

CHANGES IN THAI CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES AS REFLECTED IN THE
USE OF THE ROYAL LANGUAGE IN THAI NEWSPAPERS FROM 1932 TO THE
PRESENT TIME



MOSHE AMI ZARCHI

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Thai Studies
Faculty of Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2001

ISBN 974-03-0302-1

การเปลี่ยนแปลงของค่านิยมทางวัฒนธรรมและสังคมที่สะท้อนในการใช้
ราชาศัพท์ในหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ. 2475 ถึงปัจจุบัน

นายไมเช่ อามี ซาซึ

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา หลักสูตรไทยศึกษา

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2544

ISBN 974-03-0302-1

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

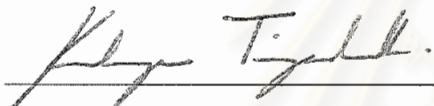
Thesis Title: CHANGES IN THAI CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES
AS REFLECTED IN THE USE OF THE ROYAL
LANGUAGE IN THAI NEWSPAPERS FROM 1932 TO THE
PRESENT TIME

By: Moshe Ami Zarchi

Department: Thai Studies Center


Thesis Advisor: Associate Professor Amara Prasithratsint, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master's Degree




Dean of Faculty of Arts
(Assistant Professor M.R.Kalaya Tingsabadh, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE



Chairperson
(Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.)



Thesis Advisor
(Associate Professor Amara Prasithratsint, Ph.D.)



Member
(Mr. Robert Michael Crabtree)

โมเช่ อามี ซาซี : การเปลี่ยนแปลงของค่านิยมทางวัฒนธรรมและสังคมที่สะท้อนในการใช้ราชาศัพท์ในหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ. 2475 ถึงปัจจุบัน (CHANGES IN THAI CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES AS REFLECTED IN THE USE OF THE ROYAL LANGUAGE IN THAI NEWSPAPERS FROM 1932 TO THE PRESENT TIME). อ. ที่ปรึกษา: รศ.ดร.อมรา ประสิทธิ์รัฐสินธุ์; 257 หน้า. ISBN 974-03-0302-1

จุดมุ่งหมายของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ คือศึกษาการเปลี่ยนแปลงของค่านิยม ทางวัฒนธรรม และสังคมที่สะท้อนในการใช้ราชาศัพท์ในหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ.2475 ถึงปัจจุบัน ค่านิยมที่ผู้วิจัยพิจารณาเป็นพิเศษคือค่านิยมที่เกี่ยวข้องกับบทบาทของสถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ในสังคมไทย

วิธีการวิจัยที่ใช้ในวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้คือการวิเคราะห์เนื้อหา (Content Analysis) ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์คำราชาศัพท์ประมาณ 30,000 คำ จากหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยหลายฉบับ ใน 4 ช่วงเวลา คือ 2473-2478, 2493-2499, 2526-2528, และ 2540-2542 เพื่อศึกษาการเปลี่ยนแปลงทั้งรูปแบบและเนื้อหา ของราชาศัพท์ ซึ่งแบ่งเป็น 2 ส่วนคือ 1. คำกริยา 2. คำนามและสรรพนาม ผู้วิจัยจัดหมวดหมู่คำราชาศัพท์ที่พบและนับความถี่ เพื่อวิเคราะห์ความหมายที่แฝงอยู่ในภาษาที่ใช้เกี่ยวกับพระมหากษัตริย์

ผลการวิเคราะห์คำกริยา พบว่ามีการใช้คำว่า “ทรง” เป็นคำนำหน้ามากขึ้นเรื่อยๆ ในช่วงเวลาของการวิเคราะห์ นอกจากนี้พบว่าการเริ่มใช้คำกริยาบางคำที่ไม่เคยมีการใช้มาก่อน เช่น คำว่า “ทรงพยายาม” “ทรงทำงานหนัก” “ทรงอธิบาย” “ทรงสาธิต” “ทรงห่วงใย” ในส่วนของสรรพนามพบว่า มีแนวโน้มการใช้คำนำหน้าพระนามที่ยาว และซับซ้อนมากขึ้น เช่น มีการใช้คำ “พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว” มากขึ้นในขณะที่คำว่า “ในหลวง” มีการใช้น้อยลง ในส่วนของคำนามพบว่ามีการใช้คำนามที่เกี่ยวกับพิธีกรรมมากขึ้น ในขณะที่คำนามที่เกี่ยวกับสถานที่ และพาหนะมีความสำคัญน้อยลง

สรุปได้ว่าผลของการวิเคราะห์แสดงให้เห็นถึง ภาพลักษณ์ของสถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ที่ไม่สอดคล้องกัน คำกริยาใหม่ที่ปรากฏขึ้นและการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปในลักษณะที่มีความเป็นสม่าเสมอมากขึ้น แสดงให้เห็นถึงบทบาทใหม่ของสถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ เช่น การทำงานหนัก ความเพียรพยายาม ความมีจิตใจอ่อนโยน และไม่ถือตน ในขณะที่ภาพลักษณ์ของสถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ในอีกทิศทางหนึ่งเมื่อคำนึงถึงคำนามและสรรพนามคือภาพลักษณ์ของสถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ที่เน้นพิธีกรรมและความศักดิ์สิทธิ์มากขึ้น

หลักสูตร ไทยศึกษา	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....
สาขาวิชา ไทยศึกษา	ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา.....
ปีการศึกษา 2544	ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาร่วม.....

#4080812522: MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEY WORDS: ROYAL LANGUAGE/ KINGSHIP/ THAI SOCIETY/ SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL VALUES

MOSHE AMI ZARCHI: CHANGES IN THAI CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES AS REFLECTED IN THE
USE OF THE ROYAL LANGUAGE IN THAI NEWSPAPERS FROM 1932 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THESIS ADVISOR: ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR AMARA PRASITHRATHSINT, PH.D. 257 pp. ISBN 974-
03-0302-1

The purpose of this study is to investigate changes in Thai social and cultural values as reflected in the use of the Thai Royal Language (henceforth TRL) in Thai newspapers from the 1930s to the present. The values in focus are those that relate to the role of the monarchy in Thai society.

The research method used is content analysis. Approximately 30,000 TRL words used in numerous newspapers in four periods, 1930-35, 1950-56, 1983-86 and 1997-99, were analyzed in order to identify changes of both form and content. The analysis was divided into two sections; namely, TRL verbs and TRL nouns and pronominals (pronouns, titles, kinship terms and names). Each verb, noun or pronominal was categorized and counted. The goal was to find the "hidden messages" that were embedded in the language used.

The findings were the following: In the area of TRL verbs we found strong evidence of a process of regularization and simplification taking place, as evidenced by the sharp rise in the use of the prefix ทรง /soN/ which seems to become a "general marker" of TRL verbs. Another interesting finding was the emergence of a new vocabulary of royal actions, which describes the King as "trying", "working hard", "explaining", "demonstrating", "being discouraged", "worrying" and many more. In the area of pronominals there was mostly a growing tendency to use elaborate titles and pronouns. For example, there is a rise in the use of พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↔adso↔mde↔dphra↔ca↔awju↔u↔hu↔a/ versus a decline in the use of ในหลวง /najju↔aN/. In the area of nouns, there was an increase in the usage of nouns that refer to the ceremonial and ritual aspects of kingship, coming at the expense of nouns referring to locations and means of transportation, which were most prominent in the past.

One can conclude that the findings point to two contradictory views of the monarchy. On the one hand, we find a new image of kingship that emphasizes the "modern values" of hard work, simplicity, persistence and human sensitivity. The regularization process points to reduced emphasis on intricate social hierarchies. On the other hand, we find increased emphasis on ceremonies, rituals, and elaborate honorific forms of address. These findings point toward a more "traditional" view of the monarchy, a view which also incorporates a perception of a divine element in the person of the king.

Program: Thai Studies Signature of Student.....

Field of Study: Thai Studies Signature of Advisor.....

Academic Year: 2001 Signature of Co-Advisor.....

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank my advisor, Associate Professor Amara Prasithratsint, Ph.D. who supervised my research with great attention and care, for being so patient and so generous in dedicating much time to discuss with me the details of the research and to examine it at each stage, contributing invaluable comments and suggestions. I wish to thank Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D., the Head of the Thai Studies program, who gave me valuable advice as to the historical aspects of my research, and was always available for consultation. I wish to thank Michael Crabtree for his meticulous editing and proof reading of this thesis, as well for his excellent stylistic suggestions. Also, I wish to thank Khun Supanya, from the Royal Institute, who gave me detailed explanations of different terms of the Royal language

Lastly and most importantly I wish to thank my wife, for her encouragement and generous support, which motivated me to complete this thesis.

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract (Thai).....	IV
Abstract (English).....	V
Acknowledgement.....	VI
Contents.....	VII
List of Tables.....	XII

CHAPTER

1) Introduction.....	1
1.1 Interest in the Subject, the Objectives and the Main Hypotheses of the Thesis.....	3
1.2 Structure of the Thesis.....	6
1.3 Empirical Data Used in the Research.....	7
1.4 Research Methodology.....	15
2) A Comparative View of the Thai Royal Language in the Broader Perspective of “Royal Speech”.....	18
2.1 The Thai Royal Language in Western Views.....	18
2.2 The Concepts of “Dialect” and “Register”.....	25
2.3 Western Court Languages as Dialects.....	29
2.4 Situational Linguistic Practices in Western Courts.....	32
2.5 The Court Language of Chivalry.....	35
2.6 The British Case and the Role of a Court Language as a Symbolic Shield...36	
2.7 The Thai Royal Language as a Register.....	40
2.8 Identification of the Linguistic Variables Used by the TRL as a Register.....	42
2.9 Modelling the TRL as a Power Mandala.....	47
2.10 Royal Languages in Southeast Asia.....	51
2.11 Summary.....	56

3) Literature Review about the Thai Royal Language and about Modernization Versus Tradition in Thailand.....	57
3.1 Books and Papers about the Thai Royal Language.....	57
3.2 Books and Articles about Modernization and Traditional Institutions in Thailand.....	70
4) Change in the Use of TRL Verbs.....	84
4.1 Main Characteristics of TRL Verbs.....	85
4.1.1 Exclusive Verbs and Verb Creation in the TRL.....	86
4.1.1 The Prevalence of the Use of the Prefix ทรง/soN/(honorific prefix).88	
4.1.2 The Main Types of TRL Verbs.....	90
4.1.3 TRL Verbs and the Objectification of Action.....	93
4.1.4 Non-Royal Verbs in TRL.....	95
4.2 Empirical Findings Concerning the Usage of Verbs in TRL.....	97
4.2.1 Changes in the Usage of Non-Royal Verbs.....	99
4.2.1.1 The Importance of “Giving”.....	99
4.2.1.2 The Verb ทวาย/thawa ^๑ aj/’to give’ in Compounds and as a Single Word.....	105
4.2.1.3 “Giving” as a Mutual Act.....	106
4.2.1.4 Summary of Non-Royal Verbs in TRL.....	107
4.2.2 Changes in the Use of Royal Verbs in TRL.....	108
4.2.2.1 The Main Features of Exclusive TRL Verbs Versus ทรง /soN/- Based TRL Verbs.....	109
4.2.2.2 The Implications of the Increased Usage of ทรง/soN/- Verbs.....	112
4.2.2.3 The Increase in the Relative Weight of ทรง/soN/-Verbs Over Time.....	114
4.2.2.4 The Different Roles of the Linguistic Particle ทรง/soN/.....	116
4.2.2.5 The Effect of ทรง/soN/ Usage on the TRL.....	124
4.2.2.6 An Examination of the Number of Lexical Items ทรง/soN/.....	126
4.2.2.7 TRL Verb Usage and the Emerging Features of Modern Monarchy.....	130
4.2.2.8 Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Verbs.....	134
4.2.2.9 A Demonstrative Case of the Use of ทรง/soN/.....	144

4.2.2.10 Summary of ทรง/soN/ Verbs.....	148
4.2.3 Exclusive TRL Verbs.....	148
4.2.3.1 The Major Lexical Groups within TRL Exclusive Verbs....	148
4.2.3.2 The Relative Lexical Stability of Exclusive Verbs.....	150
4.2.3.3 The Limited Role of the Verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go'.....	154
4.2.3.4 Summary of Exclusive TRL Verbs.....	157
4.3 Summary.....	158
5) Pronominals and Nouns in the TRL.....	161
5.1 Changes in the Usage of Pronominals in TRL.....	161
5.1.1 Brief Outline of Pronominals in TRL.....	161
5.1.2 Analysis of the Change in Usage of Pronominals in TRL.....	165
5.2 Changes in the Usage of TRL Nouns.....	173
5.2.1 A brief Outline of TRL Nouns.....	173
5.2.2 Analysis of the Change in Usage of Nouns TRL.....	180
5.2.2.1 Changes in TRL Noun Usage in Respect to Grammatical Forms.....	181
5.2.2.2 Content Analysis of Changes in the Frequency of Usage of Key TRL Nouns.....	186
5.2.2.3 Overview of the Most Frequent Nouns.....	187
5.2.2.4 Period by Period Analysis of the Most Frequent Nouns....	196
5.3 Summary.....	203
1) Analysis of the Findings.....	204
6.1 Summary and Analysis of the Empirical Findings.....	205
6.1.1 Remarks on the Types of Changes Covered in Chapters Four and Five.....	205
6.1.2 Changes in Form as regards Individual Key Words.....	208
6.1.3 Changes in Form as Regards the Basic “Rules of the Game” of the Register.....	213
6.1.4 Changes in the Content of TRL as Evidenced by the Usage of Key Words.....	221
6.2 Reconciling Tradition and Modernity and the Archetypes of Kingship.....	232
6.2.1 The Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Kingship in Thailand.....	233
6.2.2 The Archetypes of Kingship in Thai Society.....	237
6.2.3 Analysis of the Empirical Findings in View of the Archetypes of	

Kingship in Thai Culture.....	241
7) Summary and Conclusions.....	250
7.1 Brief Summary.....	250
7.2 Conclusions.....	257
References.....	258
Biography.....	264



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1) Table 4.1: Royal & Non-Royal Verbs Over the 4 Periods	98
2) Table 4.2: Non-Royal Verbs by Frequency	100
3) Table 4.3 Frequency and Percentage Share of the Use of Non-Royal Verbs based on the Key Words ทวาท/thawa ^๑ aj/, ทูล/thuun/ and เฝ้า/fa ^๒ w/.	103
4) Table 4.4: Trends in the Relative Weight of Exclusive Verbs Versus ทรง/soN/-Verbs	114
5) Table 4.5: Usages of ทรง/soN/ by Application Category	124
6) Table 4.6: Number of Lexical Items Used in Each Sub-Group of ทรง/soN/-Based Verbs	129
7) Table 4.7: TRL Verbs Created by Applying ทรง to Standard Thai Verbs which appear in each of the Periods under Study	131
8) Table 4.8: Hypercorrected Verbs By Frequency & Period	137
9) Table 4.9: Corresponding Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Verbs by Frequency and Period (Based on Highly Recognized TRL Verbs)	140
10) Table 4.10: Proportion of Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Usages (of Table 4.9) out of Total Usages (Both Correct and Incorrect)	142
11) Table 4.11: The Case of the Verb “To Say”	144
12) Table 4.12: Main Sub-Groups of Exclusive TRL Verbs	149
13) Table 4.13: Frequent Exclusive TRL Verbs that are Used in All Periods	152
14) Table 4.14: Most Frequent Variants Of The Verb เสด็จ	155
15) Table 5.1: Frequency of All Personal References to the King (Including Pronouns and Titles)	166
16) Table 5.2 Changes in the Usage of the Prefix พระ/phra ^๓ /	184

17) Table 5.3: Changes in the Frequency of Usage of the Prefixes ราช/rajadcha/ and บรม/brom/	186
18) Table 5.4: TRL Nouns by Frequency in All Periods	188
19) Table 5.5: TRL Nouns by Frequency in each of the Four Periods	198



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The title of this thesis implies that we shall be looking at linguistic empirical data of the usage of the Thai Royal Language (henceforth TRL) in Thai newspapers and attempt to relate these empirical findings to social and cultural phenomena. To be more specific:

The purpose of the thesis is to see whether we can find evidence of change in the usage of TRL and whether we can meaningfully relate such findings to changes in social and cultural values.

The empirical work conducted for this thesis was performed only on linguistic data. I did not conduct surveys or look for primary sources as regards changes in social and cultural values, as was done, for example, in a study conducted by Suntaree Komin (Komin, 1991). I therefore do not look at two independent sources of data, trying to find a relation or correlation between them. Rather, I look at one independent source of data, trying to identify the story that it has to tell.

As part of my research, I conducted extensive reading about the Thai world-view and systems of values and the transformations which they underwent over the past century or so. This was done in order to allow me to be familiar with the issues and develop the sensitivity to better understand the “story” which the linguistic empirical data might have

to tell. I also conducted extensive reading on Thai history during that period in order to:

1) Identify the periods in which I wish to conduct the empirical research. 2) Understand the events relating to the Thai monarchy, which occurred during that period. The historical background is pivotal in evaluating the significance of the empirical findings, and a short historical survey will be included in this thesis in Chapter six.

In writing the thesis, I included, for each TRL word, both its Thai original form and a transcribed phonetic form, for the convenience of readers who are not acquainted with the Thai script. I followed the phonetic system used by Mary R. Haas (1964). An English translation is given for each TRL word each time it is mentioned, with the exception of prefixes, for which an explanation is provided only on their first occurrences.

My working assumption in this research is that both continuity and change in the usage of TRL are findings that can contribute to our knowledge. Though many people believe that the TRL never changes, the truth is that it is the normative TRL which does not change. In actual usage, there are subtle changes as the language is used in new situations and new contexts. Some other people believe the use of TRL is a matter of forced convention and that not following its linguistic rules is punishable by law. While it is true that the use of TRL is required in public discourse about royal affairs, the exact usage is definitely not forced. As evidence of the fact that usage is not a result of the application of political force, I should point out that usage continued unabated in

periods in which the monarchy was at its lowest point, such as following the events of 1932 and in the 1950's, under the Phibunsongkram regime. The fact that usage of TRL continued during those periods demonstrates that TRL usage is a part of the living Thai language. Its usage may be influenced by political and social developments, but is not simply a matter of government decree, which dictates whether it should be used or not.

This introduction will be divided into four sections. In the first I will explain my interest in the subject and my objectives in conducting this research. In the second section I will outline the structure of this thesis, and the topics of its chapters. In the third section I will introduce the empirical data which I used in the research and try to justify its relevance. In the fourth and last section I explain my research methodology.

1.1 Interest in the Subject, the Objectives and the Main Hypotheses of the Thesis

My interest in the subject of TRL came about as a result of living in Thailand for over a decade, at a time in which the country experienced a prolonged economic boom accompanied by processes of accelerated urbanization and industrialization. Based on my former education in economics and political science and a close acquaintance with modernization and economic development theories, I expected to see a decline in the importance of traditional values, traditional customs and traditional institutions. Among the institutions which I expected, as a foreign observer, to occupy an ever diminished

role, was the institution of the monarchy. Knowing that Thailand is a constitutional monarchy coupled with familiarity with the way in which the role model of constitutional monarchies, the British monarchy, came to be treated in the media and marginalized in public affairs, I was led to expect that a similar situation will eventually transpire in Thailand.

This however, did not happen. First, it was the events of 1992 that alerted me to the enormous behind-the-scenes power wielded by the King. Paying increasing attention to news concerning royal affairs, I became more and more aware of the extent of the royal activities and, what is even more striking, the extent of veneration and affection felt by Thais from all walks of life towards the royal family. Following the economic crisis of 1997, the role of the King as the moral compass of the nation became even more visible. This coincides with an impressive strengthening of the country's democratic institutions following the passing of the new constitution and increasing signs of broader participation of the public in the country's political affairs. Obviously, a strong monarchy went hand in hand not only with economic growth but also with the development of a participatory democracy.

Based on the idea, developed by such celebrated linguists as Edward Sapir, that culture leaves its imprint on language (Roengpitya, 1973: 7) , and due to the fact that

Thailand has an exclusive royal language, I became interested in the idea that by studying the usage of this unique linguistic phenomenon, over a period of time, I would be able to gain some insights about the role of the monarchy, people's ideas about the monarchy, its place in the Thai system of values and the way all these evolved over the time in which Thailand underwent so many changes.

Based on these interests I formulated my initial ideas for this thesis. In order to give focus to the research and based on a preliminary survey of the empirical data, I proposed the following working hypotheses to guide this study:

- 1) I expected to find a decline in the uniformity of TRL usage;
- 2) I expected to find an increase in the elaboration in the stylistic patterns in the usage of the language;
- 3) I expected to find an increase in interest in traditional values;
- 4) I postulated that there was an attempt to reconcile modernity and tradition into a new integrated whole.

My analysis of the data was conducted in light of these hypotheses, which served, in fact, as research road-signs. They were instrumental both in the sorting out of the raw linguistic data as well as in linking that data to the socio-cultural field, and they reflect my orientation at the initial stage of this research work. Whether these initial hypotheses were corroborated, required adjustment or were contradicted by the

empirical research and the analysis will be discussed in detail in Chapter six of this thesis.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters organized as follows:

- 1) Introduction.
- 2) Literature review. The areas of literature reviewed are (1) Literature about TRL; (2) Literature about modernization and social change versus tradition and traditional institutions in Thailand.
- 3) TRL in Comparative Perspective: In this Chapter I identify the basic characteristics of the TRL as a linguistic register, and compare it to other court languages, both dialects and registers, in different cultures.
- 4) Study of the Empirical Findings on TRL Verbs: I start with verbs as I consider this area to be more prone to change. The chapter starts with a general outline of verbs in TRL, and continues with a content analysis of the verbs surveyed as well as an analysis of the forms of verbs use.
- 5) Study of the Empirical Findings on TRL Nouns and Pronominals: This chapter starts with a general outline of pronominals and nouns in TRL. As in the chapter

on verbs, the outline is followed by a content analysis of the pronominals and nouns in the survey and an analysis of the TRL forms used.

- 6) Analysis of the Findings about Changes and Continuity in the Usage of TRL and their relation to changes in social and cultural Values.
- 7) Summary and Conclusions.

As there have been so many books published which explain the rules of TRL, I tried to avoid being a repetition of this genre. My outlines of the rules of the register are brief and I try to focus on analysis rather than a simple listing of grammatical rules. Chapter three explains the basic logic of the register without getting into the details. Chapters four and five each contain a brief introductory outline of its subject matter, verbs in Chapter four and pronominals and nouns in Chapter five.

1.3 Empirical Data Used in the Research

The empirical data for this research was based on daily newspaper articles collected in the years 1930-35, 1950-1957, 1983-6 and 1997-9.

I chose daily newspapers as the main source of empirical data in this study for the following reasons:

- 1) There was a possibility of gathering data over long periods of time. No such data is available with other media.
- 2) Thailand's press is private and tends to be relatively open. The degree of openness changed over time, a factor that cannot be ignored, but the kind of reports at which I looked, mostly concerned with routine or ritual activities of the Royal family, involved no controversial issues (perhaps with the exception of the events circa mid 1932) that would have warranted censorship.
- 3) Due to the time pressure involved in the issuing of daily newspapers, there is very little screening of TRL correctness. There are therefore good grounds to assume that the usage is natural, based on the reporter's knowledge of TRL.

I was fully aware that the writing of royal news is often influenced by news releases by the Royal Bureau (สำนักพระราชวัง) and in some cases journalists simply copy excerpts from these news releases. This phenomenon seems to be more prevalent in the later two periods of the study. There is no way of separating reports, which are influenced more by Royal Bureau news releases from those that are less influenced. In any case, journalists are by no means forced to quote these news releases as they are. They are free to rewrite, change, add or simply use the information only. When simply repeating or paraphrasing these news releases they do exercise a linguistic choice like any other

and we can learn something from this choice, as we can learn from any other linguistic choice.

Of the four periods chosen, the first period signifies the end of the absolute monarchy until the abdication of King Prachadhipok (Rama the 7th). I selected the period mentioned as representing the twilight period of the absolute monarchy, a bit before and a bit after the actual change in regime.

The 1950-1957 period represents a period in which the Monarchy was actively sidelined by the ruling regime, in spite of having a resident King in the country after a long break, lasting 16 years. I did not cover the period between 1935 and 1950 because there was no resident King in the country at that period, except for very short visits, and there were therefore hardly any news reports of royal affairs.

The periods of 1983-1986 and 1997-1999 were selected to represent two different points of time in the present era, which is characterized as an era in which the monarchy is on the ascendance, and enjoying enormous prestige. The two periods are separated by the events of May 1992, events which were an important watershed in the role of the Monarchy. The selection of the two specific periods was due in part to availability of accessible material and I tried to maximize the distance between the periods within the confines of this data base.

As I mentioned above, the last two periods are separated by the events of 1992, during which the King assumed an active role in the country's political life. Another important event which should have ideally be included in the period breakdown is the uprising of October 1973. This event, during which the King also assumed an active role, was even more crucial than the 1992 events, in changing the role of the monarchy in the country's public life. Ideally, a period between 1957 and 1973 (after Marshal Sarit's rise to power but before the 1973 events) should have been included in the data to make the picture more complete. Due to limitations of time and resources I could not, however, achieve this level of completeness.

In these four periods I collected newspaper articles which related to royal activities. The reports for the periods of 1930-1935 and 1950-1957 were reproduced from microfilm in the national archives. The reports for 1983-6 and 1997-9 were collected from the newspaper archive collected by the Thai Rath group.

The number of newspaper reports in the 1930-5 period is 96, the number of reports in the 1950-7 period is 65, in the 1983-6 period the number is 303 and in the 1997-9 period the number of reports is 448. The collection for the later two periods was more complete and more accurate due to the much higher accessibility of the material. The microfilm material was often hard to read due to imperfect reproduction.

