	-w	-y
1	<i>iw</i>	<i>iaw</i>
2	<i>eew</i>	<i>uy</i>
3	<i>ɛɛw</i>	<i>uay</i>

### 3. Tone

No.	Mark	Tone
1	<i>aa</i>	Mid
2	<i>àa</i>	Low
3	<i>áa</i>	High
4	<i>âa</i>	Falling
5	<i>ǎa</i>	Rising

For more detail on the Thai pronunciation and phonetic symbols, please see Prawet Jantharat, (n.d.), *Thai Pronunciation and Phonetic Symbols*, [[http://siamwestdc.com/yahoo\\_site\\_admin/assets/docs/Thai\\_Pronunciation.14781422.pdf](http://siamwestdc.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Thai_Pronunciation.14781422.pdf)], retrieved on 20 January 2013.

## Appendix B

### Book Covers



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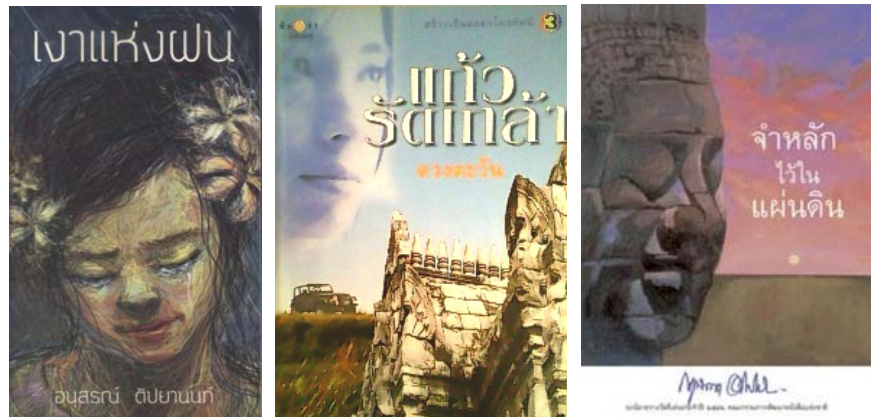
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## BIOGRAPHY

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