There was no continuity of newspaper throughout the entire span of time. Unlike a hypothetical study of the British Monarchy, which could rely on 150 years of the Times of London, continuity here was only within the last two periods. The newspapers included in these two periods were Matichon, Thai Post, Daily News, Kao Sot, Thai Rath, Watajak, Krungtep Turakij and Siam Rath. Obviously, most court news is offered simultaneously in a number of newspapers, and it is the multiplicity of newspapers rather than multiplicity of news which creates the high number of entries.

In the first two periods, different newspapers were available for each period. In the 1930-35 period the newspapers were The Tai Mai Daily News, The Srikrung Daily News, Siam Num or The Young Siam Daily News and Prachachat or The Nation. In the 1950-1957 period, the newspapers used were Pim Thai, Thai Athit, Ngan Kong Chat, Bahn Kong Chat and Siam Nikorn. Interestingly, all the newspapers in the 1930s had English names, while none did in the 1950s.

Having established the data-base of reports, these newspaper reports were then marked for each TRL word used. Each TRL word used was recorded along with its location in the newspaper report so that it would be possible to check back the context of its use if needed. Only TRL words or words which should have been marked as TRL (for example with ทรง/soN/'honorific prefix') were recorded.

The total number of entries which were recorded is 35,939 TRL words, of which 13,935 are verbs, 12,356 are nouns and 9,253 are pronominals of which 6,592 relate to the King himself and 2661 are pronominals of other members of the Royal family. The small balance is prepositions such as *ใน/naj/'in'* and *แต่/dEŋE/'to'*.

As could be seen from the data on the number of newspaper reports, there were big gaps in the amount of data available in the different periods. In the first period the number of entries is 2,487, the second 2,272, the third 10,292 and the fourth 20,888. For verbs, for example, there were 1,152 entries in 1930-5, 1,481 entries for 1950-7, 3,872 entries for 1983-6 and 7,426 entries for 1997-9. For nouns, there were 618 entries for 1930-5, 667 entries for 1950-7, 3,589 entries for 1983-6 and 7,482 entries in 1997-9.

The disparity in the amount of data available in the different periods is the reason why I chose the first two periods to be longer than the last two periods, which are only three years each. By compiling data from more years in the early periods I tried to reduce the disparity in the amount of data between the periods.

Over all, I believe that in spite of the differences in the sheer numbers between the periods, the absolute number of entries available in each of the periods is large enough to be statistically viable.

An additional point of interest about the data assembled is the events which are the occasion for reporting. The last two periods are dominated by the celebrations of the King's birthday. Out of a total of 31,180 entries recorded for the last two periods, 19,410 are on the occasion of the King's birthday. Other important events are related to the King's health, 2,776 entries, Katin ceremonies 1,327 entries, Coronation day 956, having reached the age of Rama the 5th 786 entries and New Year 430 entries. Other reports, comprising 5,765 entries out of the total of 31,180, relate to events such as the receiving of various honorary titles, such as "Maharaja" or "National artist", the granting of degrees to students, visits to various provinces and royal projects, interviews about the King's life, the King's policies and ideas, international news reports about the King, various gifts presented to the King and the granting of audiences to different groups of people.

In contrast to the overwhelming importance of the occasion of the Royal Birthday in reports of the second two periods, the first two periods show a more dispersed pattern: In the period of the 1930s, some of the occasions noted, to cite a few examples, are: Hosting the Hollywood actor Douglas Fairbanks, donating to The "Wild Tigers" and attending their meetings, visiting of the USA, and various activities there including meeting Thai students, shopping, seeing a movie....visiting Alliance Francaise, seeing the Movie Ramakien, visiting the "Wild Tigers" in Nakorn Pathom and so forth. The events seem to be less centered around specific dates, and even at the end of the

absolute monarchy, do not relate much to the business of state. The events of 1932 are reported as a matter of fact, and, following the King's "giving" of a constitution, reports of his various visits continue as before, including visits to view elections, a visit to Europe, and even a report of a speech referred to as "ทรงมีพระราชดำรัสไม่ได้ถือองค์เป็นเทวดา" (Says that he is not a God). Such reports continue during his final visit to England and until his final abdication.

In the 1950s most attention is devoted to the cremation of Rama the VIII, the ascension to the throne of the present King, the birth of the Prince and Princesses, the King's ordination as a Buddhist monk, his activities as a Buddhist monk and, generally, visits by the King to the provinces and to meet with citizens. Such activities were, however, limited by the regime of that period and the number of such reports is not very large.

The differences between the activities in the four periods, besides the obvious political events of 1932, center, therefore, around the importance of ceremonial dates which appear to dominate the agenda in the last two periods. Otherwise, the nature of the action, taking place in the various events, is not much different across the four periods, and includes mainly royal visits, audiences granted to various groups, gifts granted by the King and gifts offered to the King, royal speeches and the officiation of various ceremonies.

1.4 Research Methodology

The research methodology employed in this thesis is content analysis, or, more specifically, quantitative content analysis. Defined as a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”(Krippendorff, 1986: 21), content analysis has gained prominence mainly in the analysis of “hidden messages” or “symbols” embedded in the mass media and other platforms of communication. The focus on newspapers dates to the origins of the methodology, at the very end of the 19th century, when it was used to analyze the content of press reporting, measuring the column inches devoted to different subjects. (Krippendorff, 1986: 14). During the second World War the techniques developed by content analysts were successfully applied to the analysis of Nazi propaganda, helping, in some cases, to reveal implied information on the inner workings and the plans of the Nazi regime. After the war, content analysis was used extensively to analyze the messages embedded in political rhetoric and other forms of communication. In recent times, quantitative content analysis has come to utilize more and more the power of the computer in analyzing vast volumes of data, and to create new techniques that take account of these new computing possibilities. At the same time, qualitative content analysis techniques were developed, with the focus on context rather than isolated countable variables.

I used content analysis in this thesis in two different applications, the first semantic the second stylistic:

1) The semantic analysis attempted to measure the frequency of different pronouns, nouns, and verbs and then to study whether items that show increased frequency are meaningful. Whenever possible I searched for emerging families of words that share a similarity in meaning. In some cases, where the number of words to choose from is very small, this was not possible. My assumption is, however, that semantic patterns, which include a few related lexical items, are more meaningful findings than isolated individual cases. However, I clearly separated the discussion between pronouns, nouns and verbs, working on the basis of the “power mandala” model, presented in Chapter two, according to which, these different lexical groups are subjected to varying intensity of cultural taboos and are therefore likely to behave differently.

2) The grammatical analysis focused on a few grammatical prefixes which are used to create TRL words, or to differentiate them by the rank of the royal person concerned and measured the frequency of their usage. I analyzed the results based on meanings, which I ascribe to such usages. The question of interpretation is harder in this case than in the case of the semantic pattern. I relied, in my interpretation, on the general observations about TRL, which I proposed in Chapter three, and in the first parts of Chapters four and five.

My methodology was limited by the fact that I looked only at TRL words rather than all the words contained in the newspaper reports surveyed. Obviously, the usage of these other words could serve as an additional source of information. This, however, was not only beyond my data collection capacity (the TRL words alone reached 35,000 entries), but was also outside of the scope of this thesis, the focus of which is specifically the usage of TRL. Since, as we shall see, the TRL is an exclusive lexicon of words, the focus has to be on the usage of this specific lexicon rather than surrounding words. An additional omission, again, exceeding the capacity and standing beyond the focus of the thesis, is an analysis of stylistics as revealed in sentence structuring. In spite of the fact that both variables are outside the declared linguistic focus of the thesis, I have to concede that a study of the discourse about royalty in Thailand based on content analysis could have benefited from data derived from these two sources.

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER 2

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE TRL IN THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE OF “ROYAL SPEECH”

In this chapter I offer a general introduction to royal languages and their social role. The first seven sections in this chapter compare the TRL to royal/court languages that are used both in the West and in neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, with an emphasis on the important linguistic concepts of **dialect** and **register**. The last three sections in the chapter characterize the TRL as a register in detail and propose the power mandala model as a tool for looking at the relations between its different lexical components.

2.1 The Thai Royal Language in Western Views

Western historical reports about Siam and its immediate neighbors in Southeast Asia of the 16th-17th century often describe with amazement the degree of worship accorded to kings and royalty, which the writers of these reports witnessed. The kind of absolute subservience, performed in a highly ceremonial manner, which these visitors encountered in Southeast Asian courts, was different from what was customary in European courts at those times.

This has been the first period of direct contact between Western Europe and South East Asia. The main impetus for these contacts was trading interests, rather than missionary evangelism, territorial conquest or even simple scientific curiosity, as it is popularly believed. The authors of these early reports were, at least initially, traders and adventurers who came with the objective of dealing directly with the Southeast Asian sources of various commodities, particularly exotic spices.

The different states in Europe of that period, the 16-17th centuries, from which these traders came, were all under various forms of a monarchical rule. In that sense, these states shared the same basic political philosophy as that which was prevalent in their newly discovered lands. There were, however, significant differences in the nature of the monarchy between the distant continents. One particularly striking difference was in the extent of the symbolic elevation of royalty compared to other groups in society. This aspect was much more pronounced in Southeast Asia, and, paradoxically, it became even more so following the exposure to the West. According to some historians, such as Anthony Reid (Reid, 1993: Vol 2, 260-266), the response to the western challenge in Southeast Asia was the strengthening and centralizing of the kingdoms (mainly of the Continental part of the region) that survived the onslaught.

In Europe, the power of the monarchy was always counter-balanced by other strong social elites. While the church and the landed gentry, which traditionally put a check on

the power of royalty, were at that time in relative decline, a new power, that of “free” city dwellers, or “burgers”, was on the rise. Spanning an interval of time between the decline of the one and the rise of the other, this period in European history is often characterized as the high tide of centralized monarchy, often labeled as the period of “absolute monarchy”. France led the way in developing a grand, glorious court-life. Particularly, it was the reign of Louis the XIV (1642-1715) in France, which is often cited as the primary example of this period.

Nevertheless, grand as the European monarchs seemed to be during this period, still they were not placed, like their Southeast Asian counterparts, at the center of universal cosmologies in which they were ritually worshipped as semi-gods. Nor did they derive their legitimacy from the realms of the sacred as was practiced in Southeast Asian courts, where, in fact, two religions, Buddhism and Brahmanism, were simultaneously used to legitimize and sanctify the monarchy. These two religions also supported a number of alternative but co-existing concepts of kingship, a point which shall be taken up in more detail in Chapter six.

These differences in ideologies and symbolism are, as I mentioned, clearly reflected in the reports of western travelers, first traders and, at later periods, ambassadors, who attended royal courts in Siam, Burma, Laos and Cambodia. It is important to emphasize that the main point of the impressions these reports portray is not the grandness of the

physical surroundings of Kings, the architecture of the court, the richness of the decorations, the profusion of gold and precious stones or the splendour of the Royal attire. The main point, which is alluded to again and again, is the “language” of communication between royalty and their subordinates. By “language” I refer to the broadest sense of the word, including the full range of both verbal, “non-verbal language”, and other symbolic instruments which are “seamlessly interwoven in a communicative and expressive texture and are mutually interdependent for their interpretation”(Downes, 1984: 277). As Geertz notes on this plethora of symbolic instruments of communication exercised by royal courts: “The state drew its force..from its imaginative energies, its semiotic capacity to **make inequality enchant**” (Reid, 1993: Vol 1, 174).

The contrast between the two cultures as regards the “language” governing the interaction of commoners with kings became more concrete when ambassadors followed traders. Traders were flexible in adapting to local customs. Ambassadors were bound by their own “etiquette”, which reflected accepted social and cultural norms in their countries. The question therefore came up of how ambassadors of foreign kings or states should approach and address the kings in the countries of the region.

The famous ambassador of Louis the XIV to the court of King Narai of Siam, Chevalier De Chamont, requested that the rules governing his address be similar to those that apply to foreign ambassadors that attended to the court of Louis the XIV. The Siamese rules were deemed far too humiliating to the person of the ambassador and, by implication, to the state, which he represented. The ritual (or custom) of addressing a Siamese King was seen as more than mere exotic etiquette.

In fact, social researchers see such highly ritualized “customs” as “very much concerned with power. Closely involved with objectification and legitimization of an ordering of power as an assumption of the way things really are, **ritualization is a strategic arena for the embodiment of power relations**”. (Bell,1992: 170). What were rejected were the power relations that were implied by such rituals.

The following report can illustrate why these addressing rituals could not be accepted by foreign ambassadors: “his (the King of Siam's) subjects as well as foreigners kneel throughout an audience with hands folded and head bowed down. When addressing him they remain prostrate and their remarks bestow upon him high titles and flattering phrases”. (Lach & Van Kley,1993: 1175)

We see a reference to both the physical as well as the verbal rules of conduct.

Narrowing down to the specifically linguistic communication, the translations into English,

French, Dutch and Portuguese of excerpts from such encounters, as for example, addresses to the King, the King's titles, reports of the King's activities, etc. sounded almost incomprehensible in those languages.

We find a blunt and cynical description in the memories of Alexander Hamilton, a British trader in South East Asia, including Siam, at the end of the 17th century. He describes his impressions as follows: "The King of Siam is as fond of lofty titles as the King of Pegu. Besides his proximity with the heavenly luminaries, he is a god on earth, in whose court are to be found justice, mercy and benevolence to mankind, with such a train of senseless hyperboles. And at last, to illustrate all the rest, he is the King of the white elephant, a title that none disputes with him but the King of Pegu" (Smithies ed.,1997: 168)

A British visitor of a much later period, John Burney, (an ambassador, not a trader) who represented the British government at a period in which it enjoyed a much higher position of power, describes the translation during his audience with King Rama the III as follows: "My replies were taken in the same manner to Pya Phipot (the translator) who made them much longer by first repeating all the King's titles stating that his great excellency and infallible Majesty has been pleased to ask such a question to which I begged with all humility to submit such an answer..." (in Smithies ed.,1995: 146).

Needless to say that Burney's manner of speech was as courteous towards the King as

the English language could reasonably allow. The translation, however, was into a type of language that simply did not exist in English.

Such reports has left their mark on Western imagination and created a lasting image.

This fact can be witnessed, for example, by the popularity of the book and movie The King and I. The book, originally based on the reign of Rama the IV, the King of Siam in the mid 19th century, has, in fact, very little to do with that particular King, his personality and his policies. Rather, it is concerned with the archetypal concept of “The Oriental Despot”, a concept, which such reports as we quoted above, created over time in the minds of their Western audience.

As was noted above, part of the impact of these historical reports was the translations of various addresses to Kings or discourses about Kings, which were recorded during visits to South East Asian countries. I also mentioned impressions such as “lofty titles”, “senseless hyperbole” and “flattering phrases”. These impressions are based on translations from Thai. Such translations share an inherent weakness, which is the fact that in the original texts or verbal exchanges the language used is an exclusive “royalty language”. Since Western languages lack such a specialist language, the translators use extravagant adjectives and adverbs in their own languages in an attempt to duplicate the effect. The result can be quite different from the original.

As an example of the above point, we can look at the term “King” itself. Coming from a culture in which the concept does not exist, one might need to use a long and elaborate description with many superlatives in order to describe what a “King” is. While semantically perhaps equivalent to “King”, the impact achieved by such an attempt is different. It may sound bombastic and stretched, instead of concise and comprehensible. If one extends this example to include every offspring and sibling, every deed or act and every article of the King, then one can start to imagine the semantic gulf that exists between a language that has a specific term for each of the above and a language that doesn't.

The existence of such a special language adds a whole dimension to kingship in Thailand and its neighboring countries. For this reason, when studying the role of traditional institutions in Thailand in general, and that of kingship in particular, it would be useful to acquire an understanding of this dimension, its characteristics, its roots and its role. In this thesis however, the main objective is not a comprehensive study of the TRL itself, but a study of changes in Thai society through records of the usage of TRL.

2.2 The Concepts of “Dialect” and “Register”

The first important point to note about the Thai Royal Language is that it is characterized as a register of standard Thai. By register one means a linguistic variety the use of which

is a function of the circumstances of the communication rather the identity of the speaker, as is the case for dialects. Downes defines it as follows: “Register variation is the systematic variation of language according to its functioning in contexts of situation: it is a variation according to use, rather than user” (Downes,1984:309). The social significance of the difference between these two types of linguistic variation is far reaching. Dialects tend to reflect group identities. As Gumpertz observes: “social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language” (Gumpertz,1982: 6). Registers, on the other hand, more often reflect relations between groups, or between individuals that belong, in some dimension, to different groups. This is so because registers are based on situations and most “situations” are created, directly or indirectly, by the fact of an interaction between people of different status, background, or group. Complete social uniformity would reduce register-type language variation to a minimum. This is why attempts to create class-less egalitarian societies were always accompanied by parallel attempts to enforce linguistic habits devoid of any status-based variation. These, in fact, became attempts to devoid language of any social variation at all.

Dialects and registers, as forms of linguistic variation, imply different scenarios of social relations. Namely, dialects put a subtle emphasis on the “separateness” of the social classes, while registers help to define the relation between the social classes, thereby putting a subtle emphasis on integration.

It could indeed be claimed that while dialects tend to fragment societies into groups based on different criteria, each speaking its own dialect, registers engage all members of society as long as they all participate in the relevant situations. In the case of the TRL, it is the shaping of the relationship that matters, a fact that clearly marks the TRL as a register.

We shall see later that the form that “Royal languages” took in the West, was mostly that of a dialect. If we consider the historical observation that Western feudalism was defined by control of land, while Thai (or Southeast Asian) feudalism was defined by control of manpower (Rabibhadana, 1996: 21), these linguistic differences acquire an interesting meaning. Control of manpower, to be effective, would require a rich repertoire of linguistic and ritual instruments of social engagement (Rabibhadana, 1996: 205). Control of land means a degree of separateness, as indeed was reflected in the linguistic side.

The Thai Royal Language can therefore be defined as a register of Standard Thai reserved for use mainly in relation to royalty, but also in relation to other elevated groups such as priests or noblemen, or even divine or sacred beings such as deities. For the reason of this wider application, Smalley refers to it as the “sacred range” (Smalley, 1994: 51). As we shall see later, some researchers, such as Kanita Roengpitya, sees TRL as a part of a still broader phenomenon of “speech levels” in Thai (Roengpitya, 1973: 5). In

this study, I will focus only on the royal part of the “sacred range”, as it forms the most important, and perhaps the original, part of this “sacred range” or “speech levels”.

The “**relation**” in the above definition of TRL means either addressing (second person) or referring (third person) to a royal person. In a situation of addressing, the addressed royal person will speak in regular, but polite, Standard Thai. In one sense, this is a result of the very logic of the term register. Smalley notes of registers, that “in the social distance, social relationship and social value dimensions, speakers slip freely from one variety to another as they change speech situations. **The varieties therefore do not markedly categorize, classify, identify or characterize the speaker**” (My bolding)”(Smalley, 1984: 51). Being a register, the TRL is not a **self-categorizing** linguistic variety, to use the term proposed by Smalley, and, therefore, the Royal speaker has no need to identify himself.

In addition, there is an important point of social logic, which is related to the pivotal concept of “situation”: the royal person’s situation is not changed by his encounter with a commoner. The commoner’s is and he is the one that has to adjust himself. One can compare this to an encounter of an elephant and an ant. For the ant this is a critical situation, to which it has to adjust itself, while for the elephant it’s a non-event.

This basic point is relevant to all Southeast Asian Royal registers, and is often misunderstood by observers who often understood a royal language to be the “secret” language used by royalty, or, in other words, a dialect. One encounters this misunderstanding even in historical publications that claim to be authoritative. For example, in a book about the contemporary history of the royal dynasty in Japan, Sterling Seagrave comments as follows about Emperor Hirohito’s famous capitulation broadcast in 1945: “It was Hirohito’s first speech to his people, his voice high-pitched and reedy. Instead of speaking ordinary Japanese, he spoke court dialect, which few could understand” (Seagrave, 1999: 193). The Thai and Japanese cases are not identical, but in both cases the royal language functions as a register. The truth is the exact opposite of what Seagrave claims: royal persons would in principle not use the royal language unless addressing or discoursing about other royal persons, who are higher-ranking than they are. As I shall show in the next section, Seagrave used the term “royal language” in the same way in which it was historically used in the West.

2.3 Western Court Languages as Dialects

As I noted, the distinction between a dialect and a register differentiates TRL sharply from the Western historical sense of the term “court languages”. In the West that term usually refers to languages used in the court as contrasted with languages used by

commoners. In Europe itself, these were mostly not exclusive or “secret” languages, but prestigious languages.

Some of these prestigious dialects were local, geographic variations of the larger, but amorphous and highly splintered language of the ethnic group or region. These prestigious dialects slowly emerged in the more powerful of the many Baronages and Principalities of which large swaths of Europe were composed of until the rise of the centralized state in the 17th century. Reflecting the rising power of their speakers in comparison to the speakers of numerous other dialects, these prestigious dialects later often became the “national languages”.

Another sense of “Royal Language” was that of the adoption, by local aristocratic groups, of prestigious foreign languages, which distinguished them from the surrounding peasantry. Such a practice was common in trading ports which were exposed to external cultural influences and which were therefore attracted to the affluence of foreign Kingdoms. French was a particularly popular “Royal” language.

This second case was the pattern that survived when centralized states emerged. Once prestigious local dialects became national languages they stopped, by definition, to function as “court languages”. French, however, had a central role in Europe,

particularly “court Europe”, starting from the 17th century. Hagen Schulze, a prominent historian of the period notes that: “In this period, almost all the European states were subjected to absolutist regimes (characterized by) the general fondness for theatrical court ceremonial glorifying the Monarch and the prevalence throughout Europe of the French language....”(Schulze,1996: 61). The choice of French was in part due to the political and economic prominence of France in Europe during this period of “absolutism”.

The fact that European courts married across the continent, creating a royal extended family that spanned from St Petersburg to London, created the need for a common language to be used by all European Royals. The reason for using French as a “court language” was that it was already entrenched as the language of diplomacy and culture, and was therefore spoken by members of the upper class in all European countries.

We can see that in the Western case, the existence of a dialect-type court language simply indicates a gap between life in and out of the court. The local languages were often looked at as vulgar, the court language (French in our case) as polite and cultured.

In conclusion, the use of French as a court language concerns the world of pan-European Royalty as a secluded group and does not reveal much about the nature of relations in society in general: “19th century Royalty ...was...in essence, one large, relatively knit international family. Dynastic marriages shuffled Royal personnel across

the face of Europe, one consequence being that **Royalty to an extent existed apart from the societies over which they reigned. They were not rooted in the soil as is the House of Windsor (my bolding) ”.**(Hayden,1987: 42) In the Thai case, on the other hand, the existence of a register-type court language defines the relation between members of the court and commoners in particular, and the structures of hierarchy in society in general, and therefore concerns society at large.

2.4 Situational Linguistic Practices in Western Courts

Even though the understanding, as well as practice, of the concept of “court language” in the West tends to be dialect-oriented, it would not be correct to say that there are no traces of “speech levels” that relate to the monarchy in Europe. These speech levels are, however, very limited in scope, lack clear rules of usage and are not regular. They are far too scant to be characterized as a “register”. Mostly they are concerned with polite forms of address applied towards royal persons, but even these are highly diluted today. Records from periods in which the monarchy was at its height do not point to any distinctive register, which subsequently atrophied.

If there is one model in historical Europe that may remind us of the language and etiquette of royalty in Southeast Asia it is that of Byzantium. But this example proves the

gap rather than any similarity. Byzantium, the inheritor of the eastern territories of the Roman Empire, was viewed by West Europeans with the same degree of bewilderment that they later displayed when encountering Southeast Asia. It was viewed as being “the East”, until they later reached further to Asia. And it was the same phenomenon of a **complicated ritualistic code that surrounded a hard-to-access monarchy** that created this sense of bewilderment. This bewilderment has led to numerous theories on the relation between the ritual-intensive Byzantine Kingship and the eventual fall of Byzantium. Similar theories were later developed as regards under-development in Asia, often using the same conceptual tools that were earlier applied to Byzantium.

Nevertheless, there are no records of a distinctive royal register in Byzantium, even though royal records tended to use “a formal style, placing a high premium on strictly codified systems... preferring archaising language far removed from the forms of everyday speech” (Cannadine & Simon, 1992: 132). We see a similar lexical strategy as we will later in TRL, that of drawing on archaic words and keeping away from daily speech. This still does not amount to a grammatically separate register such as TRL, though it contains many of its components and could eventually develop in a similar direction. In Southeast Asia the “Byzantine-like ritualism” took a further step by entrenching itself into the language.

In Western Europe, as I mentioned, the impact of the elevation of royalty on language amounted only to a scant layer of etiquette. We can best see this in the British case, where an attempt to preserve the monarchy kept these issues at the center of public interest. The enclosed example can illustrate the general norms as well as the actual situation, based on a British publication, "Royalty Annual", which published the following recommendation at the start of Queen Elizabeth's reign: "There is no code of conduct (as to how to behave and speak in the presence of the Queen-my comment) set down in black and white. Members of the Royal Household, if pressed, will perhaps suggest that you should speak when spoken to, and that you should reply saying 'Your Majesty'- but that then 'Ma'am' would be quite proper. It would be courteous to step away from the Queen without turning your back on her. You would best, if you are a lady, make a curtsy, if a man, make a short bow of the head..."(Tomlinson,1994: 2-3) .

The survey of the situation of the British Monarchy, in which this citation was brought, notes that even this very basic show of respect is often not followed. Such comments refer to the situation in the present or the contemporary past. It is important to note again that this present informality contrasts with a more elaborate etiquette, in manners as well as in language, in the more distant past, but that this elaborate etiquette did not amount to being a separate linguistic entity. This elaborate etiquette did include one additional important situational linguistic characteristic, which will be reviewed in the next section.

2.5 The Court Language of Chivalry

An interesting study of the language used in 18th century English Royal courts points to some elements of a “court language” which go beyond mere addressing forms and basic politeness. This study points to these speech elements as a **direct expression** of a feudalistic world-view that includes a patron-client pattern of social relations. The following excerpt demonstrates the point: “A defining characteristic of courtly-genteel prose is its reliance on a small number of abstract, almost technical terms derived from the social environment of the court. A courtier, simply by being a courtier, is **obliged** to **serve** his noble lord, part of whose responsibilities in turn are to extend **favor** to those of his henchmen who **deserve** it and confer **honor** in return for suitable quantities of merit. In this relationship, superior and inferior alike have an **interest** in maintaining a balance between **duties** owed and **obligations** incurred. We recognize courtly-genteel prose by its reliance on the words italicized here, plus a few related ones. They are the names of variables in terms of which status is conferred and manipulated; they are verbal counters for the politics of dependency”(McIntosh, 1986: 69-70).

The use of courtly language here means the application of “specialized” terms that concern the nature of social relations in a court-centered society and the core of its underlying world-view. There is a logical limitation here: A “situation” is what creates a register, but if a register that is defined by a certain situation contains nothing but lexical

terms that define the very nature of that “situation”, then the definition is tautological.

Looked at from another angle, it might be seen as a very narrow specialized “professional” vocabulary, but not as a full register. In any case, the findings of this study, based on an extensive survey of literature of the period, are relevant for our case: they point to what might be the hard core of any register-type royal language which is more extensive.

2.6 The British Case and the Role of a Court Language as a Symbolic Shield

We have seen the elements of etiquette and of chivalry as the skeleton of a European Royal register that never came to be. Not only that, but in Britain, where there is an attempt to preserve the role of the monarchy (in a constitutional mode), we often find quite the opposite, which is debasing language.

The present state of the monarchy in Britain and its relations with the press have sparked a debate concerning its future and possible (if any) role. This public debate has brought into sharp relief questions that can offer interesting angles on any of today’s surviving monarchies, and, more specifically, on our own examination of the Thai Royal Language.

An important angle on what might be the *raison d'être* of a royal register, besides the terminology of chivalry and honor (and the worldview that it reflects) or the need for social etiquette, is the problem of how to preserve the symbolism of the monarchy and of Monarchs. How to reconcile the mortal, flesh-and-blood reality of the person of the King with the exalted attributes that he is expected to represent. I will look at some commentary about the British monarchy, which is very relevant to our discussion. One commentator observes that “Much of the appeal of the Queen as symbol derives from her personhood, but **the messiness of being a person must not be allowed to intrude upon the dignity of the institution of Queenship.** The Queen cannot be shown sitting on the edge of her bed clipping her toenails. The messiness of the person is, of course, traceable to the possession of a body. Bodies are subject to their ineluctable rhythms. Yet the Queen’s physical and **potentially embarrassing body** does not detract from her appeal. Rather, it enhances it. She is human but does not “**screw up**”. (my bolding)(Hayden, 1987: 10)

I believe this connection goes to the heart of the question of “what is the motivation behind the existence of a royal register”. As the above citation points out, there is a gap between the symbolic meaning of the institution and the fragility and mortality of the person. That would be less of an issue if the position and its occupants were clearly separated. Yet, kings are more highly identified with their “position” than any other

“officer of the state”. Today’s monarchy depends on hereditary lineages without the continuity of which it is doubtful that the institution would survive.

But if kingship and the individual king are inseparable, then how do you avoid the King or Queen’s “potentially embarrassing body” as the British citation above puts it, or how do you avoid the fact that at the end of the day a royal person is a person, flesh and bones.

The existence of a royal register partially tackles this issue. **The register semantically redefines the “essence” of what a Royal person is** and, therefore, how such a Royal persons should be addressed or referred to in the third person.

If we go back again to the interesting citation above, a statement that “The Queen cannot be shown sitting on the edge of her bed clipping her toenails” would simply not be sayable as it is in Thai. The statement sounds vulgar and out of place in English, but it is perfectly grammatical and has nothing wrong. The bracketed statement “The queen doesn’t screw up” is bracketed precisely because it is even more offensive, but, again, it is correct grammatically and is perfectly “sayable”. In Thai these are not “sayable” statements, even though they apply to a foreign monarch. This would be true even if they were applied to an enemy monarch. . A Thai translator would have great difficulty translating such a text as the above even if he has very little respect for the British monarchy. This is because the Royal register applies to Royal persons of any nation, not only Thailand and without setting any criterion on what a royal person is, besides the fact

of being recognized as such in the general public. The Royal register shields Royal persons from being compromised through the use of daily language that is used for all other people by separating them as different beings.

In the case of the TRL, we can realize this point most clearly in occasions where both Royal persons and commoners are performing the same actions or using the same articles. For example, when both have to sign a document, the description will be doubled: ลงนามและพระนาม/loNnaamiE↔phra↔naam/'sign the name and the Royal name'. It is almost comparable to a description of two different species, in which, for example "men shouted and dogs barked". The use of the separate vocabulary relates directly to the nature of the actor.

An alternative approach to that of complete separation between being a commoner and being royal is, paradoxically, to embrace the inherent contradiction between the majesty of the crown and the fragility of being human . That was part of the "solution" in the British case. It was said about the Windsors that "superficially, the Royal family's appeal was based on the ceremonies and Royal robes, which were gradually being discarded by the surviving continental dynasties. At a deeper level, however, it was the contrast between the majesty of the Royal spectacle and the Windsors shortcomings as 'ordinary people' which sustained their popularity" (Tomlinson, 1994: 107). According to this point of view, the monarchy, as the representative of cherished traditions, of "nostalgia", of

“the good old values of the past”, has to be able to “touch” the hearts of people. A combination between majesty and ritualistic symbolism on the one hand and familiarity and warmth on the other, are important for a right balance. In Chapter six I will discuss the relevance of this approach to the Thai case.

2.7 The Thai Royal Language as a Register

In the previous sections I attempted to position the TRL in comparison to other forms of royal speech. I concluded that the TRL is a register, namely that its use is a function of the context of speech rather than the identity of the speaker.

Scholars list a number of situational circumstances that can distinguish registers, as follows: 1) Place of the linguistic exchange. 2) Timing of the linguistic exchange. 3) The relations between the participants in the linguistic exchange. 4) The topic of the linguistic exchange. 5) The purpose of the communication. 6) The method or media of communication. (Prasithrathsin, 1998: 103). Either of these abstracted circumstances is sufficient in itself to distinguish registers, but in practice they often work in combinations, as they co-define complex social situations.

The Thai Royal Language is defined by either the third or fourth of the conditions, namely either by the relations of the participants in a linguistic exchange or by the topic of a linguistic communication, as follows: In the first case, at least one of the participants is of a sufficiently high royal status; the other participants are either commoners or person of a lower royal rank. The linguistic exchange is hierarchical: The Thai Royal Language is deployed when looking upwards in the hierarchy. Looking downward, common daily language is used. A linguistic exchange between a royal person and a commoner will be conducted therefore in TRL by the commoner and common language by the Royal person. In a linguistic exchange between two royal persons of different ranks, the person holding the lower rank should use the forms of speech that correspond to the rank of the person with whom he communicates. In the second case, the TRL is used in a third person discourse about Royal persons. This type of situation is often called a “reference”. The same rules of being an upward looking register apply here too. A Royal person speaking about himself or other, lower ranking, royal persons would not use TRL. It will be used by commoners in a discourse about royal persons, or by a lower ranking Royal person discoursing about higher-ranking persons.

The only exception to the above is the case of commoners performing an act that is directed towards a royal person. Coming in touch with a royal person requires the use of words that emphasize the relative humble status of the addressing commoner. Special

vocabulary is required to describe a commoner who visits a royal person, gives something to him, asks him for something or approaches him.

In any case, as we can see, **the main feature of the context to which the usage of TRL refers itself is the system of hierarchy in society.** A full understanding of what is communicated by the TRL requires study of the main relevant features of this system of hierarchy. This, however, would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.8 Identification of the Linguistic Variables Used by the TRL as a Register

In the previous section I characterized the TRL as a register. Generally speaking, any linguistic variable or marker can differentiate language variants, registers as well as dialects. Phonetic, lexical and grammatical means are all used for the purpose of linguistically differentiating a social group or a set of social circumstances.

In his study of linguistic diversity in Thailand, Smalley (1994) carefully lists distinctive features that belong to each of these three categories. All three play a role in marking different registers or dialects of the Thai language: “ Speakers select among varieties along the social distance dimension according to such factors as the formality or intimacy of a situation, the degree of public or private character it has, and the closeness

of the relationship between the speakers. A speaker will quickly change from one of those varieties to another in response to ever changing social situations. **The varieties are marked, among other things, by the degree of grammatical elaboration, simplification or contraction.** Speakers select among varieties along the social relationship dimension according to the kind of status and roles they have with respect to each other.**Social relationship varieties are strewn with words that imply deference or superiority in various degrees....**Speakers select among varieties ranging from elegant to vulgar along the social value dimension..**Social value dimensions are marked primarily by vocabulary choices.** Speakers use varieties associated with their class and rank along the social status dimension. ..**Social status varieties categorize the speakers themselves in ways that previously described varieties do not. Pronunciation differences are often important markers of social status varieties”** (Smalley, 1994: 52-53). Smalley attempts to broadly relate, but not to explain, the use of phonological, grammatical and lexical marking to types (or “dimensions”) of linguistic variation.

The TRL is mostly seen as a register that relies on the differentiation of vocabulary as its main strategy. Grammatical differences exist only in the case of various prefixes, which the TRL utilizes to temporarily appropriate some Standard Thai words (Smalley, 1994: 57).

In other words, these grammatical differences relate to the lexical rather than the syntactical aspect of language use. Some publications view the TRL as being more than a separate vocabulary, but rather as being correct or polite language in general (“The

Thai Royal Language”, 1995: 5). If correct, we might consider style as reflected in sentence structure as a part of the TRL. In practice, however, only lexical markers are specified. Studies that aim at correcting mistakes in TRL use, such as the work of Woranan Aksornpong (Aksornpong 1995), often refer to various stylistic deficiencies in TRL use in the media, but these deficiencies almost always turn out to be lexicographic, rather than grammatical. The only area in TRL where sentence structure is specified is in the case of opening and closing sentences of an address to the King or a senior Royal person (“The Thai Royal Language”, 1995: 199-221). There are no rules as to sentence structure or style in the case of usage as reference. There is, however, a general tendency to use elaborate sentence structures and repeat certain phrases or forms, both of which are phenomena symptomatic of “frozen” languages (Prasithratsint, 1998: 156).

Even though the TRL works through the lexical aspect of the language, it does not cover every part of the lexicon. Its application is limited to pronouns, nouns and verbs. There are some occasional extensions to prepositions and adjectives, but these are very few and insignificant. Also, as regards the categories that it covers, such as verbs and nouns, the TRL does not attempt to cover all the nouns or verbs in the language, by having a complete parallel lexicon. Quite to the contrary, it has a very limited vocabulary in these areas and the number of additional words that it normally would mark through various prefixes is also of a rather limited range. Furthermore, not only is the “exclusive” TRL vocabulary small, but its “exclusivity” does not extend to word-roots. Namely, there

are numerous Standard Thai words, which share their root with exclusive TRL words.

Only a very small part of the TRL vocabulary, mainly verbs derived from Khmer, is completely separate from Standard Thai. By “completely separate” I mean not only that these word roots are currently not being used in standard Thai, but that such use would be frowned on. The majority of TRL words in usage are prefixed Standard Thai words. TRL uses a number of prefixes that can, in theory, transform every verb and noun in the language into TRL words. In practice not every word is amenable to such a transformation, especially words that are perceived as slang, as vulgar or as unsuitable because of their subject matter. These de-facto restrictions are often seen as a part of the TRL’s wider role as a “style” as contrasted to a mere specialized vocabulary.

Another aspect of the TRL as a style is also concerned with lexical issues, but from a different angle. As we noted above, the TRL works mainly through the lexical aspect of the language. Certain ideas have different words in TRL while other ideas can be expressed by pre-fixing some Standard Thai words. But still, **translating a Standard Thai text into TRL will involve, besides the process of vocabulary conversions, also a process of pruning down the extent and the depth of detail.** The conversion to TRL will tend to limit the number of shades of meaning that can be expressed. In normal language we have a great number of words to describe different objects and different actions that we see and different feelings that we experience. Thai is particularly rich in vocabulary, which can express minute semantic nuances. The tendency, in Standard

Thai, to utilize word sequences in which two particles of very similar semantic meaning are combined, so as to create certain subtle emphasis, reflects this need to fine tune linguistic expression. This is not the case for TRL. Rather than subtle shades, it will produce stark primary colors. Compared to art, it can be compared to minimalist as opposed to impressionist art. **If the number of verbal tools that we have at our disposal to describe a certain reality is sharply reduced, this reality, by being less expressible, becomes more distant.** The respect and awe that the TRL attempts to build into our view of Royalty is achieved by extremely economizing in what can be expressed. This characteristic of the TRL is closely linked to the stylistics of one of its major vehicles: The Royal Chronicles. This economy of expression of the TRL throws its shadow on the modern “chronicler” of current events: the mass media. In a forum where verbal creativity, if not acrobatics, is the rule, reports of royal activities appear repetitive and stern in their expression.

To summarize, the TRL works as a register by establishing its own separate vocabulary for pronouns, nouns and verbs. This separate vocabulary uses both completely exclusive TRL words as well as Standard Thai words which are marked by distinctive TRL prefixes. The fact that the TRL works on the lexical aspect of the language is closely linked to its strong normative side, which prescribes usage strictly and which protects it by strong “taboos” as well as by the law. Registers or dialects, which were created or are backed by institutions with power and prestige, are more likely to rely on lexicon,

because it is the aspect of language that is most easy to communicate and explain to large numbers of people, as well as the most easy to control. We also noted that the TRL is distinguishable by style: elaborate sentences on the one hand and extreme economy in the expression of details and shades of meaning on the other.

2.9 Modelling the TRL as a Power Mandala

In the previous sections I showed that the TRL is a register. I mentioned pronominals, nouns and verbs. In this section I would like to examine the relationships, in terms of precedence, between these three groups. The discussion will be based on a modeling of the TRL which compares it to a power mandala. The power-mandala metaphor has been extensively used to describe the political systems of traditional South-East Asia. It offers a hierarchical view of social systems in which the different components are arranged in terms of their distance from a focal power center, and in which the closer these components are to that center, the more power is exercised on them from it. Such models can be contrasted with, for instance, functional models of social relations. In the case of TRL, we can use these conceptual tools to look at linguistic lexical groups instead of looking at kingdoms and their tributaries. According to the model as applied in our case, the King acts as a source of sacredness, prestige and power in society. The sacredness of the King is projected on his immediate surroundings, including his family, his retinue, the plethora of his possessions and instruments, his deeds and his actions.

All these elements in the King's environment absorb and retain some of this sacred power. The TRL linguistically reflects the varying degrees of sacredness, which are thus projected upon different areas of the royal environment. In a model such as this, the closer you get to the actual person of the King, the more intensive does the linguistic treatment become. To understand this statement, we need to briefly clarify two questions:

- 1) How do we measure "Intensive linguistic treatment"?
- 2) What constitutes "closeness" to the person of the King?

Intensity of linguistic treatment can be inferred from a number of factors such as: 1) The elaboration of the lexical items. 2) The extent of social-hierarchical grading of the lexical items. 3) How strongly do people feel about the use of such lexical items or how strong is their taboo power? In general, the criteria used will be similar to those used by socio-linguists when distinguishing between different linguistic styles along the axis of formality-casualness. The only difference in our case is that such distinctions are applied in regards to nuances within an extremely formal linguistic register.

The question concerning "distance" has no simple and objective answer. Physical distance as such has little weight, but distance along kinship networks does have meaning. Symbolic value in terms of relevance or "conceptual proximity" to the "essence" of the royal sacredness would also constitute an important criterion. There

are, therefore, different dimensions of “distance” that can be pointed out. Nevertheless, since the register applies only to entities that are within the royal milieu, it can apply to very short “distances” from the focal figure of the King. Taking longer “distances”, one would simply go outside of the reach of the register altogether. An important auxiliary criterion to that of “distance” would therefore be that of “permanency”. Permanency would distinguish entities that are always a part of the Royal environment, those that are for extended periods of time and those that come and go. For example, royal limbs are permanently connected to a royal person, royal objects can be a part of the King’s physical environment for extensive periods of time. Some objects, such as the Royal Regalia, even transcend the span of individual reigns and exist for the duration of dynasties or even kingdoms. When looking at acts or deeds, one should distinguish between the performance of the action and the fruits or result of the action thus performed. The action itself might be short, the fruits may be seen for a long time. Acts or deeds performed by individual kings, when viewed in terms of the performance itself, are therefore relatively transitory. Seen in this light, the concept of permanency could therefore include, within itself, the different dimensions of distance that I mentioned, such as kinship networks and symbolic values, and is therefore very useful for the understanding of the workings of the language as against the backdrop of social power and sacredness.

Following this concept, pronouns would figure as the closest to the center of the power mandala, followed by nouns and, last, by verbs.

The ideas presented above do not apply to the TRL only in a static, conceptual framework. They are also translatable to the historical process of the development of the TRL. According to a study by Prapot Assavavirulhakarn (Assavavirulhakarn 1997), pronouns formed the first elements of the emerging TRL register. Pronouns were slowly augmented first by nouns, and, last, by verbs. Assavavirulhakarn notes how, even for texts written in the 18th and 19th centuries, verb use is still highly irregular, while pronoun and noun use follows a more stable pattern. Sacredness, as expressed in language, can be seen as emanating, over historical time, from the focal point of kingship and slowly encompassing a wider and wider circle of objects, persons and deeds around it. The historic dimension is of interest because longevity can strengthen linguistic habits and fortify taboos. Since we are looking at a stable and traditional political and social system which lasted without any radical changes from the 14th until the early 20th century, we can expect traditional linguistic habits to have acquired additional weight over time. The essential features of the conceptual power mandala are therefore strengthened by its historical developments.

As my purpose is to identify changes in language usage, my first priority would be to observe those parts of the register that are more likely to show variation and to respond,

through their pattern of use, to social and cultural developments. My working assumption, based on the model suggested above, is that the areas that lie furthest from the center of the linguistic power-mandala and are least entrenched historically in the language, will be more liable to such changes. The reasoning for this is primarily that getting away from the center of the mandala means weaker social taboos. At the center of the mandala, the degree of sacredness is highest, and a speaker would be most on his guard against infringing upon a taboo. Based on the previous observations, verbs would best fit this description, and for this reason I will start the presentation of my findings with this lexical category.

2.10 Royal Languages in Southeast Asia

I discussed the culture of court languages in Thailand and the region in comparison to the West. Having presented the main feature of the Thai royal language, I now wish to elaborate on the regional context. There is no one comprehensive study of the subject of royal languages in Southeast Asia, but studies conducted in different countries of the region clearly point out that the phenomenon was not uniquely Thai. Roengpitya notes that "speech levels are a specially widespread phenomenon in various languages in Southeast and East Asia"(Roengpitya,1973: 5). She points to examples from Vietnam, Burma, Philippines, Java, Korea and Japan.

While countries such as Korea and Japan did not have a continuous cultural contact with historic Siam, Vietnam, Burma, the Philippines and Java definitely did. Research about the level of contact between the various kingdoms of Southeast Asia was pioneered by historians such as Anthony Reid. In his well-known "Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680", he points to intensive commercial and cultural exchange between all parts of the region. Since the publication of this pioneering book there has been interest in studying the region as one unit, as there is growing realization that there are many common regional cultural traits, some being influences from China and India, others indigenous. The existence of "speech levels" or specifically "Royal languages" is one of those articles of common cultural heritage that can be found throughout the region.

My purpose in this section is just to illustrate the similarity between royal languages in the region, and therefore to justify the terminology which contrasts it, as a region, with the West. I did not select the obvious case of Cambodia or Laos because of the strong direct influences, in both directions, between Siam and these countries. Rather, I chose to review a study of the subject in Java, which had a weaker extent of contact with Siam, particularly after the Dutch takeover in the 17th century.

In a study titled "Language and Social Change in Java- Linguistic Reflexes of Modernization in a Traditional Royal Polity", J. Joseph Errington (1985) studies the case

of the speech levels of Javanese. The basis of these speech levels is as “reflections of aspects of the structure of elite society, and as entrée to traditional conceptions of status **as defined by distance from a King...**(a) view of social relations now largely anachronistic”(Errington,1985: 17). Like the Thai system, the Javanese speech levels are grounded in status defined in relation to the King. Unlike it, Java has been under direct Dutch rule for over 300 years, with local leaders having neither political power nor the symbolism of royal power (what did remain, however, is a strong aristocracy). On top of that, the spread of Islam, which started before the arrival of the Dutch, and might have intensified as a reaction to their presence, meant a strong egalitarian cultural influence. These circumstances distinguish the historical background sharply from the Thai case.

Errington identifies two royal-less “Royal languages”: Krama and Krama Inggil. These two languages (or “speech levels”) survived without official sanction, a fact of great interest in itself. The mechanisms of these two royal languages, each with its own area of situations in which it is applied, are, as we shall henceforth see, similar to the Thai case: “nonreferential or social meaning distinguishes the significance of the different Javanese speech levels; they are styles of speaking distinguished by alternations between different words with identical referential meanings...**a number of words (and some affixes) are made to carry in addition to their normal linguistic meaning what might be called a ‘status meaning’** i.e., when used in actual conversation they convey not only their fixed denotative meaning (“house”, “body”, “eat”, “walk”, “you”) but also a connotative

meaning concerning the status of (and/or degree of familiarity) the speaker and the listener” (Errington,1985: 7-8). The two elevated speech levels, Krama and Krama Inggil, are both known well by people in the traditional areas of East Java, and are clearly recognized as what they are. Usage is not unconscious.

Krama is the less formal variant, being more a register of politeness, in which status differences between speaker and addressee or referent are not as big as in the TRL. It could perhaps be compared to the stylistics of Thai when addressing a teacher, a doctor or a superior at work. In both cases the linguistic mechanisms are not exclusively based on vocabulary: "Krama is polite language. Its words are generally longer than their ngoko (the so called "daily" language-my comment) equivalents, with a preponderance of closed final syllables; normatively it is smoothly uttered with modulated pitch and stress change; it is permissive of lengthy and frequent pauses when speaking. As is the sensible feeling of the latter speech style, so is the kind of interaction in which it is normatively presupposed: with non-intimates and superiors, and when one wishes to act with maximal care in social context" (Errington,1985: 11).

The second speech level, Krama Inggil, bears a much more striking similarity to the TRL. Its level of deference to addressee or referent is stronger and it relies, in comparison to Krama, primarily on vocabulary: "The most basic functional commonality of all Krama Inggil words is that they are used to mark deference for a person spoken of (a referent),

who may or may not be the person spoken to (an addressee). This is why **the semantic range of Krama Inggil words is limited precisely to persons-possessions, relations, body parts, actions, and states**-and why they have a combinatory freedom which contrasts with that of ngoko, madya and Krama.”(Errington,1985: 13). Errington also notes that in case of an asymmetric exchange both variants utilize a top-down style; namely, the inferior in the exchange using the high or polite form, while the superior using “low” or common daily speech (see also Prasithratsint,1998: 104). To summarize, we see that the Javanese speech level Krama Inggil behaves in a strikingly similar way to TRL. The Javanese also distinguish a lower level of polite language, known as Krama, which is clearly distinguishable from Krama Inggil. This can be compared to the Thai case, in which there is a growing attempt to see TRL as including “polite language”, thus categorizing the strict language which is used in reference to royalty and “polite language” as two related parts of one whole. The striking similarity between TRL and Krama Inggil is a clear indicator of the regional nature of the phenomenon of royal languages. As we saw, this linguistic form contrasts sharply with the way royalty has been treated in the West.

2.11 Summary

In this chapter I characterized the TRL as a register, namely, as a linguistic variant the use of which is a function of the context of speech rather than the identity of the speaker.

As a register, the TRL is used in the second and the third person, that is, when speaking to or about a royal person. I also identified the linguistic area through which the TRL operates as the lexicon of the language.

I compared the TRL to Western court languages, and found that the main difference between them lies in the very fact that in the Western sense a court language is a dialect as contrasted with a register. In other words, in the West, court language is the language spoken by royal persons. In Southeast Asia on the other hand, I found very similar linguistic phenomena to that of the TRL and I examined the case of the Javanese in detail.

Even though there are no Western court registers comparable to TRL, the questions of how to linguistically treat royalty did come up in various publications about the British monarchy. In these publications the linguistic vulnerability of royalty in the west is discussed vividly and in detail and one can get a clear sense of the important function that TRL fulfills in monarchies such as Thailand.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW ABOUT THE TRL, AND ABOUT MODERNIZATION VERSUS TRADITION IN THAILAND

In this Chapter I will briefly review some of the books which served as the sources of ideas, and information, which were incorporated in this thesis. The subject of the thesis is changes in social and cultural values as reflected in the usage of the TRL in newspapers from 1930 to the present. The background reading was designed so as to gain a better understanding of the TRL on the one side and changes in social and cultural values in Thailand on the other side. The first part; namely, the TRL, is a relatively well-defined subject. My reading included texts related directly to the subject with the addition of some more general books about kingship rituals, rituals, court languages and linguistics. I will limit the review here to the books directly related to the subject of the TRL. The ideas and information which I gathered about court rituals, rituals, court languages and linguistics are incorporated in Chapter three of this thesis, which presents the essential features of the TRL in a comparative context. The second part of this literature review will relate to the subject of changes in social and cultural values. As this subject is extremely broad, I will take this opportunity to narrow it down and define more specifically the type of social and cultural values on which I will focus.

3.1 Books and Papers about the Thai Royal Language

Very little pure academic writing is available about the subject of TRL. The majority of literature available is in the form of numerous commercial TRL guides and dictionaries whose aim is to educate the public about this subject with the explicit purpose of fostering correct usage. I myself tried to rely whenever possible on the TRL guide “ราชาศัพท์/raachaasa[↑]p/’the Thai Royal Language’ published by the Ministry of Education, which was recommended by the Royal Institute and my advisor as the most exhaustive and most correct source about the TRL vocabulary and rules of usage.

An important additional source of such information has been Woranan Aksornpong study entitled “The Use of the Thai Royal Language”(in Thai) published in 1985. Aksornpong’s book on TRL attempts to identify common mistakes in the use of TRL in the media and to suggest corrections. The main part of the book is devoted to a detailed exposition of the system of social hierarchy which underlies the use of TRL as well as of the linguistics mechanisms of the TRL, separated into the various groups of words such as pronouns, nouns and verbs. In this part, which constitutes the biggest part of the volume, there is no attempt at analysis but rather at comprehensiveness, which surpasses most other publications on the subject..

In the empirical section, Aksornpong offers transcripts from radio, newspaper and television broadcasts of court events. She intentionally avoids news issued originally by

the Royal Bureau so that she can capture “natural” usage of TRL as much as possible. Her preference is for radio broadcasts because the reporters are under greater pressure to describe the events at length so that the listeners can imagine them. The reporters therefore have to strain their language skills more than in television, where the pictures aid the narrative.

The main focus of Aksornpong’s work is therefore on correctness or incorrectness of usage and the main part of the work is devoted to establishing what the correct usage is. In contrast, this thesis, though also looking at usage in the media, does not compare usage to standard and does not strive to establish what the standard is, but rather looks at usage as is.

Two additional important source texts on TRL are: 1) “Some observations about the Thai Royal Language” by M.R. Saensuree Ladawan published in the Thai language textbook “ชุมนุมทางภาษาไทย” in 1974. 2) The transcript of the public debate about TRL, held in 1978, in which the participants were M.R Kukrit Pramot, Nilawan Pintong and Prasai Ratchaibun.

Ladawan’s article looks closely at the history of TRL, especially in regards to the question of the origins of TRL. The main question is whether it originated in Ayutthaya, inspired by Khmer influences or whether it goes further back, to the time of Sukhothai or

perhaps before. Her conclusions are in favor of the theory of early origin, predating Sukhothai. Based on a skeletal form of court speech that dates from early Tai history, additional vocabulary was borrowed over time, expanding the range of expression of the register.

Of the same concern is the discussion whether the first Ayutthayan code of law, the “Law of the Civil Hierarchy”, which contains the first known set of instructions as to the usage of TRL, originated from the time of the King Boromtrailokanat (1448-1488), or from the time of King U Thong or Ramathibodi I who founded Ayutthaya in 1351. While most historical texts ascribe the code of law to King Boromtrailokanat (Wyatt 1982; 73), Laddawan advances arguments in favor of dating it to the period of King U Thong. This effectively would move the origins of TRL to a much earlier period, as it is clear that the codification of TRL in the Law of Civil Hierarchy is based on existing conventions at that time.

In addition to historical observations, Laddawan’s article contains numerous recommendations for correct usage and clarifications on the meaning of a number of TRL terms.

The debate led by M.R. Kukrit Pramot (Pramot 1978) focuses on the future rather than the history of the TRL. An important issue being discussed is the correctness of the use

of the prefix พระ/phra↔/ for new TRL noun creation. Pramot voices strong arguments against such usage because, in his opinion, it cheapens the register by making new words a technicality; namely, any Thai noun can be converted to TRL by simple prefixation. He prefers that new noun creation be based on existing TRL words to which a Standard Thai word is added in order to create the correct meaning.

Other issues in the debate concern correct usage in different situations.

The only academic research work I found which is devoted entirely to the issue of TRL and which is not concerned with the issues of correct or incorrect usage is “A Semantic Study of Royal and Sacredotal Usages in Thai” by Kanita Roengpitya, which was submitted as a part of her Doctor of philosophy degree in the University of California in Berkley in 1973.

Relying on Chafe’s works in semantics, Roengpitya attempts to link royal and sacerdotol speech levels in Thai to underlying socio-cultural factors. Important socio-cultural factors are the circumstances of communication, the relation between the speaker and the addressee, and, in case a third person is referred to, between the speaker, the addressee and the person being referred to. Roengpitya’s hypothesis is “that speech levels are surface manifestations resulting from the interactions of semantic variables of both sentence and discourse structure”(Roengpitya,1973: 14-15).

After proposing her basic claim and its theoretical foundations, Roengpitya then sets out to systematically list out the various semantic features or socio-cultural factors that determine royal and sacerdotal speech levels. Her study can serve as an excellent tabulation of the different conditions that determine TRL usage. Roengpitya shows that in actual usage, there is a far larger number of situational nuances which affect TRL speech than those prescribed by TRL standard dictionaries. I used the word “nuances” because the broad domain is still defined by the “normative” situations. Roengpitya refers to such situations as “semantic features which are involved in the application of speech levels”. According to Roengpitya, “these semantic features include features which determine the status of the speaker, of the addressee, and of the referent in relationship to each other and whether the persons are superior, equal or inferior to each other. These features are those of identity: class, rank, age, generation, sex, personality, attitude towards the addressee or the referent, and current social positions which may include their education, career, economic standing, etc. Other features include the social relationship existing between the speech participants or between either of them and the referent, for example, varying relationships within the family, either by blood or by marriage, those between friends, colleagues, teacher and student, employer and employee, civil servant or policeman and civilian, civil or military personnel, and so forth. In certain cases the presence or absence of ingroupness and intimacy have to be taken into consideration. Other relevant factors to interpersonal interaction include time and place of the discourse, for instance, in a formal or informal situation, in a ceremony, in a social gathering, in a

class, at an office, at home, etc. In the event a third party is present, it is more than likely that his status will be considered”(Roengpitya,173: 28-29).

The variability of usage, which Roengpitya refers to, would include the subject of this thesis, which is usage in newspapers, as one specific case of an aggregate of “semantic features”. Her findings tend to contradict the common view of the TRL as a non-variable language that “never changes”. This claim is often related to a classification of the TRL as “frozen language”. The term “frozen language” was developed by the linguist Martin Joos, as one of five main linguistic styles, which he identified. Prasithratsint (1998: 156) defines it as “a linguistic style which is used with a great deal of care or in very important occasions; a style which is symbolic, reflecting the culture and history of the speaker’s society; a style to be used with well-known or **highly honored people to whom the speaker has to show a great deal of respect**; a style that is not used in daily life, but in high literature or in **ceremonial occasions**. The linguistic characteristics of TRL are that it uses **fancy language, elaborate words**, decorated with poetic style which common people might not understand, and uses complex sentence structures. An important characteristic of frozen language is that its usage is often fixed formulas that cannot be changed. **What was used in the past is what will be used in the future**”.

The TRL tends to match the above definition in many senses, except the point about the occasion of use; namely, the restriction that it is “not used in daily life, but in high

literature or in ceremonial occasions". Usage in newspapers obviously belongs to a different set of occasions. The fact that usage is not restricted by occasion per se introduces the possibility of variability based on many nuances of different situational occasions, which are not fully controlled. Roengpitya's work demonstrates this variability in great detail. In that, her work supports the underlying assumption of this thesis. After all, If variability in usage is determined by such a large number of possible variables, often very subtle, as she listed in the above citation, then it could be expected that a major potential "semantic feature" such as the general political and socio-economic situation, will also have an impact.

Roengpitya's study also offers English translations and in depth explanations of some central TRL usages and the circumstances that trigger their usage. In that she made an important contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon by non-Thai speakers.

Her study is not based on systematic empirical data collection but on her own personal knowledge and that of her colleagues. Since the work is arranged as a logical system constructed of a series of interrelated conditions (socio-cultural factors) that determine certain results (speech levels), empirical data is, in a sense, external to it. In any case, obtaining empirical data that would substantiate that, for example, "when certain conditions are fulfilled, then certain speech levels would be used, but when other conditions are fulfilled then other speech levels would be applied", would be extremely

difficult if not impossible to get. Formal and systematic observation would, by definition change the speech levels because it would be an additional determining condition.

Additional background information and understanding about TRL were derived from a group of papers published for the conference on “The Thai Royal Language and Thai Society” organized by the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 1997. The conference proceedings included four papers, which were presented: 1) “Khmer words in the Thai Royal Language” by Kanchana Nacasakul. 2) “The origins and the historical development of the Thai Royal Language” by Prapot Assavavirulhakarn. 3) “the Thai Royal Language in translation” by Vinita Dithiyon. 4) “Observation about learning and teaching the Thai Royal Language” by Sa-Ang Damnoensawad.

In the paper ‘Khmer words in the Thai Royal Language’, Nacasakul shows the complex pattern of influence which Khmer exerted on the development of TRL. Contrary to some views, the borrowing from Khmer was both from the Khmer Royal language and from regular spoken Khmer and not from one or the other only. This might indicate that borrowings were done at different levels and at different periods of time, rather than made in one event.

The paper “The origins and the historical development of Rachasap” by

Assavavirulhakarn is the only academic research paper that I found which tackles these

issues systematically. Assavavirulhakarn demonstrates why the existence of TRL in Thai society must have antedated the emergence of both Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, and why it must therefore be rooted in Thai society rather than being a wholesale import from the Khmer empire. On this issue, Assavavirulhakarn adopts the same view proposed by Laddawan in her paper mentioned above. While acknowledging the heavy influences of Khmer on TRL, Assavavirulhakarn uses both historical and sociological arguments to claim that in the main, the phenomenon is an indigenous one.

Assavavirulhakarn also sketches the expansion of the vocabulary of TRL from pronominals to nouns and verbs, using Thai texts from different periods of the Sukhothai and Ayutthaya Kingdoms. His view of TRL verbs as a late addition to TRL, the use of which, up to today, is less systematic than nouns and pronouns, has been incorporated extensively in this thesis. His description of the expansion of the TRL vocabulary over different lexical categories is the basis for my modeling of the TRL as a power mandala.

According to this model, the center of the “mandala” of TRL is the King and the royal family, represented linguistically by pronominals, the second level is objects and abstract entities which belong to the King and the Royal family, represented by nouns, and the third and last are actions by the King and the Royal family, represented by verbs.

In the paper “The Thai Royal Language in Translation” Vinita Dithiyon discusses the problems confronting translators from foreign languages who translate texts which have foreign royalty as the main subjects. The question is whether TRL should be used as it would have been used in texts about Thai royalty or not. According to Dithiyon, official texts or documentary texts relating to real events should use approximately the same TRL as used in Thai for Thai royalty. In works of fiction however, her opinion is that only sketchy use, enough to create the ambience of royalty is enough. Full translation into TRL might impair and slow the flow of the narrative and is not necessary. These observations are of great interest because it demonstrates that the use of TRL is not only about “special words for Royalty” but it carries with it a literary style with its own pace, and its own way of presenting characters. A full correct translation might imply the imposition of a style that will completely transform the translated text. Dithiyon suggestion on translations has focused my attention on the aspects of TRL that are not spelled out in TRL guides, such as its limitation on the range and level of detail of literary expression as well as its tendency to slow down the pace of communication with its elaborate honorific formulas.

In the article “Observation about learning and teaching the Thai Royal Language”, Damnoensawad surveys all the different stages at which TRL is taught in schools and universities. According to her, the teaching of TRL starts from early elementary education, as a part of teaching of polite speech, and goes all the way to university

level, where it is taught as a part of advanced Thai language courses. Thais are therefore exposed to TRL not only through the media and at home but consistently in every stage of their education, going from early to late elementary education, high school and university. The extent of TRL teaching through the entire length of the Thai school curriculum was an important source of information about the extent of TRL knowledge among the general population. It would have been interesting to see how this curriculum developed historically, from the period of the absolute monarchy, followed the toppling of the absolute monarchy in 1932, and the beginning of the revival of the monarchy under Marshal Sarit in 1957.

One of the problems which Damnoensawad encounters in the teaching of TRL in advanced level is conflicting opinions on the correct usage between different textbooks. She shows a number of examples of such conflicting opinions both between regular textbooks and between well-known scholars in the field. Such conflicting opinions demonstrate that the use of TRL is far from being clear cut and settled, but that there are numerous grey areas and points of contention.

The last work on the subject of the Thai Royal Language, which I wish to review, is the article "To Address the Dust of the Dust Under the Soles of the Royal Feet: A Reflection on the Political Dimension of the Thai Court Language" by Sombat Chantornvong (1991).

The article attempts to establish to what degree the usage of TRL is a part of the

unconscious use of the Thai language. Chantornvong brings enlightening examples of usage of the people which we would least expect to follow the usage, namely the group of conspirators that toppled the absolute monarchy in 1932. Chantornvong examines the literal meaning of key terms and forms of the TRL, trying to impress upon the reader the extent of the gap between royal persons and commoners, which these terms and forms, in their literal meaning, imply. He then discusses how Thais of different religious beliefs can cope with the implications of these meanings, particularly in the case of Thai Muslims. His conclusion is that, in general, Thais tend to “rationally forget”, as he puts it, the literal meanings of the TRL, using it, as it is, automatically. Chantornvong’s article was important to this thesis in two major areas: 1) The point he establishes about the unconscious usage of TRL confirms and supports my own empirical findings. 2) His emphasis on the concept of the King as a “future Buddha” corresponds to some of my own conclusions based on my data. Reading Chantornvong’s article has been one of the main inspirations for this thesis.

I did not find any other research work on TRL which studies it based on actual usage either through texts or interviews and examine it as a living language. As could be seen so far, the majority of publications on the subject are concerned mainly with the issue of correctness or incorrectness. I therefore had very little literature on the subject to refer to or to build on. I did though try to extract any clue about the logic and the structure of TRL from the publications that I mentioned, and some of the points discussed in regards

to correctness-incorrectness were used by me extensively, as for example the discussion of M.R. Kukrit Pramot about the usage of พระ/phra↔/ in TRL word creation.

3.2 Books and Articles about Modernization and Traditional Institutions in Thailand

As I noted in the introduction, the paradox of the flourishing of traditional institutions such as the monarchy in the midst of an accelerated process of modernization in Thailand has been one of the main motivating factors for selecting the study of the TRL as the subject of this thesis. A book that focused my awareness on this issue not only in Thailand, but also in South East Asia in general, has been “Political Change in South East Asia-Trimming the Banyan Tree” by Michael R.J. Vatikotis (1996). In this broad visioned book, Vatikotis, who is the editor of the respected weekly Far Eastern Economic Review, presents the issue of political change in South East Asia, focusing on the surprising vitality of traditional political institutions. This vitality stands in contrast to accepted Western paradigms about the inevitability and irreversibility of the process of change towards the formation of regimes that are molded in the image of the West. Rather than seeing traditional institutions as a temporary remnant of the past, Vatikotis sees their possible resurgence in new forms. As he puts it: “Not enough thought is given either to the possibility that for South East Asia the intrusion of Western (principally European) influence in the colonial era was the end of their history. And, more

importantly, that the end of colonial rule allowed the start of a recovery of that history”

(Vatikiotis, 1996: 31).

Vatikiotis raises the possibility that much of the visible political development that did take place did so indeed in order to please the dominant Western world and was therefore superficial and lacking true grass roots support. As Asia reacquires its self-respect, following a long period of phenomenal economic growth, so does it gain more courage to assert its traditional values and institutions. Vatikiotis points to the South East Asian talent at absorbing foreign influences, instead of clashing with them head on, but then again, reinterpreting these influences in ways that agree with the region’s own elusive but persistent sets of values. As he puts it:”The blending of tradition and modernity can lead to confusion. Perhaps this is because, as we shall see, pioneering nationalists of South East Asia adopted superficial forms of Western governments to legitimize their states in the eyes of the victorious allies in the post Pacific War era. In much the same way, finding it hard to dissent from the prevailing worldview of political legitimacy, today’s political elite are learning to assume the cloak of liberalism while having no illusions about their distinctiveness. Arguably, this is part of a longer tradition in the region of dealing with intrusive change” (Vatikiotis, 1996: 28).

In his survey of the region, the Thai monarchy, and its revival in the past few decades, serves as one of the primary examples of a traditional institution that coexists with

presumably modern institutions while exercising enormous power due to the veneration that it enjoys among the population. Vatikiotis also pays much attention to King Chulalongkorn's reforms and his policies of selecting, from the West, what was needed in order to fend off the intruding West, while preserving the main body of traditional institutions and values.

As I note, reading this book was one of the main inputs, which led me to be interested in the subject of this thesis. Vatikiotis's vision of the vitality of traditional institutions led me to wonder whether, through the study of the usage of the Thai monarchy's unique language, I would be able to gain some clues about changes in cultural and social values, which reflect the intricate dynamics of tradition versus modernity. Bearing in mind that, as Vatikiotis points out, the reality is not a mono directional track towards Western values, I thought the usage of this most tradition-imbued means of linguistic expression by a modern, and relatively free, press could offer some unique insights.

With Vatikiotis's broad view of South East Asia, and extensive reading on the Thai case, I thought it would be interesting to look in more detail on a South East Asian nation with close cultural similarities to Thailand, to see whether there are similar issues of old versus new which involve the institution of the monarchy, and which might be able to shed back some more light on the Thai case. I chose the case of Laos because of the cultural affiliation to Thailand on the one hand, and the very different fate of the Lao

monarchy on the other hand. In Thailand the absolute monarchy was toppled but a constitutional monarchy replaced it, was sidelined for a while and later rebounded to become the focal point of the country's national identity. In Laos, the monarchy was rendered powerless by foreign powers, was later completely abolished by a local Lao regime, yet apparently was not completely forgotten. The lingering memories of the monarchy in Laos can offer a glimpse of the very essential fiber that links kingship with the wider population in a way that would be harder to see in Thailand.

In "The Politics of Ritual and Remembrance-Laos Since 1975" Grant Evans (1998) examines the "memory" of the monarchy in Laos. He offers : 1) An excellent comparative point of view between the development of the relations of state, nation and king in the two countries. 2) A fascinating discussion of the subtle, indirect role that Thai kingship itself seems to take in Laos.

Evans points out how, despite the forced abdication of the King Sisawang Wattana in 1975 and the establishment of a secular communist regime with strong aversion to the monarchy, and also despite the diminished role which Lao kingship played in the country's affairs, dating from the demise of Vientian in 1827 and subjugation to Bangkok and followed by the French protectorate, still there are signs of craving for a royal figure to identify with. Evans describes the quiet cults forming around a royal figure, which played a role in the Lao nationalist movement of the 1940s, namely Prince Petsarat, as

well as the nostalgia for Kings of the past, such as Sisawang Vong, who did not trigger the ire of the present communist regime.

Most interesting is evidence of a role being played by the Thai royal family as a proxy for Lao kingship. This role can be witnessed both in private people's homes where many hang pictures of the Thai King and Queen as well as in charitable activities by the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. Moreover, even in state ceremonies, the leaders of today's Laos tend to accept, according to Evans, a subtle role for the Thai royal family. Evans describes the Thai King's visit in 1994 where "the Lao president and prime minister and their wives sat on chairs at the same level as the Thai royal visitors underlining their equality, while before them sat seated on the floor.. were the Lao high officials and their wives, acknowledging their own ritual inferiority. What is striking about this occasion is the ease with which the Lao officials and their wives conformed to royal protocol, and the obvious delight they took in moving within the charmed circle of the Thai king" (Evans, 1998:112). Evans goes on to describe how the Thai King extended his Katin sponsorship of the Buddhist Sangha to Laos, and the fact that both president and prime minister of Laos were present in the merit making ceremony.

Evans's account provides, I believe, a powerful account of the grass roots power of the concept of Kingship in Theravada South East Asia, and its ability to survive, though on a low and indirect key, even against the most adversarial conditions. Against such a

comparative background, the survival of the Thai monarchy following the events of 1932 and the relatively hostile regime of Phibun Songkhram which lasted until 1957, is much better understood. Its return back to supreme position following Marshal Sarit Tanarat's active promotion is also much more comprehensible. Much has been written about the role of the active policies and the conduct of the present King in raising the profile of the monarchy. The report from Laos serves as a reminder of the powerful receptiveness to the idea of sacred Kingship on the side of the population, a receptiveness which is incorporated in deep ingrained social and cultural values.

Looking back into literature on modernization, one can see that Vatikiotis and Evans were not the first to comment on the persistence of tradition in today's Southeast Asia, though they both contributed heavily to popular recognition of these issues. Within the academic circle itself we find observations to that effect even since the early 1970's. A leading scholar in the field, S.N. Eisenstadt, remarks already in 1973 that "we witness today throughout the world a breakdown of traditional socio-political orders, this does not mean necessarily that the development system or order will be patterned according to the initial modern model that developed in Europe, that, in fact, there may arise a great variety of post traditional orders..."(Eisenstadt, 1973: 3). As for the role of tradition in modernization, Eisenstadt notes how the initial conceptual dichotomy between the two supposedly polarized states of tradition and modernity, each with characteristics which diametrically contradict the other, gave way to a more dynamic view. In such a

polarized view traditional society was seen as static, lacking in differentiation and lacking in mass participation, instead being ruled by autocratic rulers with a “mandate from heaven”. Modern society was seen as dynamic, highly differentiated and highly participatory (Eisenstadt,1973: 4). What occurred in reality was much more complex. The polarized duality of modernity and tradition was, in reality, not that “sharp”. What took place, in the academic world, was “a rediscovery of the persistence in modern or modernizing societies of strong traditions, in the sense of some binding ways of behaviour rooted, to some degree, in the past” (Eisenstadt,1973: 7) and there was a growing recognition that “within many of the new states, after the initial phases of independence whose politics were greatly shaped by modern models of politics, a new phase emerged in which older, traditional models of politics tend to reassert themselves” (Eisenstadt,1973: 7). Most important, Eisenstadt observes that tradition played a major role by being an important focus of new collective identities and as the “ultimate legitimizor of change” (Eisenstadt,1973: 9).

Eisenstadt’s observations were informed mostly by the contemporary histories of former colonies, which regained their independence in the 1940s and 1950s. The Thai case was a somewhat different one, seen by some as having been early to modernize and by others as having skipped a proper process of modernization all together. This later view has been the one to be on the ascendant in recent decades. As against general observations, such as those by Vatikiotis, Evans and Eisenstadt, about the vitality of the

traditional half of the dualism tradition-modernity, there stand, therefore, a number of Thai-specific studies which question the reality or validity of the part that pertains to modernity. The question is whether a real process of political and economic modernization ever took place and the particular point of focus is the modern Thai nation state. Craig J. Reynolds (1991) in his collection of articles "National Identity and its Defenders", Chaiyan Rajchakool (1994) in "The Rise and Fall of the Thai Absolute Monarchy", and Thongchai Winichakul (1994) in "Siam Mapped-A History of a Geo-Body of a Nation" all address this issue from various angles.

Chaiyan Rajchakool focuses on how the Thai state was forcefully cobbled together from a mosaic of semi-independent tributaries, while Craig Reynolds focuses on how the notion of one homogenous Thai nation, epitomized in the change of name from Siam to Thailand, was artificially forged out of a diverse, multi-ethnic population. Common to these studies is the wish to blow the myth of a homogenous, modern Thai nation state, and present the reality in which, according to them, both nation and state are still a work in progress, perhaps at its very initial stages. The two studies follow the lines of thought of Benedict Anderson in his controversial, but brilliant article "Study of the Thai State: The State of Thai Studies" published in 1979. That study raises serious questions about the depth of modernization in Thailand, going from the fifth reign of King Chulalongkorn to the 1970s, and sees much of the talk about modernization in Thailand as a myth.

Looking at political and social modernization and state formation in Thailand from another angle, Thongchai Winichakul (1994) , armed with the tools of discourse analysis and relativism, looks at the modern Thai nation state as an imagined construct, in which the initiative of this “imagination” comes from the center. The center imposes a conceptual framework, which by being accepted, becomes the reality. According to him “The identification ascribed to nationhood does not represent any intrinsic quality of it. It represents what it creates. The definition and domain of nationhood are not given. They are constructed, carved, inscribed, fabricated. Nor is its unity given. The identification is formed by the composition of effects of discourses which define its domain, confer meanings, or confront each other from time to time. It is always unfixed, ambiguous, self contradictory, too restricted, yet too extensive. The presence of identity is merely a temporary discursive conjuncture in which certain discourses have stabilized their hegemonic forces upon the domain” (Winichakul,1994: 173). The modern Thai nation state is therefore not simply forced or artificial, as Rajchakool and Reynolds claim, but is merely a discursive convention.

The difficulty with Winichakul's relativism is, in my opinion, that it fails to provide tools to distinguish between “successful” and “non-successful” social and political undertakings (such as modernization, economic development, etc) or between important political and economic forces and fleeting temporary ones. As for the questioning of the depth of the process of modernization by Rajchakool, Reynolds and Anderson, the discussion today

seems to have shifted to focus more on the economic than on the political and social side. While their claims may have been valid at the time of writing, there is no doubt that over the past decade we have witnessed a maturing political system in Thailand, characterized by an increased level of participation from broad segments of society. The cap on regional expression, so criticized by Anderson and Reynolds, has been released, but the result seems to be richer national cultural life, instead of segmentation. The nation, whether “imagined” as Winichakul would have put it, or “forced to be”, as Anderson and Reynolds would have put it, seems capable of absorbing its heterogeneity, expressing its opinions, adapting to new circumstances, and generally displaying many signs of life and vitality. With all its shortcomings, and I am sure that many can be pointed out, still, Thailand of 2001 seems to have shaken many of the doubts which existed in regards to its ability to change. And, as Vatikiotis observed, the monarchy seems to be an inherent part of this vibrant national life.

Working, therefore, under the assumption that modernization of the political system did take place, and is not a forced farce, I remained with the questions which Vatikiotis raised, about the flourishing of traditional institutions in spite of, and perhaps because of, modernization. An important book that helped me to clarify my thoughts on these issues and to conceptualize the hypotheses advanced in this thesis, is “Thai Society in Comparative Perspective” by Eric Cohen (1991). A collection of articles about Thai society and politics that focuses on issues of change and modernization and the unique

way in which the old and the new cohabit in Thailand. Cohen, like Vatioktis, is wondering about the validity of simplistic theories of modernization, and tries to understand the co-existence of new and old, with a focus on Thailand only.

Cohen starts by observing the contradictory views that exist regarding Thai society and the Thai world-view, such as: 1) The 'loose structure' paradigm versus the view of Thai society as rigidly hierarchical. 2) The view of Thailand as a relatively homogenous, one nation state versus the view that emphasizes its diversity. 3) The view of Thailand as adapting and modernizing versus the view that "beneath the surface of apparently radical changes the basic "traditional" sociocultural traits persisted into the modern period" (Cohen, 1991: 39) and more. Needless to say, the interest in these basic contradictions is one of the main themes in this thesis. Cohen does not attempt to resolve these questions but rather claims that the contradictions are irreducible and that the ambiguity inherent in the situation is the very quality, which allows it to survive and cope with external challenges. As Cohen puts it: "The controversy surrounding the structure and change of Thai society can thus be seen as largely a consequence of the basic ambiguity of the messages emanating from the contrasting cultural codes that may endorse polarly opposed forms of behavior. I suggest that this ambiguity and multi-stability is, in the case of Thailand, essentially irreducible. In contrast to previous researchers who have striven to resolve the problem of structure and change in Thailand by proving that either one or the other view is correct, I propose that an understanding

of the dynamics of Thai society consists precisely in the comprehension of this irreducibility” (Cohen, 1991: 42). While I accept Cohen’s basic contention of irreducibility, I would attempt to offer some comprehension of the elements that constitute this “irreducible formula”, by further developing some of the concepts that Cohen offered, but did not pursue to the end.

Cohen applies the same approach of duality in analyzing the status of the Monarchy versus the Nation in modern Thailand. According to him the concept of nation represents the unity of all members of society and therefore the horizontal principle in society whereas the monarchy represents the vertical principle, namely hierarchy and division into different groups that enjoy different status. Cohen sees King Vajiravuth’s design of the Thai flag with the colors of red, white and blue representing nation, religion and monarchy as an ingenious and enduring image of the three main forces in Thai society. With the monarchy representing hierarchy, and nation representing unity and equality, the third element, placed between them, represents the mediating ground that allows the two contradictions to coexist. Cohen points to Buddhism’s worldview, which allows it to play a role both as an equalizer, and as the definer of hierarchy. Having these two elements in one consistent world-view makes Buddhism the ultimate mediator.

In his review of how the monarchy adapted to modern political circumstances, Cohen notes that “The concept of the monarchy underwent some important changes in modern

times. Reynolds has shown that a gradual transition took place from a more mythical and cosmological to a more historical and mundane concept of the monarch as the symbol of the nation...In recent times (Thai) kingship..has come to represent for many citizens all that is sacred and valued in Thai culture and history...Much of the charisma of the later Chakri kings has thus been derived from the fact that they have come to symbolize and focus that sense of national identity and spirit their predecessors had worked to evoke and nurture” (Cohen,1991:23).

In terms of the hierarchical versus egalitarian principles stated above, the concept of monarchy as a symbol of national unity creates a situation where the monarchy plays both roles. On the one hand it symbolizes hierarchy or the vertical principle, or in still other words, tradition. The principle of an all-pervasive hierarchy has been considered as one of the main aspects of the traditional Thai worldview. In an article titled “Buddhism and the Thai World View” by Chai Podhisita, the author lists hierarchy as the first principle of the Thai world view and notes that “according to Hanks (1962) the Thai perceive that all living beings stand in a hierarchy of varying ability to make actions effective and of varying degrees of freedom from suffering” (Podhisita in Pongsapich edi., 1998: 39). On the other hand, however, the monarchy symbolizes also national unity or the horizontal principle, or modernity. This duality in the perception of the monarchy is one of the main issues I will dwell on in Chapter six of the analysis of the empirical findings. I will discuss in that Chapter the various (in fact, more than two)

concepts of Kingship, which we can refer to based on the empirical findings. This multiplicity of “Kingships” is an important constituent of the “irreducibility”, which Cohen refers to. The concepts developed by Cohen therefore underlie an important part of the framework of this thesis, and I see my work as building on the foundations he established.

To sum up the main point briefly: While pointing so vividly to the phenomenon of the durability of the institution of Kingship, Vatikiotis, Eisenstadt and Evans do not offer an explanation of its strength. Cohen takes important steps towards such an explanation, but remains on the conceptual side only, also missing some important details regarding the ways the institution has been historically perceived. The point that is missing, and which I wish to dwell on in the analysis in Chapter six, is the interplay of the different principles of kingship, which exist simultaneously in people’s perception of this institution. My claim will be that the adaptability of the institution lies in the fact that it comprises a number of independent, but still culturally synthesized, guiding principles, and that with this synthesis correctly steered by an astute monarch, it can be made to fit in with complex new political landscapes. Social and cultural values in respect to kingship adapt and change in the sense that the relative weight of these constituent principles in the perception of kingships changes, and I believe that the empirical findings in this thesis can demonstrate these processes and therefore build further on the work of the above mentioned scholars.

CHAPTER 4

CHANGE IN THE USE OF TRL VERBS

In this Chapter I will examine the empirical findings of the patterns of usage of TRL verbs. The first part will briefly outline the main characteristics of TRL verbs, including a review of the different types of TRL verbs and the mechanisms for the creation of a new TRL verb. The second, and main part will contain the analysis of the empirical data. It will be arranged in the following sequence: The first section of the analysis part will be devoted to the group of non-royal TRL verbs (verbs used to describe the actions of commoners towards royal persons) and it will focus on the predominance of the verb *ถวาย/thawaaj*/'to give'. The second section of the analysis will be devoted to royal TRL verbs (verbs that describe the actions or states of royal persons). The discussion of the royal verbs will be separated again into two parts, the first focusing on verbs created through the use of the particle *ทรง/soN*/'(honorific prefix) and the second focusing on other verbs which we shall refer to as "exclusive TRL verbs". The discussion of verbs created through the application of *ทรง/soN*/'(honorific prefix) will be divided into three main sections: 1) the first will deal with the phenomenon in general and will examine whether the use of this form is increasing or decreasing over time and what are the implications of such trends. 2) The second part will have a semantic focus, and will be

conducted as a content analysis of words created through the application of ทรง/soN/ the usage of which is on the increase or decrease over time. 3) The third part will examine the prevalence of non-grammatical forms triggered by the usage of ทรง/soN/ in different periods.

The second section, that devoted to exclusive TRL verbs, will focus, among other things, on the usage of the important verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' and its different applications.

The findings of this Chapter are of great importance to this work because I consider verbs to be the linguistic group most susceptible to change. This is so because in the “power mandala” model which I used to organize the different sections of TRL, verbs are located furthest from the power center (namely, the person of the King) and are subject, relatively, to weaker taboos upon their usage.

The purpose of the Chapter is therefore to provide data on language usage in the most “change-prone” area of TRL for further analysis in Chapter six.

4.1 Main Characteristics of TRL Verbs

TRL verbs are perhaps the most easily recognizable TRL words for most Thais. The TRL verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' is, according to my own observations, the most widely used

TRL word in day to day speech. Even though they are widely used, still scholars see verbs as a late addition to the TRL repertoire. These scholars also see TRL verbs as the least systematic section of TRL (Assavavirulhakarn ,1996:14). As we shall see in the following sections, outside of a small number of simple exclusive TRL verbs, the majority of TRL verbs are created ad-hoc, and this process of verb creation is dominated by the one multi-purpose prefix-cum-general-verb ทรง/soN/.

4.1.1 Exclusive Verbs and Verb Creation in the TRL

Unlike nouns, of which there are almost no exclusive lexical terms without some sort of marking, particularly with the พระ/phra↔/(honorific prefix), TRL verbs include a group of simple unmarked verbs exclusive to the TRL. This group is mostly based on verbs derived from Khmer and relates to basic human actions, such as, for example, เสวย /saw↔↔↔จ/ 'to eat', บรรทม/bantho↑m/ 'to sleep', เสด็จ/sade↑d/ 'to go', etc. Unlike many other TRL words, these verbs do not have any derivative forms or applications that are otherwise used in Standard Thai. Their simplicity and singular TRL existence makes them memorable and rich with semantic connotations. Like other permanent TRL words, such as body limbs, these verbs tend to form the base for derivative vocabulary. Their appearance in a composite lexical item transforms that item into a TRL term. Their use in a non-royal context is prohibited as a strict taboo.

In addition to the simple exclusive TRL verbs, new verbs can be created by either of the following two methods:

- 1) Combinations of Standard Thai verbs with exclusive TRL nouns: These are usually derivatives of the different objects, concrete or abstract, with which these activities are concerned and include a Standard Thai verb and a TRL noun.

Examples of verbs that describe the actions of the monarch in this way are: ลง

พระนาม/loNphra↔naam/ 'to sign the name', ทรงพระราชดำริ/

soNphra↔ra↘addamri↗/ 'to think', ทรงพระอักษร/ soNphra↔a↗gs□□n/ 'to write',

- 2) ลงพระราชอาญา/ loNphra↔ra↘adcha-aajaa/ 'to punish', ทราบฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท/sa↘abfa□ala□□Nthu↗liiphra↔ba↗ad/ 'to know' (word for a King only), มีพระบรมราชโองการ/miiphra↔b□rom↔ra↘adchaooNkaan/ 'to issue an order' (word for King only). One of the verbs most often used in these composites is ทรง/soN/, which, as we shall see, also acts as a prefix transforming Standard Thai verbs into TRL verbs. Some of the composites created through this method have been used continuously and became permanent members of the TRL lexicon, while others are created ad-hoc.

- 3) Marking with ทรง/soN/: ทรง/soN/ is a very versatile particle that works in two ways to create TRL verbs: 1: As a prefix that can mark any Standard Thai verb by being placed in front of it. This type of usage is quite recent and is not found in

earlier texts (Assavavirulhakarn,1996:23). 2: As a general-purpose verb that activates nouns. We already mentioned this usage in the previous section where the noun is an exclusive TRL noun. What happened is that ทรง/soN/ became so identified with TRL usage that it is used also with regular Standard Thai nouns, but with the opposite direction of influence, namely, that with standard Thai nouns it acts as the particle that turns the new composite word into a TRL word. For example, in ทรงพระอักษร/ soNphra↔a↑gs□□n/ 'to write' the noun is a TRL noun, and it is mainly this TRL noun that makes the compound verb into a TRL verb. On the other hand in ทรงม้า/soNma↔a/ 'ride a horse' the noun for horse is a standard Thai noun and it is the verb ทรง/soN/ that turns this compound verb into a TRL verb. Generally speaking, the meaning of ทรง/soN/ as a verb in such clauses is determined by the nature of the noun which it activates (Aksornpong, 1994: 123).

4.1.2 The Prevalence of the Use of the Prefix ทรง/soN/(honorific prefix):

The application of ทรง/soN/(honorific prefix) to prefix standard Thai verbs is the most widely used form of new verbs and has become perhaps the most ubiquitous form of TRL in general. We find it used to convert almost any standard Thai verb into a TRL one. Furthermore, we often see it preceding verbs which are TRL verbs already (for example ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/'to give')-a practice which is

considered as ungrammatical, or combined with standard Thai verbs to create terms for which a TRL exclusive verb exists already, as for example, ทรงให้/soNha↓j/ 'to give' which substitutes the existing and well recognized TRL verb พระราชทาน /phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/ 'to give', or ทรงบอก/ soNb□↑□g/ 'to say' instead of either of the following TRL verbs: ตรัส/tra↑d/ 'to say' or มีพระราชดำรัส/mii phra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/ 'to say'. The ubiquitousness of ทรง/soN/ usage for verbs is sometimes compared to that of พระ/phra↔/ for nouns. Namely; both are seen as simple and generic methods of creating TRL words. The prevalence of พระ /phra↔/ (honorific prefix) in the exclusive noun lexicon seems to support such a comparison. Yet, there is a strong tendency to discourage the use of พระ /phra↔/ (honorific prefix) in contemporary noun creation, a tendency which is not apparent concerning ทรง/soN/ (honorific prefix) for verbs.

The prevalent use of ทรง/soN/ (honorific prefix) tends to change the nature of TRL not just because of the type of non-grammatical usage which I pointed to above.

The important issue is that when almost every standard Thai verb can become a TRL one with a simple prefix, TRL itself become a technicality. It loses part of its semantic value, which is the filtering of the discourse about royalty in a way that leaves only the minimal and necessary detail, and avoids most nuances. The prevalent use of this

method of prefixing is one of the major issues that I will focus on in the empirical section.

4.1.3 The Main Types of TRL Verbs

Unlike our analysis of nouns, in the next Chapter, we cannot classify verbs relating to royal action by their proximity to the King. **Verbs express actions performed by royal persons and such actions all equally “belong” to them and are equally close to them.** The nearest logical possible classificatory criterion is whether an action is a basic one that a royal person necessarily performs. This first criterion, vague as it is, roughly distinguishes between verbs with a permanent TRL word and those without. One possible classification of the basic actions performed by a royal person is into “personal” and “public” acts. I am aware that this classification is not perfect and that there are quite a few verbs that fall in between these two categories. Nevertheless, I find this classification to be useful in some cases and I will use it subject to the above cautionary remark.

Personal actions include basic human actions common to all people and are mostly referred to by use of the simple unmarked TRL exclusive verbs that I mentioned above.

Some basic human actions are also referred to by composite verbs such as ทอดพระเนตร

/th^o↓^odphra↔ne↓^{ed}/ 'to look at', ทรงพระอักษร/ soNphra↔a↑^{gs}□^on/ 'to read or write' แย้มพระสรวล/jE↔Emphra↔su^oan/ 'to smile', ทรงพระสรวล/ soNphra↔su^oan/ 'to laugh' and ทรงพระกัณแสง/ soNphra↔kansE^oEN/ 'to cry'. These last three terms, together with กริ้ว/kri↓^w/ 'to be angry' or ทรงพระพิโรธ/ soNphra↔phi↔ro↓^{od}/ 'to be angry, are the only expressions of emotional states that have exclusive TRL verbs (The Thai Royal Language, 1995: 71-2). Most of these verbs do not have a rank differentiation.

A special group of verbs relating to personal life is that of life-cycle verbs. Life-cycle verbs are few, and the most important ones are: to be born (ประสูติ/prasu↑^{ud}/, ทรงพระราชสมภพ/ soNphra↔ra↓^{ad}cha↔so^ompho↔b/) and to die (ถึงแก่อนิจกรรม /thy^oNkE↑^{Ea}↑ⁿⁱ↔dcakam/, ถึงแก่อสัญกรรม/ thy^oNkE↑^{Ea}sanja↔↔↔kam, ถึงแก่พิราลัย/ thy^oNkE↑^{Ephi}↔raalaj/, สิ้นพระชนม์/ si↓ⁿphra↔chon/, ทิวังคต /thi↔woNkho↔d/, สวรรคต/sawa^onnakho↔d/). Life-cycle verbs are mostly derived from Pali/Sanskrit, and are divided into numerous hierarchical ranks. The verb "to die" has the most complex hierarchical structure of all TRL verbs. The verbs "to be born" and "to get married", have much less differentiation. This might be because at a person's death his rank is well established, whereas at his birth his future rank is unknown. The death of a royal person is an event that has to be officiated carefully, according to his rank, whereas his birth is a past event, which is commemorated, but not officiated in real time.

As noted above, verbs relating to the performance of state affairs are often based on abstract TRL nouns with Sanskritic or Pali origin. This group of verbs is constructed so that a TRL abstract noun is “activated” by either a simple Standard Thai verb, such as ลง/loN/’to put down, มี/mii/’to have’, or by ทรง/soN/’to perform an action’. Some examples are: มีพระบรมราชโองการ/miiphra↔brom↔ra↓adchaoNkaan/’ to order’, ลงพระปรมาภิไธย/loNphra↔paramaaphi↔taj/’to sign the name’ and ทรงพระราชดำรัส/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/’to say’.

In contrast to most verbs of basic human actions, verbs that relate to public affairs are often differentiated by rank. Rank differentiation most often occurs in composite verbs that are based on TRL nouns or pronouns, which are themselves already divided into ranks. An example of a highly ranked composite verb based on a pronoun is the verb “to know” ทราบฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท/

sa↓abfa↑ala□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/’ to know’ which is ranked according to the second person pronoun on which it is based. An example of a usage based on an abstract noun is มีพระบรมราชโองการ/miiphra↔brom↔ra↓adchaoNkaan/’ to order’.

The versions for lower ranks are achieved by taking away the honorific prefixes ราช/ra↓adcha/(honorific prefix) and บรม/brom/(honorific prefix). This pattern applies to a number of verbs based on abstract nouns, which relate to actions performed in a public capacity. An interesting and important exception is the verb “to say” which has

numerous TRL terms, some as simple as ตรัส/trā↑d/'to say' and รับสั่ง/ra↔bsā↑N/'to say, others composite, such as ทรงพระราชดำรัส/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/'to say' or มีพระราชกระแส/miiphra↔ra↓adcha↔krasE↔E/'to say' and a few more. Unlike the case of the verb "to know", there are no fixed ranks of usage for all different forms of the verb "to say" and usage depends on both rank and the formality of the occasion.

The reason for the complex and exceptional ranking of this verb lies, in my opinion, in the fact that it does not fall clearly into the categories of personal and public. The criteria of formality which we mentioned for the word "to say" (The Thai Royal Language, 1995: 188) reflects this duality of personal (less formal) and public (more formal) context.

4.1.4 TRL Verbs and the Objectification of Action

As we noted, the structure for most royal actions concerned with public or ceremonial actions is by use of abstract TRL nouns. One can speculate on why such a structure is used with a royal person acting as a public figure. One possible answer would be that the TRL wishes to keep common people from the subjective processes of consideration, discussion, decisions, and let these stay behind a screen. What exists is the objective outcome, the result, in other words, a noun.

This process of objectification of royal actions in language can be compared to the way many anthropologists look at the social phenomenon of ritual. The comparison is not far fetched as royal action is often performed as a form of a ritual. Such scholars see ritual not as a class of actions but as a mode of looking at actions almost as objects in space, rather than sequences in time: “We have suggested that ritual action is, in a sense, like an objectClearly rituals are not really objects, but an object-like existence is given to them by the fact that they are **ontologically constituted beyond individual intentions**”

(Humphrey & Laidlaw, 1994: 267) .Similarly, we can say that there is a difference in the meaning conveyed between the simple TRL verbs for “to say, to speak” such as ตรัส

/tra↑d/'to say' or ราบสั่ง/ra↔bsa↑N/'to say and the elaborate verbs ทรงพระราชดำรัส/

soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/'to say', มีพระราชกระแส

/miiphra↔ra↓adcha↔krasE↔E/'to say', all referring to the same type of action. In the

first pair the action is a process, while in the second pair the “speech”, expressed as a noun, stands apart and its existence is brought to our attention. It is, in other words, an

“object”.

It is also an interesting fact that while such TRL verbs use a TRL noun as their core, these

TRL nouns in their turn are ultimately derived from verbs in Pali and Sanskrit. TRL

performs a double action on these foreign verbs. First it turns them into nouns by the

means of prefixation, adding the honorifics พระ/ phra↔/(honorific prefix) and ราช

/ra↓adcha/(honorific prefix), then, in a reverse action, it turns these nouns back into

verbs by applying to them general-purpose verbs. This could be seen as a hypercorrection, but I believe that in the case of a royal language, hypercorrection is “not hypercorrected”, but serves a function. The function is not simply honorific as such. Hypercorrection slows the process of communication and more effort is needed to express the same concepts that could be communicated very briefly in daily language. Such a slowdown has two functions: 1) It necessitates that attention is given in full to the subject of the discourse, namely, the royal person. 2) It limits the breadth of the discourse, achieving the same goal as that of the limited number of vocabulary items.

The heavy use of nouns to express action in TRL therefore achieves the objectification of royal action, but also the narrowing down and the slowing down of the discourse.

4.1.5 Non-Royal Verbs in TRL

One of the characteristics of TRL verbs, a characteristic, which they share with pronouns, is that they have an extension that applies to commoners who are communicating or interacting with a royal person. The TRL has a group of verbs describing the actions of commoners towards royal persons. I will refer to these verbs as non-royal TRL verbs, standing in contrast to royal TRL verbs. **Non-royal verbs will therefore be defined as TRL verbs the subject of which is a commoner or a royal person addressing a more senior royal person.**

The number of action types, as reflected by verbs, that belong in this group is very small. The three main ones are 1) ถวาย/thawa \diamond aj/'to give' expressing the act of giving or offering something to a Royal person. 2) เฝ้า/fa \downarrow w/'to have an audience' expressing the act of visiting or having an audience with a Royal person. 3) ทูล/thuun/'to tell' expressing the act of reporting to a Royal person or informing him.

Other actions are expressed through composite verbs created by the application of a Standard Thai verb added to a royal TRL verb. Examples are รับเสด็จ/ra \leftrightarrow bsade \uparrow d/ to welcome (literally: to receive the Royal coming), ตามเสด็จ/taamsade \uparrow d/'to accompany' (literally: to follow the Royal going); ขอพระราชทาน/kh \square \diamond \square phra \leftrightarrow ra \downarrow adcha \leftrightarrow thaan/' to request' (literally: to request a Royal giving), รับพระราชทาน/ra \leftrightarrow bphra \leftrightarrow ra \downarrow adcha \leftrightarrow thaan/' to receive' (literally: to receive the Royal giving).

Still another form utilizes Standard Thai nouns with the verb ถวาย /thawa \diamond aj/'to give', as, for example, when the King or a senior member of the Royal family is hospitalized, the medical doctors are described as ถวายการตรวจ/ thawa \diamond ajkaantru \uparrow ad/'examine' or ถวายการรักษา/ thawa \diamond ajkaanra \leftrightarrow gsa \diamond a/'to treat (Baan Muang 20/9/1985) etc. Such composite verbs notwithstanding, we can still note that the small number of such verbs indicates either the limited extent of interaction that took place between commoners and Royalty, or the extent of interaction that it was desirable to express.

In addition to the above, there are a number of additional verbs which are used to express humility on the side of the commoner (or the addressor), as for example กราบ /kraʔab/'to prostrate' , บังคม/baŋkhom/'to pay respect' , น้อม/nɔ̌m/'to bow'. These verbs do not convey the nature of the act itself, but rather accompany any act performed towards a royal person with additional acts of humility or respect. In English, a similar effect would be achieved through the use of adverbs such as “respectfully”, “obediently”..etc.

An interesting property of all these different verbs is their use as building blocks in highly intricate sentences. For example, the act of giving to the King can be expressed as: ขออนุญาตกราบบังคมทูลถวาย. or “Asking royal permission to give...”. Such constructions can still be expanded and become even more elaborate. Some such phrases are fixed formulas that determine how to address a royal person in different cases such as bringing good news, bringing bad news, reporting one’s failures, asking for help and so forth. However, very often, elaborate phrases are composed ad-hoc with the purpose of showing the maximum amount of respect.

4.2 Empirical Findings Concerning the Usage of Verbs in TRL

I will start the analysis of the empirical data by separating the two classes of TRL verbs, royal and non-royal and looking at their relative weight. Table 4.1 presents the empirical data that I collected about verbs use, broken down by period and by the identity of the subject of the verbs (royal versus non-royal). The rows showing percentages refer to the share of each of the two classes verbs in the total number of entries of TRL verbs for each period and for the total data.

Table 4.1 Royal & Non-Royal Verbs Over the 4 Periods

	1930-	1930-	1950-	1950-	1983-	1983-	1997-	1997-	Total	Total
	35	35	56	56	86	86	99	99	Data	Data
Non-	263	23%	443	30%	1342	35%	2454	33%	4502	32%
Royal										
Verbs										
Royal	889	77%	1038	70%	2535	65%	4972	67%	9434	68%
Verbs										
Total	1152	100%	1481	100%	3877	100%	7426	100%	13936	100%

As can be seen in table 4.1, out of the total of 13,936 of verb entries, 9,434 are Royal verbs and 4,502 non-royal verbs. We can see an increase in the share of non-Royal verbs between the period of 1930-35, and the period of 1950-56, going from 23% to

30%. In the following two periods the ratio is 35% and 33% respectively, an overall increase compared to the second period.

From the above table we can draw some interesting conclusions as regards the nature of the “discourse about royalty” in Thailand. The most important point is that of the increasing role of commoners in the interaction with the monarchy. This interaction includes a dialogue (exchange of words) but also the giving of various offerings, such as gifts, donations and so forth. I will examine the nature of this interaction in more detail in the following section.

4.2.1 Changes in the Usage of Non-Royal Verbs

4.2.1.1 The Importance of “Giving”

In this section I will detail my findings regarding the use of non-royal TRL verbs. Table 4.2 presents the most frequent non-royal verbs based on data gathered for all periods under study. The most frequent act by far, according to table 4.2, is the act of giving, or ถวาย/thawa^๕aj/. It is also the most frequent in each of the periods under study. The gap between the extent of use of ถวาย/thawa^๕aj/‘to give’ and other verbs is quite striking: in the list of table 4.2 there are 2,501 uses of ถวาย/thawa^๕aj/‘to give’ or 58.8% of the total as against only 325 uses of the second most frequent addressing verb, or 8.9% of the

total, which happens to be a composition of ถวาย/thawa[◊]aj/’to give’, namely: ทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย/thuunkla[↓]awthawa[◊]aj/’to humbly give’(usually relates to the giving of objects of small value). The third most frequent addressing verb, กราบบังคมทูล /kra[↑]abbaNkhomthuun/’to obediently inform/tell’ has only 4.9% of the total usage. Compared to the two other pivotal addressing verbs, the verb เฝ้า/fa[↓]w/’to have an audience’ on its own (not in a composite) has 42 entries of use or 1% of the total, while ทูล/thuun/’to tell’ on its own is used only 5 times (not shown in table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Non-Royal Verbs by Frequency

ถวาย	thawa [◊] aj	To give	58.8%
ทูลเกล้าฯถวาย	thuunkla [↓] awthawa [◊] aj	To obediently give	8.9%
กราบบังคมทูล	kra [↑] abbaNkhomthuun	To humbly inform	4.9%
เฝ้าทูลละออง	fa [↓] wthuunla ^{□□} N	To have an audience with	4.4%
ทูลพระบาท	thu [↑] liiphra [↔] ba [↑] ad	His Majesty	4.4%
เข้าเฝ้าฯ	kha [↓] wfa [↓] w	To go in for	4.3%

		an audience	
ขอพระราชทาน	kh◊◊◊phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan	To request	3.2%
น้อมเกล้าฯ	n◊↔◊mkla↓awthawa◊aj	To obediently	
ถวาย		give	3.0%
ทูลเกล้าถวาย	thuunkla↓awthawa◊aj	To obediently	
		give	2.0%
รับเสด็จ	ra↔bsade↑↑d	To welcome	1.4%
อัญเชิญ	anch↔↔↔n	To invite	1.4%
รับเสด็จฯ	ra↔bsade↑↑d	To welcome	1.1%
กราบบังคมทูล	kra↑↑abbaNkhom	To humbly	
พระกรุณา	thuunphra↔karunaa	inform His kindness	1.1%
กราบบังคมทูล	kra↑↑abbaNkhom	To humbly	
ถวาย	thuunthawa◊aj	inform and give	1.0%
เฝ้า	fa↓w	To have an audience	1.0%
เข้าเฝ้า	kha↓wfa↓w	To go in for	
		an audience	0.8%
รับพระราชทาน	ra↔bphra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan	To receive	0.7%
ถวายบังคม	thawa◊ajbaNkhom	To give obeiance	0.5%

เฝ้ารับเสด็จ	fa↓wra↔bsade↑d	To have a welcoming audience	0.5%
เฝ้ารับเสด็จฯ	fa↓wra↔bsade↑d	To have a welcoming audience	0.5%
ตามเสด็จ	taamsade↑d	To follow	0.5%
Total			4266=100%

If we examine the findings in more detail, we will find many other compositions that include ถวาย/thawa↔aj/'to give' as a central verb, such as น้อมเกล้าฯถวาย /n↔mklā↓awthawa↔aj/'to obediently advise and give', กราบบังคมทูลถวาย/ kra↑abbaNkhomthuunthawa↔aj/'to obediently give', ทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวาย /thuunkla↓awthuunkram↔mthawa↔aj/'obediently give' (usually used for the giving of objects with high value) and so forth. Similarly, the other important non-royal verbs of เฝ้า /fa↓w/'to have an audience' and ทูล/thuun/'to report or to inform' are also found in numerous compositions.

In table 4.3 I examined the frequency for each of these three groups of verbs and compound verbs (namely; ถวาย/thawa^{◊◊}aj/'to give', เฝ้า/fa[↓]w/'to have an audience' and ทูล/thuun/'to report or to inform') and included all compounds in which the main verb appears. In the case of compound verbs in which more than one of these three key basic verbs appear, as for example in กราบบังคมทูลถวาย/
kra[↑]abbaNkhomthuunthawa^{◊◊}aj/'to obediently give', I counted each of the verbs ทูล
/thuun/'to report or to inform' and ถวาย/thawa^{◊◊}aj/'to give' once. Looking at the table, the dominance of ถวาย/thawa^{◊◊}aj/'to give' -based verbs and their behavior over time is becoming clearer. The main difference is between the earliest period, that of 1930-35, and the other periods. While in the first period this category occupies only 29% of all instances of use, in the later two periods it climbs to over 70% in each. On the other side, both เฝ้า-based verbs and ทูล-based verbs, decline from 25% and 26% in 1930-35 to 10% and 6% respectively in 1997-99. In the case of the first the decline is gradual over the 4 periods, while the second declines sharply in the period of 1950-57, reaching the level that it maintains until 1997-99.

Table 4.3 Frequency and Percentage Share of the Use of Non-Royal Verbs Based on the Key Words ถวาย/**thawa^{◊◊}aj**/, ทูล/thuun/ and เฝ้า/fa[↓]w/.

	TOTAL	1930-	1950-	1983-	1997-

		35	56	86	99
Total ถวาย/thawa ^๑ aj/'to give' based verbs	3088	69	295	912	1812
% of total for the period		29%	74%	72%	77%
Total เฝ้า/fa ^๑ w/'to have an audience' - based verbs	471	59	62	113	237
% of total for the period		25%	16%	9%	10%
Total ทูล/thuun/'to report'-based verbs	306	60	25	81	140
% of total for the period		26%	6%	6%	6%
Total of the Three Groups	4266	234	400	1270	2362
Total non royal verbs	4502	263	443	1342	2454

There are a number of important differences to note between the nature of the action of ถวาย/thawa^๑aj/'to give' and the other two main verbs, as follows: 1) ถวาย/thawa^๑aj/'to give' does not necessarily take place during a physical audience with the King or other royal persons. Sometimes it does not even signify giving directly to a royal person, but rather signifies giving to a cause or a project that is promoted by the King or other Royal persons. 2) ถวาย /thawa^๑aj/'to give' also describes ceremonial offerings to the Buddhist Sangha and is not completely exclusive to the monarchy. On the other hand, verbs (or composite verbs) based on ทูล/thuun/'to report' or เฝ้า/fa^๑w/'to have an audience' are exclusive to the monarchy and most often do refer to actual physical audiences with the King or other royal persons. The relative decline of these two verbs, and their different composites, from 51% to only 16% of the total number of entries might reflect a shift in

the relationship between King and public from one based on actual interaction, mostly with a narrow circle of people, to one based more on symbolic interaction, with a much wider public. I will address this point in more detail in Chapter six.

4.2.1.2 The Verb ถวาย/thawa[◊]aj/'to give' in Compounds and as a Single Word:

An additional interesting development is in the pattern of the use of the verb ถวาย /thawa[◊]aj/'to give' itself. In the period 1930-5 I found the verb ถวาย/thawa[◊]aj/'to give' as a single word as well as a large number of cases where it appears in compounds. The phenomenon of numerous cases of both the single verb and the compounds is also evident in the 1990s, though the share of proportion of single verbs edges up. In the two intervening periods, however, namely the 1950s and the 1990s, the proportion of usage of the single verb only is significantly higher (the single verb is 65% in the 1930s and 75% in the 1990s, versus 89% in the 1950s and 90% in the 1980s). The relative decrease in the two intervening periods is in forms such as ทูลเกล้าฯถวาย/ $\text{thuunkla} \downarrow \text{awthawa} \uparrow \text{aj}$ /'to obediently give', กราบบังคมทูลถวาย/ $\text{kra} \uparrow \text{abbaNkhomthuunthawa} \uparrow \text{aj}$ /'to humbly report and give', น้อมเกล้าฯน้อมกระหม่อมถวาย / $\text{n} \square \leftrightarrow \square \text{mkl} \downarrow \text{aw} \square \leftrightarrow \square \text{mkram} \square \uparrow \text{mthawa} \uparrow \text{aj}$ /'to obediently give'. Another phenomenon is that many texts in the last two periods include both the simple use and the compound use, usually in the form of “escalating” repetition. Such repetition is

becoming more and more common in the later periods. In such cases, the same content is repeated two, sometimes three, times in the same journalistic text, going from headlines to the main body of the text, and each time the forms used are longer and more elaborate. Texts that use only the simple form tend to be less formal than those in which the compound forms appear. Viewed in this way, the relatively high frequency of use of these elaborate forms might indicate a certain “return”, in the period of 1997-99, to older patterns of use. In the interval periods of 1950-56 and 1983-86, the use is somewhat less formal. The return is, however, stylistically different from the original. In the 1930’s the more respectful forms appear only once per text and then in relatively simple sentences, while in the 1990s these forms appear as elaborated repetitions of the simple form of ทวาท/ṭhawaṭaj/’to give’ in the same text, while the style changes from simple to more complex, labyrinthine sentences. Also, in the early period “giving” was executed as a part of an audience and that might have been the reason for the formality of style, since the King himself was present. In the later period, “giving” is often not done in the presence of the “King”, but still the form became elaborate, indicating that this is a stylistic change.

4.2.1.3 “Giving” as a Mutual Act: (ทวาท /ṭhawaṭaj/’To Give to a King’ and พระราชทาน phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/’To Give to a Commoner):

We so far referred to the act of giving in the socially upward direction only (which includes the ritual offering by the King to Buddhist monks, as he is supposed to be

under the Buddhist Sangha in terms of sanctity). It is interesting to note, however, that giving is not “one sided”. Looking at Royal TRL verbs, we will find that the most frequent verb in the group of royal exclusive TRL verbs is พระราชทาน

/phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/’to give’, while the third most frequent in the group of ทรง marked exclusive TRL verbs (to which I refer to as “hypercorrected verbs”) is ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/’to give’. Also, looking at the group of ทรง /soN/ (honorific prefix) marked Standard Thai verbs that appear continuously in each period of study, we find that ทรงให้/soNha↓j/’to give’ (this is what I will refer to as “duplicatory verb”, because ทรง/soN/ (honorific prefix) is used to prefix a Standard Thai verb in a case where an exclusive TRL verb already exists) and ทรงรับ/soNra↔b/’to receive’ are the third and fourth most frequent verbs respectively. The fact of this very high frequency of verbs signifying the act of “giving” from both sides can be helpful in sketching the outline of the relationship between the monarchy and the public.

Obviously, mutuality is a strong element in the relationship. This point will be addressed further in Chapter six.

For the sake of clarification we should note that the relative share of acts of royal giving (พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/’to give’) in total royal acts, is much smaller in comparison to the proportion of ถวาย/thawa↓aj/ in non-royal verbs. This, however, is explained by the fact that non-royal TRL verbs describe only acts performed towards

royal persons, while royal verbs apply to all acts performed by royal persons. The differences in the base group are the main factor in this technical percentage difference.

4.2.1.4 Summary of Non-Royal Verbs in TRL

To sum up briefly, non-royal verbs are increasing their share of the total number of verbs used in TRL newspaper texts, indicating a growing involvement of the public. The group is dominated more and more by the verb ถวาย/thawa^๑aj/, indicating a growing emphasize on the act of giving to the monarchy. The increasing relative weight of ถวาย /thawa^๑aj/ also shows that “giving” is performed less and less as a part of physical audiences with senior royal persons (if it was conducted during audiences the verbs เฝ้า /fa^๑w/ and ทูล/thuun/ would have appeared with it automatically). Also, I noted an increasing tendency to elaborate addressing verbs. This is achieved by creating ever more complex composites that deploy verbs of self-humiliation, and by a style of an escalating repetition of the same message in each text.

4.2.2 Changes in the Use of Royal Verbs in TRL

In this section I will focus on the royal verbs, namely verbs that describe actions or states of royal persons, and particularly on what I believe are the two major sub-groups of royal verbs and the distinction is between the group of verbs which are based on the

application of the linguistic particle **ทรง/soN/** and those which can be broadly characterized as exclusive TRL verbs (but which in fact also include numerous composite verbs based on various exclusive TRL lexical items). The common denominator of this second group is its diversity of form.

4.2.2.1 The Main Features of Exclusive TRL Verbs Versus **ทรง/soN/**-Based TRL Verbs

We pointed out the two main categories that will be used in analyzing our data of royal verbs. The main features of these two categories are as follows:

1) **The Linguistic Particle **ทรง/soN/**(Honorific Prefix) and its Role as a Universal**

Marker: The figures compiled in table 4.4 include all instances of the use of **ทรง/soN/**(honorific prefix), and, as we noted in the previous Chapter and will see in the next section, the usage of **ทรง/soN/** can be divided into a number of sub-categories. Still, even though some of the usages of **ทรง/soN/** are almost unrelated to each other, the size of the group in total is of great interest. The reason for that is that the “linguistic fluidity” of the particle is the source of its strength. The use of one marker in different applications signifies its versatility and adaptability, and therefore its potential as a universal marker. People feel confident that by somehow applying that marker, they fulfilled the requirement of showing the appropriate respect. The fact that the marker is used in more than

one manner blurs the clear definition of the “correct” usage, and therefore “justifies” any new usages.

- 2) **Exclusive TRL verbs:** This group is really that of “others”, or all Royal verbs which are created without the application of the particle ทรง/soN/. Included are simple exclusive TRL verbs such as สวรรคต/sawa \diamond nnakho \leftrightarrow d/’to die’, บรรทม/bantho \uparrow m/’to sleep’, and เสวย/saw \leftrightarrow \diamond \leftrightarrow j/’to eat’ but also verbs such as ย่างพระบาท/ja \downarrow aNphra \leftrightarrow ba \uparrow ad/’to step forward’ and เข้าพระทัย/kha \downarrow wphra \leftrightarrow thaj/’to understand’, which are based on the composition of TRL exclusive nouns with Standard Thai verbs. I noted in the previous section that compositions of TRL exclusive nouns with Standard Thai verbs are one mechanism used to expand the vocabulary of the TRL. Many of these compositions became rooted in the language through constant use and are now a part of the official TRL lexicon. Nevertheless, we can find in the data evidence for much on-going linguistic creation. Novel lexical items often mimic word-creation patterns of Standard Thai, merely switching the Standard Thai noun into a TRL one. As for example, verbs based around the term “heart” as in สนพระทัย/so \diamond nphra \leftrightarrow thaj/’to be interested’, พอพระทัย/ph \square \square phra \leftrightarrow thaj/to be satisfied’, , ตั้งพระทัย/ta \downarrow Nphra \leftrightarrow thaj/’to intend’, เข้าพระทัย/kha \downarrow wphra \leftrightarrow thaj/’to understand’ are simple transformations of สนใจ/so \diamond ncaj/’to be interested’, พอใจ/ph \square \square caj/’to be satisfied’, ตั้งใจ/ ta \downarrow Ncaj/’to

intend', เข้าใจ/kha↓wcaj/'to understand' in which the Standard Thai term for heart was replaced with the TRL exclusive term. In ท้อถอยพระราชหฤทัย /tho↑tho↓jphra↔ra↓adcha↔ha↑ry↔thaj/'to be discouraged' the same basic pattern is borrowed without having a Standard Thai original expression. We can see in these cases how exclusive TRL words are created by reference to Standard Thai idioms.

A case of special interest is that of the verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' which behaves in some cases in a similar fashion to the verb ทรง/soN/, namely as a general converter from Standard Thai to TRL. Examples are: เสด็จสาธิต

/sade↑dsa↓athi↔d/'to go to demonstrate', เสด็จชม/sade↑dchom/'to go see'.

In practice, however, its application is restricted only to actions that involve the physical movement of a royal person. Out of the 252 lexical items listed in this category (of exclusive TRL verbs), 96 are derivatives of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go'.

More significantly, the total number of cases of the usage of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' is 1,931 out of a total of 4,732 in the group of exclusive royal TRL verbs, a very significant percentage indeed. เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' is a Khmer derived verb,

coming from the Khmer Royal lexicon. Other core Khmer-based exclusive verbs of TRL such as เสวย/saw↔j/'to eat', บรรทม/bantho↑m/'to sleep', ตรัส

/tra↑d/'to say'...etc, did not acquire such wide application as เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to

go' for obvious semantic reasons: เสวย/saw↔◊↔◊/’to eat’, บรรทม/banthon↗m/’to sleep’ express daily-life activities which lack wider applications, ตรัส/trad↗d/’to say’ expresses such an essential action, that of “speech”, that it has a number of competing Sanskritic terms that are used to express it, and it therefore doesn’t have a similar position as a key conveyor of that concept.

To sum briefly, the category of exclusive TRL verbs is not a uniform list of “stand-alone” exclusive TRL verbs but a varied group, some of which have very narrow and specific applications, while others are used as occasional lexicon-building particles, applicable in some semantic areas. The only common feature is that none of these linguistic forms can potentially serve as a universal marker, such as ทรง/soN/(honorific prefix).

4.2.2.2 The Implications of the Increased Usage of ทรง/soN/-Verbs

The significance of the classification that I suggested in the above section, in the case of increased usage of ทรง/soN/-verbs, lies in two main points, as follows:

- 1) The power of form: The usage of the prefix ทรง/soN/ signifies a certain regularization of the register. As mentioned already, in many cases, Standard Thai verbs prefixed by ทรง/soN/ are used instead of existing exclusive TRL verbs that describe the same or a very similar type of action. In other cases,

exclusive TRL verbs are prefixed by ทรง/soN/, even though this is not needed.

In that sense ทรง/soN/ substitutes the complex interweaving of exclusive TRL

verbs and exclusive TRL nouns composed with Standard Thai verbs, which,

together with the various applications of ทรง/soN/(honorific prefix), create the

body of TRL verbs. One simple form replaces numerous and elaborate ones.

The result could be that the general perception of TRL as a highly complex,

hard-to-understand, enigmatic-ceremonial language might change in favour of a

simple register based on simple markers of respect.

- 2) The range of content: The wide application of ทรง/soN/' not only simplifies the register but also expands its semantic borders. Terms and types of action that would be avoided by the register, due to their potential violation of royal dignity, are converted into TRL by such simple prefixation, as for example, the verbs ทรงแข่ง/soNkh↔r↔N/'to plead' or ทรงอยาก/soNja↑ag/'to want'. Instead of being a register of few words, the TRL succumbs to a verbal flood that undermines its aloof, distant stance. One factor that facilitates this process is that the application of ทรง/soN/' is not considered to create a "permanent" lexical item, but an ad-hoc transitory term, and it therefore has attracted relatively little attention from language purists. This lack of attention is exacerbated by the "tricky" nature of the usage of the prefix ทรง/soN/, namely, that it works not only as a prefix which converts Standard Thai verbs to TRL, but also as a verb. This point, (which also calls, from our side, for a more detailed

analysis of its usage, one that breaks it into its different modes) has two major repercussions: 1: It makes the application of simple rules that define and restrict its usage more difficult. 2: It renders changes in the patterns of usage more difficult to be diagnosed. The result is that a series of ad-hoc temporary usages exert a long term effect on the nature of the TRL

4.2.2.3 The Increase in the Relative Weight of ทรงแง/soN/-Verbs Over Time

As can be seen in table 4.4, the total sample population of royal verbs examined in this study is 9,434 usage entries over the four periods. The distribution between the two main groups over the entire sample population is almost equal: 4,732 exclusive Royal (non-ทรงแง/soN/' verbs and 4,702 ทรงแง/soN/'-based.

Table 4.4: Trends in the Relative Weight of Exclusive Verbs Versus ทรงแง/soN/-Verbs

	1930-35	1950-56	1983-86	1997-99	TOTAL
Non-ทรงแง/soN verbs	649	675	1160	2250	4732
as % of total	73%	65%	46%	45%	
ทรงแง/soN verbs	241	364	1375	2722	4702
as % of total	27%	35%	54%	55%	
Total Royal Verbs	890	1039	2535	4972	9434

TOTAL %	100%	100%	100%	100%	
---------	------	------	------	------	--

Table 4.4 presents the main finding, which is the relative increase of ทรงแง/soN/-based verbs. The share of this group has increased from 27% in the earliest period to 55% in the 1997-9, while the figure for 1950-7 is 35%. There is a strong similarity between the figures of the 1983-1985 and 1997-1999, and one can perhaps conjecture that the trend has leveled off. A possible interim conclusion might be that TRL verb usage is increasingly done through the application of ทรงแง/soN/(honorific prefix). A derivative interim conclusion would be that this indicates a simplification or reduction in the level of formality of the register.

The question can be raised whether the fact that ทรงแง/soN/ has a number of sub-groups, reflecting quite different usages, has any bearing on these results and their derivative conclusions. The answer to that is affirmative. Some usages of ทรงแง/soN/ indicate elaboration rather than simplification in usage, and there is therefore a need to look at the details, by group of usage type, behind the total figures. What remains true is that the fragmentation of the usages of ทรงแง/soN/ enhances its versatility and therefore its potential, as a group, to become a universal marker. The increased share of ทรงแง/soN/-based verbs is therefore meaningful as a general “road-sign”, namely, that it indicates a process of its acquiring the status of such a universal marker. But to understand the

results better, we would need a more detailed look at the exact types of **ทรง/soN/** verbs being used.

A simple general share increase, which we found, and which includes all different forms, might indicate either of three choices: 1) That the use of **ทรง/soN/** replaces or supercedes exclusive verbs. 2) That the discourse about royalty is expanding, becoming more detailed and therefore requires a larger lexicon of verbs (and new verbs can be created only by prefixing). 3) That there is an increased use in other types of usages of **ทรง/soN/**. It is also possible that more than one phenomenon is occurring at the same time. In the next sections I will detail the different usages of **ทรง/soN/** and also try to qualify how to represent “expansion” or “substitution” in terms of the empirical data, and on that basis attempt to better understand the details behind the bigger trends.

4.2.2.4 The Different Roles of the Linguistic Particle **ทรง/soN/**

I presented some of the roles of the verb/prefix **ทรง/soN/** in the first section of Chapter three. The following is a systematic listing of these roles, using examples taken from the empirical data, and some commentary about their properties in connection to the trend of increasing use, which I noted in the previous section:

- 1) **Prefixing a Standard Thai verb**, as for example: ทรงเปลี่ยน/soNplia↑n/'to change', ทรงเปรียบเทียบ/soNpri↑abthi↓ab/'to compare', ทรงทำ/soNtham/'to do', ทรงปฏิบัติ/soNpa↑tiba↑d/'to act, to perform', ทรงพักผ่อน /soNpha↔gph□↑□n/'to rest', ทรงพิจารณา/soNphi↔caaranaa/'to consider', ทรงแนะนำ/soNne↓nam/, ทรงฟัง/soNfan/'to listen', ทรงมั่นใจ/soNma↓ncaj/'to be sure', ทรงเขียน/soNkhi◇an/'to write',. This category is the most prevalent one and it includes both elements of “substitution” and elements of “expansion”. Making a clear distinction between the two is not always simple, and can be much concerned with the context. Let us look at a few examples: Verbs such as ทรงเปลี่ยน/soNplia↑n/'to change', ทรงเปรียบเทียบ/soNpri↑abthi↓ab/'to compare' have no parallel exclusive TRL verbs. It is clear, therefore, that these two verbs represent an expansion in the range of content that the TRL expresses. Looking at the next two sample verbs, ทรงทำ/soNtham/'to do' and ทรงปฏิบัติ/soNpa↑tiba↑d/'to act, to perform', it is interesting that such a basic verb as “to do” is not a part of the exclusive TRL lexicon. This point tends to strengthen the view of the TRL as aimed at expressing a kingship which issues commands from the inside of a closely guarded inner court, rather than one which lets itself be seen engaging in action. The use of such verbs as ทรงทำ /soNtham/'to do' and ทรงปฏิบัติ/soNpa↑tiba↑d/'to act, to perform' obviously points to an expansion in the semantic range of the register. Verbs such as ทรง

พักผ่อน/soNpha↔gph□↑□n/'to rest' on the other hand, represent a direct personal action that could not, of course, be delegated. This action could be expressed using an exclusive TRL noun and is therefore a substitution. A verb such as ทรงพิจารณา/soNphi↔caaranaa/'to consider' is a nuance of the existing TRL exclusive verb ทรงพระราชดำริ/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'to think, in the sense that "to consider" is a sub-group of "to think". The expression of a growing number of nuances is both an expansion of the vocabulary and a substitution of the limited TRL exclusive vocabulary with a more detailed ทรง- prefixed Standard Thai. ทรงฟัง/soNfaN/'to listen' is an obvious direct substitution of สดับ/sada↑b/'to listen'. ทรงมั่นใจ/soNma↓ncaj/'to be sure' could be expressed as the exclusive TRL composite term มั่นพระทัย /soNma↓nphra↔thaj/'to be sure'. ทรงเขียน/soNkhi◇an/'to write' is an obvious substitution of ทรงพระอักษร/soNphra↔a↑gs□◇□n/'to read or write' which is also a form using ทรง, but here as a verb applied on a TRL exclusive noun rather than as a prefix.

To briefly sum up, we can see the use of ทรง/soN/ as a prefix, converting

Standard Thai verbs, actually operates in three different semantic ways: 1)

Substituting for existing TRL exclusive verbs. 2) Expanding the horizons of what

can be expressed. 3) Supplementing the exclusive vocabulary only when there

is no other linguistic alternative. Both the second and third options represent an

expansion, but of a different type. The third option was probably the original application, but the development of the language has brought more and more of the first and second. Because context plays an important role, it is not possible to perform an exact statistical comparative analysis of the relative weight of these linguistic usages. My impression from the data is that this usage represents, in most cases, an expansion of the vocabulary.

An additional item that should be included in this category is the prefixing of Standard Thai adjectival verbs, as for example: ทรงเก่ง/ soNke↑N/'to be good (at something)' ทรงใกล้ชิด/ soNkla↓jchi↑t/'to be close (to somebody)' ทรงแข็งแรง/ soNkhe↓NrEEN/'to be strong' ทรงจู้จี้/ soNcu↓uci↓i/'to be fussy', ทรงเชี่ยวชาญ/ soNchi↓awchaan/'to be an expert', ทรงถนัด/ soNthana↑d/'to be skillfull',, ทรงทันสมัย/ soNthansama↓j/'to be modern, up-to-date',, ทรงทุกข์ยาก/ soNthu↔gja↓ak/'to suffer., etc.

2) Preceding a TRL noun, as for example: ทรงเครื่องกษัตริย์/

soNkhry↓Nkasa↑d/'to put on the kingly attire', ทรงพระชนมายุ

/soNphra↔chonmaaju↔/'to be of (certain) age', ทรงพระมาลา

/soNphra↔maalaa/'wear the Royal hat', ทรงพระอักษร/soNphra↔

a↑gs□□n/'to read or write', ทรงม้าพระที่นั่ง/soNma↔aphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'ride

a horse', ทรงพระราชดำริ/ soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'to think, ทรงพระราช
 ดำรัส/soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/. In this usage, ทรง acts as a general
 verb, rather than as a prefix, and the exact meaning of that verb is determined
 specifically by each noun that it is applied to. My own opinion is that usage with
 nouns was the original use of ทรง/soN/ as an instrument of the TRL. My reason
 is that this type of use is not exclusive to TRL; it is also found in Standard Thai
 expressions such as ทรงตัว/soNtua/'to balance oneself', ทรงพลัง/soNphalaN/'to
 be full of power', ทรงอำนาจ/soNamna↓ad/'to be full of authority', and ทรงศีล
 ธรรม/soNsi◇intham/'to follow religious precepts',. The last of these, ทรงศีลธรรม
 /soNsi◇intham/'to follow religious precepts' (or, in short, ทรงศีล/soNsi◇in/), can
 also be found in the Sukhothai inscriptions, a fact that attests to the antiquity of
 this usage. Such use with Standard Thai nouns could have, therefore, preceded
 the formation of the TRL. Viewed in this light, ทรง/soN/, or rather the pattern ทรง
 /soN +noun, was “borrowed” by the TRL from Standard Thai to help express an
 emerging court language based mainly on pronouns and nouns. The sanctity
 came, at least initially, from the TRL nouns rather than from the verb ทรง/soN/
 itself, but over time ทรง/soN/ acquired its own sanctity, which is what allowed it
 to be eventually used as a sanctifying prefix. Increased use of this pattern (ทรง
 /soN/ + TRL nouns) would, I believe, indicate a movement towards more
 traditional use of TRL, the opposite of both expansion and/ replacement. In view
 of my previous remarks on the objectification of action associated with the usage

of TRL abstract nouns, the implications of such usage are obviously that of increased formality and elaboration.

3) **Preceding a Standard Thai noun**, as for example: ทรงกีฬา/ soNkilaa/'to play sports' ทรงดนตรี/ soNdontrii/'to play music', ทรงปิติ/ soNpi[↑]ti[↑]ti[↑]/' to be glad' ทรงม้า/ soNmaa[↔]/'to ride a horse' ทรงจักรยาน/ soNca[↑]gkrajaan/'ride on bicycles' , ทรงเยาว์/ soNjaw/'to be young' ทรงศึกษา/ soNsy[↑]gsa[◇]a/' to get education'. As in the previous item, ทรง/soN/ plays also here the role of a general verb rather than a prefix. Here, however, the element of “sanctity” comes from the verb ทรง/soN, instead of the other way around. We can see how the verb ทรง/soN/ turned a full linguistic circle. The use here is different than in the Standard Thai usages listed above, where ทรง/soN/ has the specific meaning of “to maintain”, “to raise”, “to keep up”. In its TRL application, the meaning is vague or “fuzzy” and it can be inferred only from the nature of the noun itself. In ทรงแซ็กโซโฟน/ soNsE[↔]Eksoofoon/ (see next item) it means “to play a saxophone”, while in ทรงม้า/soNmaa[↔]a/ it means “to ride a horse” etc. In both cases one could use ทรงเล่นแซ็กโซโฟน/soNle[↓]nsE[↔]Eksoofoon/ or ทรงขี่ม้า/soNkhi[↑]ima[↔]a/'to ride a horse' as an alternative. One important difference between the use with TRL nouns and Standard Thai nouns is that many of the first group are abstract nouns. In these cases, the interaction with the noun will tend to be less of the concrete action type, as in “ride” or “play”. In some cases,

it would mean “to be disposed” as in ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้า/

soNphra↔karunaapro↑↑odkla↓aw/’to be favourably disposed’, in some other

cases it would mean “to apply” as in: ทรงพระราชอุตสาหะ/soNphra↔

ra↓adchau↑↑sa∇aha↑↑/’ to apply effort’, ทรงพระปรีชา/ soNphra↔priichaa/’to

apply capabilities’ or even ทรงพระราชบริหาร/ soNphra↔

ra↓adchab□□riha∇an/’to manage’ in which it is applied to a “new” abstract TRL

noun. In other cases it tends would mean “to be”, “to have” as in ทรงพระเจริญ

/soNphra↔car↔↔n/’to prosper’ ทรงพระเกษมสำราญ

/soNphra↔kase∇emsa∇mraan/’to be happy’, ทรงพระประจวร

/soNphra↔prachuan/’to be ill’ or still in some other cases it would mean “to be

engaged in” as in ทรงพระราชกรณียกิจ/ soNphra↔ra↓adchak□□raniijaki↑↑d/’to

be engaged’. In all these cases the meaning of the implied verb is wide and a bit

amorphous. In cases where the TRL noun is not abstract, then the verb will play

the same role as in the above-cited examples of Standard Thai nouns, as for

example in ทรงพระมาลา/soNphra↔maalaa/’wear the Royal hat’. A question

that can be raised about cases like ทรงม้า/soNma↔a/’ride on a horse’ or ทรง

จักรยาน/ soNca↑↑gkrajaan/’ride on bicycles’ is whether the noun itself does not

have to be converted to TRL, as it is an object that is being used or is possessed

at a specific moment of time by the King or a Royal person. In our examples, we

would have the nouns to be ม้าหลวง/ ma↔alu∇aN/’royal horse’ or จักรยานพระ

ที่นี้่ง/ca↑gkrajaanphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'royal bicycles. The answer to that is that most probably, as long as the whole expression is seen as an expanded verb, such a conversion is not needed.

In reference to our framework of the general meaning of an increase in the relative occurrence of ทรง/soN/ among verbs, we can probably say that an increase in this category would also represent a movement towards traditional patterns.

4) **Preceding a Foreign noun**, as for example: ทรงแซ็กโซโฟน

/soNsE↔Eksoofon/ 'to play a saxophone', ทรงสกี/soNsaki↑i/ 'to ski'. The pattern here is the same as the previous item. Increase in usage should be understood similarly to the last two items, in spite of the fact of borrowing of foreign nouns.

5) **Preceding a TRL verb**, as for example ทรงบรรทม/soNbantho↑m/'to sleep',

ทรงเสวย/ soNsaw↔↔j/'to eat', ทรงเสด็จ/ soNsade↑d/'to go', ทรงตรัส/ soNtra↑d/'to say', ทรงทอดพระเนตร/ soNth□↓□dphra↔ne↓ed/'to look', ทรงตั้งพระทัย/soNta↓Nphra↔thaj/'to intend', or ทรงมีพระราชดำรัส/

soNmiihphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/'to say'. Unlike the preceding categories, this one is considered as grammatically incorrect, and I will refer to it later on as hypercorrected. It is obviously a substitution of using the same verbs without the

ทรง/soN/ in front. It is quite clear that, in most cases, such usage reflects the wish to “be on the safe side”. We can see it in the following example: ในหลวง จะจะรับรองดักกลัดแฟแบงค์..พระราชทานบ้านพักอยู่แถบทุ่งพญาไท.....จะได้ทรงพระราชทานบ้านทางแถบพญาไทให้นายแฟแบงค์พักเป็นพิเศษ/His Majesty the King will host Douglas Fairbanks...will grant him a house to stay in Paya Thai area...Will give a house in Phaya Thai area especially for Mr Fairbanks to stay/ (The Tai Mai 26/12/2473). In fact, the case of พระราชทาน/ phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/'to give' could reflect a confusion with terms such as ทรงพระราชดำริ/ soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'to think' or ทรงพระดำเนิน /soNphra↔damn↔↔↔n/'to go, to walk', where both พระราชดำริ/ phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'thought' and พระดำเนิน/ phra↔damn↔↔↔n/'a walk' are, in fact, nouns. In the above case, however, it is clear that the author thought that using พระราชทาน/ phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/'to give' was good enough for the headline, but the body of the text needed a more elaborate rendition. This use therefore represents a substitution of exclusive TRL vocabulary with a supposedly boosted version of itself.

4.2.2.5 The Effect of ทรง/soN/ Usage on the TRL

In table 4.5, I show the number of entries for each of the above discussed categories and its percentage of the total number of verb entries for that period. As

we can see in the table, there is a significant increase in the use of ทรง/soN/ as a prefix of Standard Thai verbs, growing from 53% to 67%. Against it, we see a decline in the traditional usage with TRL nouns, declining from 27% to only 11%.

This confirms the interim conclusion I proposed earlier, namely, that it represents a trend towards simplification. The relative decline in the usage with TRL nouns signifies the reduction in usage of a form that is formal and somber.

Table 4.5 Usages of ทรง/soN/ by Application Category

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-57	1983-86	1997-99
STANDARD THAI VERB	3015	127	201	879	1808
	65%	53%	55%	64%	67%
TRL VERB	938	45	105	265	523
	20%	19%	29%	19%	19%
TRL NOUN	607	65	51	201	290
	13%	27%	14%	15%	11%
STANDARD THAI NOUN	108	4	6	21	77
	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%
FOREIGN NOUN	23	0	0	6	17
	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
UNCLASSIFIED	11	0	1	3	7
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
TOTAL	4702	241	364	1375	2722

An initial examination of the Standard Thai verbs which we find in use indicates that some of the verbs used in later periods are semantically barely consistent with the idea of kingship as a highly elevated or sacred institution. I will bring here a few examples of this point before going into a more statistical analysis in the following sections. In the initial review, I found verbs such as ทรงขอร้อง/soNkh^oo^or^oo^o↔N/ 'to plead', ทรงอยาก/soNja^o↑ag/ 'to want', ทรงต้องการ/soNt^o↓Nkaan/ 'to need', which seem to contradict the perception of the Monarch's wishes as commands rather than pleas or wants. The forms used for the expression of such wishes in the TRL are those of an abstract TRL noun, as in มีพระราชโองการ /miiphra^o↔ra^o↓adchaoNkaan/ 'to issue a command' or ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ/ soNphra^o↔karunaapro^o↑odkla^o↓aw/ 'is favourably disposed, in his great generosity'. These forms imply distance and are clear of any possible emotional states that might accompany the communication of wishes. The application of the prefix ทรง/soN/ to verbs that imply communication from a weak or inferior standpoint negate the logic of the register. Even when such a position is implied, rather than explicit, as in “ทรงยอมรับ/soNj^o↔mra^o↔b/ 'to accept an opinion/claim' or ทรงรับฟัง/soNra^o↔bfaN/ 'to listen acceptingly', the majesty of the throne is affected. In more explicit examples, terms such as ทรงหยิบ/soNji^o↑b/ 'to pick up', ทรงเบื่อ/ soNby^o↑a/ 'to get bored', ทรงเอาชนะ/ soNawchana^o↔/ 'determined to win(slang),, ทรงจู้จี้/ soNcu^o↓uci^o↓i/ 'to be fussy', contain semantic content that directly negates the elevated status of the Monarchy. To sum up, we see some anecdotal evidence of the effect that the

prevalent use of ทรงแ/soN/ with Standard Thai verbs, evidence of which we saw in table 4.5, can have on the sanctity of the TRL. In the next two sections I will examine the statistics regarding the extent of expansion in the vocabulary, and a content analysis of the most frequent new TRL verbs.

4.2.2.6 An Examination of the Development in the Number of Lexical Items of TRL

An interesting aspect of the expansion in the usage of ทรงแ/soN/ is the expansion it creates in the number of words, or lexical items, used in TRL. In table 4.5 and 4.6 we can see the development in each of the sub groups of ทรงแ/soN/ -usage over the 4 periods. In table 4.6 the data is analyzed in terms of the number of lexical items, in table 4.5 in terms of the total number of entries (cases of usage). It is quite clear that the noun-related usage is small and declining in relative terms. As we can see in table 4.5 for TRL nouns, in the period of 1930-35 they are 27% of all usages (including both TRL and Standard Thai nouns), while in 1997-99 they decline to only 11%.

Usage based on Standard Thai verbs increases as a percent of the total, growing from 48% to 64% of the total. The number of lexical items for verbs based on Standard Thai verbs increases over the four periods by 320%. The increase is continuous from period to period. Between the first and second period, the growth in percentage of the number of usages is matched by the percentage of growth of the number of lexical entries. In

the following periods the growth rate of the number of lexical items is half that of the total number of usages. The phenomenon of such an increase in the number of lexical items that accompanies the growth in the absolute number of entries is interesting when one takes into account that the contexts of discourse are mostly repetitive and the language itself supposedly “frozen” into formulas. We would expect new lexical items to come up mostly to fill the need of expressing new kinds of activities or new kinds of objects. This, however, is not the case. The new lexical items relate very little to new objects or activities. Furthermore, while most activities are repetitive, there is an exception in the first period, during which the absolute monarchy was replaced with a constitutional monarchy. That period was particularly eventful. One would expect this period to require more, not fewer, lexical items than other periods to express its tumultuous events. On the same note, the period of the early 1980’s and late 1990’s are similar in many aspects: the role of the monarchy has not seen any upheavals or major changes in-between these periods. In both periods, economic difficulties, currency upheavals and soul searching are high on the public agenda. In other words, the structure of context is very similar. Also, statistically, the sample populations in both periods are very substantial. Based on these considerations, one would not anticipate a large increase in the number of lexical items between these two periods, but nevertheless, it does occur. The fact of on-going growth in the number of words used is therefore an independent finding that requires explanation.

Over the same period, the number of lexical items of noun-based *ทรง/soN/* verbs increases only by 81%, a much smaller rate of growth, even when compared to the increase in total number of entries, which grew by 431%, reflected in its percentage decline from 19.7% to 9% of all lexical items. This finding corresponds to our earlier observation that noun based *ทรง/soN/* verbs are a conservative part of the TRL, a part where we would not expect to find linguistic innovation.

On the other hand, the number of lexical items of TRL verb based *ทรง/soN/* usages increases by 268% over the 4 periods, evidence of a growing trend of hypercorrection, using *ทรง/soN/* to prefix exclusive TRL verbs. The growth in the number of lexical items of such TRL verbs is steady throughout the four periods. Such a steady growth might indicate that the habit is getting rooted and picking up additional items. Unlike the group of Standard Thai prefixed verbs, which can be almost infinite, this group is limited by the size of its “base group”, namely, by the number of TRL exclusive verbs in usage. My records show only 252 lexical items were listed as TRL exclusive verbs in all four periods. The hypercorrected group, for which there are 121 lexical items in all four periods, reaches almost 50% of its original prototype (for which there were 252 items). In section 4.2.3 I will look at this group, and its parallel group of “duplicatory” verbs in more detail.

Table 4.6: Number of Lexical Items Used in Each Sub-Group of *ทรง/soN/*-Based Verbs

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-56	1983-86	1997-99
STANDARD THAI VERB	462	73	97	222	296
		59.8%	59.9%	68.1%	68.7%
TRL VERB	120	22	33	58	81
		18.0%	20.4%	17.8%	18.8%
TRL NOUN	80	24	26	30	39
		19.7%	16%	9.2%	9.0%
STANDARD THAI NOUN	30	3	5	12	10
		2.5%	3.1%	3.7%	2.3%
OTHERS	8	0	1	4	5
		0.0%	0.6%	1.2%	1.2%
TOTAL	695	122	162	326	431
		100%	100%	100%	100%

4.2.2.7 TRL Verb Usage and the Emerging Features of Modern Monarchy

In this section, I will analyze the data on verb usage trying to identify meaningful trends in the vocabulary used. Let us start from the elements that changed very little. In table 4.7 we can see the most frequent usages of Standard Thai verbs prefixed by ทรง/soN/. In the table, we can see two distinct groups: verbs that appear in all periods and verbs that appear in later periods, mostly in the last two periods. The first group is made of

what is most likely the permanently used verbs. As can be clearly seen “to be” and “to have” are the most frequently used verbs in the “permanent” group, followed immediately by “to give” and “to receive”. The verb used for “to give”, ทรงให้ /soNha↓j/ ‘to give’ is a duplication of the exclusive TRL verb พระราชทาน/ phra↔ra↓adcha↔thaan/ ‘to give’. This finding highlights the crucial position of giving and taking, which I noted in reference to the addressing verb ถวาย/thawaaj/ ‘to give’. Other “permanent” (appearing in all four periods) verbs in the list reflect either (1) The duplication of some other basic actions which are covered, at least partially, through the TRL lexicon, such as ทรงพัก(ผ่อน) /soNpha↔gph↔n/ ‘to rest’, ทรงอยู่ /soNju↑u/ ‘to be’ (in a place) ทรงเล่า/soNla↓w/ ‘to tell’. (2) Various “to do” actions such as ทรงดำรง/soNdamroN/ ‘to maintain’, ทรงบำเพ็ญ/soNbamphen/ ‘to. perform’ (mainly a ritual), ทรงทำ/soNtham/ ‘to do’, ทรงแสดง/soNsadEEN/ ‘to show’, all of which are not covered by the TRL exclusive lexicon. This group, though in usage in all four periods, represents a relatively new feature of kingship, that of direct action. The verb ทรงเชื่อมั่น /soNthy↓yman/ ‘to believe, to be convinced’, is related to this group and is symptomatic of an important change in the vocabulary: It is one representative of a growing group of verbs, which express a variety of intellectual and emotional states, beliefs and pedagogical expressions, all of which are new to TRL use, and which, as a whole, cast the figure of the King as a concerned and loving sage or mentor who works tirelessly for the benefit of the public. This emerging new image of kingship can be seen clearly in

the verbs that appear in the last two periods only. We will examine this group and the implications of their usage in detail in Chapter six.

Table 4.7 TRL Verbs Created by Applying ทรง to Standard Thai Verbs which Appear in each of the Periods under Study.

		1930- 35	1950- 57	1983- 86	1997- 99
ทรงเป็น/soNpen/'to be'	323	4	8	74	237
	23.5%	10.0%	11.0%	19.3%	26.8%
ทรงมี/soNmii/'to have'	145	4	7	33	101
	10.5%	10.0%	9.6%	8.6%	11.4%
ทรงปฏิบัติ/soNpa [↑] tiba [↑] d/'to perform'	101		4	34	63
	7.3%		5.5%	8.9%	7.2%
ทรงรับ/soNra [↔] b/'to receive	80	8	23	11	38
	5.8%	20.0%	31.3%	2.9%	4.3%
ทรงให้/soNha [↓] j/'to give'	64	2	3	16	43
	4.6%	5.0%	4.1%	4.2%	4.9%
ทรงห่วงใย/soNhu [↑] aNjai/' to be concerned'	56			12	44
	4.1%			3.1%	5.0%
ทรงประกอบ/soNprak [↑] b/'to put together'	44			29	15
	3.2%			7.6%	1.7%
ทรงดำรง/soNdamroN/' to maintain'	44	1	6	14	23
	3.2%	2.5%	8.2%	3.7%	2.6%
ทรงบำเพ็ญ/soNbamphen/'to perform'	40	2	1	8	29
	2.9%	5.0%	1.4%	2.1%	3.3%
ทรงพัก(ผ่อน) /soNpha [↔] gph [↔] n/'to rest'	36	4	1	12	19
	2.6%	10.0%	1.4%	3.1%	2.2%
ทรงย้ำ/soNja [↔] m/' to emphasize'	32			10	22
	2.3%			2.6%	2.5%

ทรงชี้/soNchi↔l' to point-out'	26			5	21
	1.9%			1.3%	2.4%
ทรงทำ/soNtham/' to do'	25	2	1	4	18
	1.8%	5.0%	1.4%	1.0%	2.0%
ทรงเตือน/soNtyan/' to warn'	24			6	18
	1.7%			1.6%	2.0%
ทรงแสดง/soNsadEEN/'to show'	21	4	3	10	4
	1.5%	10.0%	4.1%	2.6%	0.5%
ทรงประดิษฐ์/soNpradi↑d/'to invent'	20		1		19
	1.5%		1.4%		2.2%
ทรงด/soNNo↔d/to stop	18			6	12
	1.3%			1.6%	1.4%
ทรงอยู่/soNju↑u/' to be'	17	3	1	3	10
	1.2%	7.5%	1.4%	0.8%	1.1%
ทรงถือ/ถือมั่น/soNthy↓yima↓n/'to believe, to be convinced'	17	2	1	9	5
	1.2%	5.0%	1.4%	2.3%	0.6%
ทรงเน้น/soNne↔n/'to emphasize'	16			7	9
	1.1%			1.8%	1.0%
ทรงคำนึง/soNkhamny↔N/'to take into account'	15			11	4
	1.1%			2.9%	0.5%
ทรงตรากคร่ำ/soNtra↑agtram/' to relentlessly try hard'	15			1	14
	1.1%			2.6%	1.6%
ทรงเข้า/soNkha↓w/'to enter'	14			2	12
	1.0%			5.2%	1.4%
ทรงได้/soNda↓aj/'to get'	14			9	5
	1.0%			2.3%	0.6%
ทรงพยายาม/soNphajaajaam/' to try'	14			3	11

	1.0%			0.8%	1.3%
ทรงครอง/soNkhr□□N/'to rule'	13			3	10
	0.9%			0.8%	1.1%
ทรงแนะ/soNnE↔/' to recommend'	13			3	10
	0.9%			0.8%	1.1%
ทรงเล่า/soNla↓w/' to tell'	13	2	1	8	2
	0.9%	5.0%	1.4%	2.1%	0.2%
ทรงจุดธูป/soNcu↑dthu↑ub/'to light incense'	12		7		5
	0.9%		9.6%		0.6%
ทรงย่อท้อ/soNj□↓□th□↔/'to be discouraged'	11			1	10
	0.8%			0.3%	1.1%
ทรงขับ(ขี่) /soNkha↑b/'to drive'	10	2		8	
	0.8%	5.0%		2.1%	
ทรงตัด/soNta↑d/'to cut'	10			3	7
	0.8%			0.8%	0.8%
ทรงสาธิต/soNsa◇athi↔d/' to demonstrate'	10			3	7
	0.8%			0.8%	0.8%
ทรงมุ่ง/soNmu↓N/' to be resolved'	9			2	7
	0.7%			0.5%	0.8%
ทรงยึดมั่น/soNjy↓ydma↓n'to strongly believe'	9			6	3
	0.7%			1.6%	0.3%
ทรงริเริ่ม/soNri↔r↔↓↔m/' to initiate'	9			4	5
	0.7%			1.0%	0.6%
ทรงเริ่ม(ต้น) /soNr↔↓↔mto↓n/'to start'	9			6	3
	0.7%			1.6%	0.3%
ทรงสร้าง/soNsa↓aN/'to build'	9			5	4
	0.7%			1.3%	0.5%

ทรงสวม/soNsu [◊] am/'to put on'	9		5		4
	0.7%		6.8%		0.5%
ทรง/อธิบาย/soNa [↑] thi↔baaj/' to explain'	9			2	7
	0.7%			0.5%	0.8%

4.2.2.8 Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Verbs

I mentioned in the previous section two possible scenarios for the relative growth in the usage of ทรง/soN/ based TRL verbs compared to exclusive TRL verbs, namely expansion and substitution. When the first scenario, that of substitution, is applicable (either as the whole or as a partial explanation), the implications are that the usage of ทรง/soN/ involves numerous deviant or “non-grammatical” forms which utilize the particle in areas where it is either hypercorrected or duplicatory. By “hypercorrected” I mean cases where the prefix ทรง is applied to verbs which are considered as exclusive TRL verbs already. By “duplicatory” I mean cases where the prefix ทรง/soN/ is applied to a Standard Thai verb in order to create a TRL verb where there is already an existing TRL verb that conveys the same meaning. Hypercorrected verbs are a form of over-compensation, namely using all the possible linguistic tools to express a certain attitude, even when they overlap. Duplicatory forms simplify the register by taking away its

exclusive vocabulary, wrought as it is with deep cultural meanings and awesome taboos, and substituting it for a simple prefix.

I compiled numbers for the group of hypercorrected verbs since these can be identified quite clearly. I did not attempt the same for duplicatory verbs because there is a large gray area of verbs with sometimes more, sometimes less, similar meaning to existing TRL exclusive verbs. This fluidity of the meaning of verbs makes duplicatory use difficult to identify.

The total number of hypercorrected-verb cases that I found in all periods is 938 (table 4.8 shows only the most frequent ones, arranged by frequency) out of a total number of 4,702 ทรง/soN/ verb usages, or around 20%. This percentage is quite consistent through most of the periods. In the 1930's it is 45 out of 241 cases (20%), in the 1980s it is 265 out of 1,375 cases (about 19%) and in the latest period it stands at 523 cases out of 2,722 (about 19%). Only in the 1950s do we see a significant jump up to 105 out of 364 cases or 29%. The fact that the percentage remains stable indicates that hypercorrected usage is a steady participant in the increase of the usage of ทรง/soN/. The fact that it reaches its peak in the 1950s, a period during which the monarchy was sidelined by the ruling regime, and following a lengthy period during which there was no King resident in the country, except for brief visits, might indicate that this form is on the increase when users are not certain as to what would be the correct form and therefore

over-compensate. But such reasoning would require the use of the form to shrink fast when there is abundant information as to rules of usage (a situation which exists today), which is not the case. The peak in such usage in the 1950's is therefore not completely understood.

The issue of “information as to rules of usage” is a key point in understanding this phenomenon. We can see in table 4.8 that the majority of cases involve composite TRL verbs. Most people are indeed not aware of how to use these and whether ทรง/soN has to be applied or not. I believe that some forms are the result of confusion. For example, I already noted before that ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔ra↓adchathan/'to give' might be a result of the mistaken view that พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adchathan/'to give' is a noun as พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'thought'. The verbs ทรงโปรด /soNpro↑od/'to favour', ทรงผนวช/soNphanu↑ad/'to enter the priesthood' and ทรงรับสั่ง /soNra↔bsa↑N/, the three most common hypercorrected forms which are simple TRL verbs, might have other reasons, such as their similarity to Standard Thai words (รับสั่ง /ra↔bsa↑N/'to say' is a TRL exclusive word borrowed from Standard Thai, โปรด /pro↑od/'to favour' is used both in TRL and in Standard Thai-not unlike ทรง/soN/ itself).

In any case, we can see that the most common cases of hypercorrection do not occur with the most obvious TRL exclusive verbs (such as , เสวย/saw↔◊↔j/'to eat'), บรรพท

/bantho[↑]m/'to sleep', เสียดีจ/sade[↑]d/'to go'....), which are best recognized as such, but rather in areas that are a bit more ambiguous.

Table 4.8 Hypercorrected Verbs By Frequency & Period:

		1930- 35	1950- 57	1983- 86	1997- 99
ทรงเจริญพระชนมายุ-พรรษา/soNcar↔↔↔↔n phra↔↔chonmaaju↔↔/phra↔↔chonphansa [∇] a / 'to reach the age of...'	22.3%	3.8%	1.7%	17.9%	29.8%
ทรงมีพระราชดำรัส /soNmiiiphra↔↔ra [↓] adchadamra [↑] d/'to say'	17.0%	26.9%	1.7%	16.2%	19.3%
ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔↔ra [↓] adchathaan/'to give'	7.7%	19.2%	8.6%	4.5%	8.4%
ทรงสนพระทัย/soNso [∇] nphra↔↔thaj/'to interested' be	7.2%		1.7%	11.2%	6.6%
ทรงโปรด/soNpro [↑] od/'to favour'	6.1%		12.1%	7.8%	4.5%
ทรงผนวช/soNphanu [↑] ad/'to enter the priesthood'	5.7%		55.2%		0.6%
ทรงรับสั่ง/ soNra↔↔bsa [↑] N/'to say'	5.0%	7.7%	1.7%	5.0%	5.4%
ทรงมีพระชนมายุ/ soNmiiiphra↔↔chonmaaju↔↔/'reached the age of	4.0%	3.8%		8.9%	2.1%
ทรงมีพระบรมราชาวาท/soNmiiiphra↔↔↔b [□] rom ra [↓] adchoowa [↓] ad/'to give a sermon'	3.9%		1.7%	8.4%	2.1%
ทรงประทับ/soNpratha↔↔b/'to stay, to be in place'	3.9%	34.6%	5.2%	3.4%	1.5%
ทรงมีพระราชปฏิสันถาร /soNmiiiphra↔↔ra [↓] adchapati [↑] sa [∇] ntha [∇] an/'to greet, to chat'	3.5%	3.8%	3.5%	3.4%	3.6%
ทรงมีพระอาการ/soNmiiiphra↔↔aakaan/'to be in physical condition...'	2.9%		1.7%	3.4%	3.0%

ทรงโปรดเกล้าฯทรงโปรด/soNpro↑odkla↓aw/'to favour'	2.9%		5.2%	5.0%	1.5%
ทรงมีพระชนมพรรษา/ soNmiiiphra↔chonphansa↔a/'reached the age of'	2.7%			1.7%	3.9%
ทรงสนพระราชหฤทัย /soNso↔nphra↔ra↓adchaha↑ry↔thaj /'to be interested'	2.7%			2.2%	3.6%
ทรงมีพระราชดำริ /soNmiiiphra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'to think'	2.5%			1.1%	3.9%

We looked so far only at hypercorrected verbs. I explained the difficulty of compiling numbers for “duplicatory” usage for the entire survey. Instead of attempting such a complete survey of all these verbs, I made a small sample group of “types of action”, and compared the usage of hypercorrected and duplicatory verbs that approximately express these concepts to the original TRL exclusive verbs to which they are related. Even though the most common hypercorrected verbs are mostly composite verbs, still the phenomenon does also affect some of the better-known verbs of TRL. Such usage is worth exploring because it touches on some of the most sensitive areas of the TRL. I chose a limited group of seven concepts of action expressed by well-recognized verbs and checked both hypercorrected and duplicatory versions of them, in order to understand the extent of the phenomenon when it comes to such verbs. The examples I chose are arranged in pairs, each of which applies ทรง/soN/ to a concept, which can be expressed by a simple and widely known exclusive TRL verb. The first item in each pair

applies ทรง/soN/ to a Standard Thai verb (replacing an existing TRL verb), the second

applies ทรง/soN/ to the exclusive TRL verb itself, as follows: 1) To say: ทรงกล่าว

/soNkla[↑]aw/, ทรงเล่า/soNla[↓]w/ or ทรงรับสั่ง/ soNra[↔]bsa[↑]N/ or ทรงตรัส/soNtra[↑]d/ 2)

To go: ทรงเดินทาง/soNd^{↔↔}nthaaN/, ทรงเสด็จ/soNsade[↑]d/. 3) To sit, to be in a place:

ทรงนั่ง/soNna[↓]N/ or ทรงอยู่/soNju[↑]u/, ทรงประทับ/soNpratha[↔]b/. 4) To listen: ทรงรับฟัง

/soNra[↔]bfaN or ทรงฟัง/soNfaN/, ทรงสดับ/soNsada[↑]b/. 5) To look: ทรงมอง

/soNm^{□□}N/, ทรงทอดพระเนตร/soNth^{□↓}dphra[↔]ne[↓]ed/. 6) To sleep: ทรงหลับ/

soNla[↑]b/, ทรงบรรทม/soNbantho[↑]m/. 7) To give: ทรงให้

/soNha[↓]j/, ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra[↔]ra[↓]adchathaan/.

The results are shown in table 4.9. Interestingly, the total number of duplicatory and hypercorrected verbs is quite similar, indicating, perhaps, that the two phenomena are quite similar in their extent. In both cases, the verb “to give” has the largest number of cases, followed by the verb “to say”. The verbs to “sleep” and “to go” have the smallest number, indicating that both are quite well recognized. As I will show later, the case of the usage of the verb “to go” has a particular significance, as the verb เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/ is acting as a semi-prefix on its own right for some areas of TRL verbs, and will be therefore rarely duplicated by ทรง/soN/. In the case of “to sleep”, the verb บรรทม /bantho[↑]m/ is not only well known, but is also instinctively associated with being royal.

This is coupled with the fact that the context for discussing “royal sleep” will usually be very specific, and therefore require more attention and care.

Table 4.9 Corresponding Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Verbs by Frequency and Period (Based on Highly Recognized TRL Verbs)

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-56	1983-85	1997-99
ทรงกล่าว/soNkla↑aw/ 'to tell'	9.2%		3.2%	25.8%	1.5%
ทรงเล่า/soNla↓w/ 'to tell'	4.6%	7.7%	3.2%	9.0%	1.5%
ทรงตรัส/soNtra↑d/ 'to say'	4.6%		12.9%	2.2%	5.1%
ทรงรับสั่ง/ soNra↔bsa↑N/ 'to say'	10.6%	7.7%	3.2%	10.2%	13.2%
ทรงอยู่/soNju↑u/ 'to be (in a place)'	6.0%	11.5%	3.2%	3.4%	7.4%
ทรงนั่ง/soNna↓N/ 'to sit'	0.4%				0.7%
ทรงประทับ/ประทับยืน /soNpratha↔b/ 'to be (in a place)'	8.2%	34.6%	9.7%	6.7%	3.7%
ทรงมอง/มองเห็น /soNm□□N/ 'to look'	2.1%			2.2%	2.9%
ทรงทอดพระเนตร /soNth□↓□dphra↔ne↓e d/ 'To look'	5.3%	7.7%		4.5%	6.6%
ทรงให้ /soNha↓j/ 'to give	22.8%	7.7%	9.7%	18.0%	31.7%

ทรงพระราชทาน /soNphra↔ra↓adchat haan/ 'to give'	16.3%	19.3%	16.2%	9.1%	20.7%
ทรงรับฟัง /soNra↔bfaN/'to listen'	1.4%			3.4%	0.7%
ทรงฟัง/soNfaN/'to listen'	1.4%		3.2%	2.2%	0.7%
ทรงสดับ/soNsada↑b/'to listen'	0.7%			1.1%	0.7%
ทรงหลับ/soNla↑b/'to sleep'	0.7%		6.5%		
ทรงบรรทม /soNbantho↑m/'to sleep'	0.7%				1.5%
ทรงเดินทาง /soNd↔↔↔nthaaN/'to go'	0.7%		3.2%		0.7%
ทรงเสด็จ/soNsade↑d/'to go'	4.3%	3.8%	25.8%	2.2%	0.7%
TOTAL DUPLICATORY VERBS	139=49.3%	7=26.9%	10=32.2%	57=64.0%	65=47.8%
TOTAL HYPERCORRECTED VERBS	143=50.7%	19=73.1%	21=67.8%	32=36.0%	71=52.2%

In order to get a better perspective on the nature of the phenomenon I compiled table 4.10. The figures in table 4.10 estimate the number of usages of the “correct” verbs corresponding to those in table 4.9. The estimate is very rough, because, as noted above, some verbs change their meaning according to the context (for example, verbs such as เสด็จออก/sade[↑]d[□]□[□]g/’to exit, เสด็จเข้า/sade[↑]dkha[↓]w/’to enter’, เสด็จลง/sade[↑]dloN/’to go down, were not included in my summary, but they could be, depending on the circumstances). Comparing the absolute figures in table 4.9 to those in table 4.10, we find that the total number of the two deviant forms is 10% of the correct usages (we have 2,714 total correct usages in table 4.10 versus 143 hypercorrected usages and 139 duplicatory usages in table 4.9, which together are around 10% of the correct usages). Excluding the special case of เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/’to go’, which is very highly recognized as an exclusive TRL verb, by eliminating it from both tables, we will reach a percentage which is closer to 20%, which is very high considering how well recognized these verbs are. We earlier noted that hypercorrected verbs in total account for about 19-20% of total verbs used, and that includes a large number of composite verbs. I did not attempt to compile numbers for duplicatory use, but the fact that the small sample of well recognized verbs, where we would expect the least deviation, brings a proportion of close to 20% (excluding เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/’to go’), and also shows a similar proportion between hypercorrected and duplicatory verbs, might indicate that the usages of all deviant verbs that rely on ทรง/soN/, both duplicatory and

hypercorrected, might be 30-40% of the total. That's an important indication of the drift that occurs in the usage of TRL.

Table 4.10 Proportion of Duplicatory and Hypercorrected Usages (of Table 4.9) out of Total Usages (Both Correct and Incorrect).

THE CORRECT USAGES	TOTAL	1930-	1950-	1983-	1997-
		35	57	86	99
TO SAY, TO SPEAK: (มีกระแสดพระราชาดำรัส, มีพระกระแสด, มีพระกระแสดพระราชาดำรัส, มีพระราชกระแสด, มีพระราชกระแสดรับสั่ง, มีพระราชาดำรัส, มีรับสั่ง, ดำรัส, มีพระดำรัส)	37%	57%	44%	43%	30%
TO GO: (เสด็จ, เสด็จประพาส, เสด็จไป, เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน, เสด็จพระราชดำเนินไป, เสด็จฯ, เสด็จฯพระราชดำเนิน, เสด็จฯเยี่ยม, ประพาส)	1%	0%	5%	1%	0%
TO SLEEP: (ประทับ, ประทับแรม)	1%	0%	1%	0%	2%
TO LOOK: (ทอดพระเนตร)	11%	4%	0%	13%	16%
TO SLEEP: (บรรทม)	14%	0%	10%	0%	50%
TO GIVE: (พระราชทาน)	12%	10%	11%	11%	12%
TOTAL "INCORRECT" VERBS	10%	6%	9%	12%	10%

4.2.2.9 A Demonstrative Case of the Use of ทรง/soN/ (The Verbs "To Say")

I compiled and reviewed the data which I collected and drew conclusions based on the behaviour of certain variables which apply to the data as a whole. Obviously, context does play a role, and even though there is a strong similarity in the context of royal

affairs reporting over the years (mainly the types of events reported), still we can easily see that certain exceptional important events influence the data.

Though I believe that most of my findings are independent of the variations in context, I thought it worthwhile to test some of these results in a micro survey of a representative group of words that share the same or similar meaning. Obviously, that will also eliminate the phenomenon of expansion in the vocabulary and focus on other dimensions. I chose the group that expresses the concept of “saying” both because of widespread general usage which is spread throughout all periods and also because this group has a number of possible exclusive TRL lexical items and therefore can be more illustrative of the whole population than a case where there is one or two exclusive TRL terms only.

In table 4.11 I present the various verbs, both exclusive and *ทรง/soN/-* based, which express the idea of “saying”. The relative rise of usages based on *ทรง/soN/* is quite clear. In the first two periods, the number of exclusive TRL usages is 65.5% and 84.2%, higher than those based on *ทรง/soN/*, in the third the gap is getting smaller, with 55.9% of exclusive TRL usages, and in the fourth period usages based on *ทรง/soN/* are higher, 57.3%, while exclusive (or non-*ทรง/soN/*) usages drop to only 42.7%. This result is interesting because there are so many ways in the TRL to express the concept of

“saying” with exclusive TRL verbs and there is really no need to use prefixation with ทรง

/soN/ at all.

Table 4.11 The Case of the Verb “To Say”

		1930-35	1950-56	1983-86	1997-99
ทรงมีพระราชดำรัส /soNmiiiphra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/	20.6%	24.1%	1.8%	17.1%	27.4%
ทรงรับสั่ง/soNra↔bsa↑N/	6.1%	6.9%	1.8%	5.3%	7.7%
ทรงกล่าว/soNkla↑aw/	5.3%		1.8%	13.5%	0.9%
ทรงมีรับสั่ง/soNmiiira↔bsa↑N/	2.9%			2.9%	3.8%
ทรงมีพระกระแส/soNmiiiphra↔krasE∅E/	2.7%				5.5%
ทรงมีพระกระแสรับสั่ง /soNmiiiphra↔krasE∅Era↔bsa↑N/	1.8%			1.2%	3.0%
ทรงมีพระราชกระแสรับสั่ง /soNmiiiphra↔ra↓adchakrasE∅Era↔bsa↑N/	1.4%				3.0%
ทรงบอก/soNb□↑□g/	1.0%			2.9%	
ทรงพระราชดำรัส/ /soNphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/	1.0%			7.0%	0.4%
ทรงมีกระแสพระราชดำรัส /soNmiiikrasE∅Ephra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/	1.0%			0.6%	1.7%
ทรงมีพระราชกระแส /soNmiiiphra↔ra↓adchkrasE∅E	0.6%				1.3%
ทรงมีกระแสรับสั่ง /soNmiiiphra↔krasE∅Era↔bsa↑N/	0.6%				1.3%
ทรงมีพระกระแสพระราชดำรัส	0.4%				0.9%

/soNmiiphra↔krasE∅E phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/					
ทรงมีพระดำรัส/soNmii phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/	0.4%	34.5%		0.6%	
ทรงพระดำรัส /soNphra↔ra↓adcha damra↑d/	0.4%		3.5%		
ทรงดำรัส /soNdamra↑d/	0.2%				0.4%
มีพระราชดำรัส/ soNmiiphra↔ra↓adcha damra↑d/	20.8%		5.3%	23.5%	25.2%
รับสั่ง /ra↔bsa↑N/	15.9%	48.3%	56.1%	17.6%	0.9%
ตรัส/tra↑d/	9.4%	10.3%	10.5%	4.7%	12.4%
มีพระราชกระแสรับสั่ง miiphra↔ra↓adchakrasE∅Era↔bsa↑N/	1.6%		1.8%	2.4%	1.3%
มีพระราชกระแส /miiphra↔ra↓adchakrasE∅E/	1.4%		1.8%	2.4%	0.9%
มีรับสั่ง/miira↔bsa↑N/	1.0%		3.5%	1.8%	
มีกระแสพระราชดำรัส /miikrasE∅Ephra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/	1.0%			0.6%	1.7%
ดำรัส/damra↑d/	0.8%	6.9%	1.8%	0.6%	
มีพระดำรัส/miiphra↔ra↓adcha damra↑d/	0.6%		1.8%	1.2%	
มีกระแสพระราชดำรัสตอบ /miikrasE∅Ephra↔ra↓adchadamra↑dt□↑□b/	0.4%		1.8%	0.6%	
มีพระกระแสพระราชดำรัส /miiphra↔krasE∅Ephra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/	0.2%				0.4%
มีพระกระแส/miiphra↔krasE∅E/	0.2%			0.6%	
TOTAL ทรง/soN/ VERBS	46.5%	34.5%	15.8%	44.1%	57.3%
TOTAL EXCLUSIVE VERBS	53.5%	65.5%	84.2%	55.9%	42.7%
GRAND TOTAL	490=100%	29=100%	57=100%	170=100%	234=100%

It should also be noted that the numerous ways of expressing the concept of “saying” in the TRL exclusive lexicon are meant to indicate the ranks of speakers as well as the formality of the occasion. These distinctions can hardly be found to be made in actual usage. The function of the different words seems to be more that of embellishing sentences or making them more elaborate.

To sum up, an examination of the vocabulary used to express the concept of “to say” reconfirms the finding that we arrived at with the complete data population, namely, the increase in the relative usage of ทรงแง/soN/. Though this is not conclusive “proof”, it does strengthen the assertion that the general conclusions are correct independently of context.

4.2.2.10 Summary of ทรงแง/soN/ Verbs:

To conclude briefly, an examination of vocabulary use in the area of Standard Thai verbs prefixed by ทรงแง/soN/ clearly shows that there is increased use of verbs that are created through the application of ทรงแง/soN/, and that these are mostly prefixed Standard Thai verbs. This indicates a simplification of the register. We found that the growth in the usage of ทรงแง/soN/ includes both an expansion of the vocabulary and substitution, both by hypercorrection and duplication, of the exclusive TRL vocabulary. I estimated total substitution at 30-40% of usage.

An important finding, based on content analysis, was of a group of verbs that not just shows an increase in use, but basically emerges into existence. This group of verbs is far from random: it conveys clearly an image of the monarchy, represented by the King, as a pedagogical figure that experiences deep concern for his subjects and is willing to engage in activities that were traditionally not considered as a part of the “image” of Royalty.

4.2.3 Exclusive TRL Verbs

I devoted a large part of this chapter to the growth in the use of ทรงแง/soN/ verbs and their expansion, both its autonomic aspect and its substitutive aspect. As we saw in table 4.4 the share of exclusive TRL verbs declines as a percentage of all verb usage. Still, this group constitutes the core of the group of TRL verbs, and is worth looking at in detail.

4.2.3.1 The Major Lexical Groups within TRL Exclusive Verbs:

As we can see in table 4.12, the group of exclusive TRL verbs is dominated by a very small number of categories. The most important, by far, is that of เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/’to go’. Verbs using เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/’to go’ constitute between 38% to 54% of exclusive verbs in the different periods. As noted before, this verb behaves in a similar, though more limited, fashion to that of ทรงแง/soN/, namely as a marker of TRL for actions which involve movement. If we compare the absolute number of exclusive verbs to total verb usages,

we will find that its percent of the total is reduced. There are, however, two verbs in the exclusive verb group whose relative frequency increases and these are verbs related to royal birthday ceremonies and to royal giving (พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adchathaan/). We looked at the growing importance of the royal birthday ceremonies in our review of the royal events (Chapter 1) that contextualize the discourse on royal affairs. The importance of พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adchathaan/'to give' is related to the expression of an exchange process of giving, ถวาย/thawaaaj/'to give' and พระราชทาน /phra↔ra↓adchathaan/'to give' between the public and the royal house, which I discussed in the first section of this chapter. The share of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' verbs is steady in the last three periods, but drops from a level of 54% of all exclusive verbs in the 1930s to 38-39% in the other three periods. Context definitely plays a role here, but an additional factor is probably the tendency to express a much larger repertoire of actions than in the past. In still earlier royal texts, such as Royal chronicles or travel logs, physical movement occupies a major part of what is expressed, and its dominance is a part of the laconic, factual stylistics of the genre.

Table 4.12 Main Sub-Groups of Exclusive TRL Verbs

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-57	1983-86	1997-99
พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adchathaan/'to give'	17.6%	10.0%	9.9%	16.2%	22.8%
ROYAL BIRTHDAY VERBS	18.6%		0.3%	5.7%	15.1%
เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' VERBS	30.9%	54.3%	39.1%	40.7%	37.7%
OTHERS	32.9%	35.7%	50.7%	37.4%	24.4%

TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
TOTAL IN ABSOLUTE TERMS	4731	649	675	1161	2249

4.2.3.2 The Relative Lexical Stability of Exclusive Verbs:

In terms of numbers of lexical items, we find here, as can be expected, much more stability than in ทรง/soN/ verbs. The number of lexical items in a certain category of words represents how many different words there are in this group. The total number of TRL lexical item besides เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go' is 26 in the first period, 56 in the second, 82 in the third and 77 in the fourth. The number of lexical items using เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go' is 49, 21, 40 and 54 respectively in the four periods. These numbers demonstrate the fundamental difference between ทรง/soN/ and เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go'. The second is very limited as a marker, and it does not contribute much to the expressive powers of the register as the first one does.

In general, the majority of entries are verbs that are used throughout all the four periods.

There are very few “new comers” and only three out of the fifteen most frequently used verbs are new. These exceptions are verbs such as เสด็จฉลองพระชนมพรรษา

/chal↔(↔)mphra↔chonphansa[∇]a/'to celebrate birthday', เสด็จฉลองพระชนมพรรษา

/chal↔↔↔mchal□□Nphra↔↔chonphansa↔a/'to celebrate birthday', มีพระชนมายุ

/miiphra↔↔chonmaaju↔↔/'reached the age of....', มีพระชนมพรรษา

/miiphra↔↔chonphansa↔a/'reached the age of..'and เจริญพระชนมพรรษา

/car↔↔↔nphra↔↔chonphansa↔a/'reached the age of', all of which relate to the royal birthday ceremonies which gain more and more in importance.

In table 4.13 we can see those exclusive verbs that appear in all periods, arranged by frequency. The list is exhaustive of all exclusive TRL verbs which appear in all 4 periods. As noted earlier, we can see once again the importance of the verb พระราชทาน /phra↔↔ra↔↔adchathaan/'to give' or giving, which appears in 26.1% of all cases, much more than any other exclusive TRL verb, besides the verb group of เสด็จ/sade↔↔↔d/'to go', the two main verbs of which take 35.3% of the total. The next most frequent verb is ประทับ/ pratha↔↔b/, which appears in 8.8% of all cases in the table. Otherwise, the most frequently used verbs that are used continuously in all four periods are: ทอดพระเนตร/th↔↔↔dphra↔↔ne↔↔ed/'to look, ประชากร/prachuan/'to be sick', เสวย/saw↔↔↔↔↔j/'to eat', บรรทม/bantho↔↔m/'to sleep', รับผิดชอบ/ra↔↔bsa↔↔N/'to say, ตรัส/tra↔↔d/'to say' โปรด /pro↔↔od/'to favour' and โปรดเกล้าฯ/pro↔↔odkla↔↔aw/'to favour'. These are all simple exclusive TRL verbs (besides ทอดพระเนตร/th↔↔↔dphra↔↔ne↔↔ed/'to look, which even though it is a composite, it is very well recognized and often used), all very well recognized by all members of the public, all immediately associated with royalty.

Composite verbs, such as ขอบพระทัย/kh◁□□bphra↔thaj/'to thank', แปรพระราชฐาน

/prEephra↔ra↓adchatha◊an/'change place', มีพระราชดำรัส

/miiphra↔ra↓adcha↔damra↑d/'to say', เถลิงถวัลย์ราชสมบัติ

/thak↔◊↔Nthawa◊nra↓adchso◊mba↑d/'to ascend the throne', มีพระบรมราชโองการ

/miiphra↔b□romra↓achooowa↓ad/'to give a sermon', มีพระราชประสงค์

/miiphra↔ra↓adchapraso◊N/'to wish, to want' are not used, in these forms,

continuously in the four periods.

Table 4.13 Frequent Exclusive TRL Verbs that are Used in All Periods

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-57	1983-86	1997-5
พระราชทาน/phra↔ra↓adchthaan/'to give'	26.1%	13.3%	12.6%	26.1%	35
เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน /sade↑dphra↔ra↓adchadamn↔↔n/'to go'	25.9%	12.3%	18.3%	32.1%	30
เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go'	9.4%	20.9%	9.2%	9.3%	5
ประทับ/pratha↔b/'to be in place, to sit'	8.8%	18.6%	8.5%	5.3%	7
ทอดพระเนตร/th◁□□dphra↔ne↓ed/'to look'	5.3%	10.4%	2.1%	5.6%	4
ประชวร/prachuan/'to be sick'	4.7%	0.6%	20.8%	2.4%	1
เสด็จออก/sade↑d□□g/'to exit	4.3%	4.7%	2.3%	4.0%	5
เสวย/saw↔◊↔j/'to eat'	2.7%	2.5%	2.8%	3.3%	2
รับสั่ง/ra↑bsa↔N/'to speak'	2.4%	2.9%	6.0%	4.2%	0

เสด็จลง/sade↑dloN/'to go down'	1.8%	2.2%	2.3%	0.7%	2.1%
เสด็จไป/sade↑dpaj/'to go'	1.7%	2.7%	5.1%	0.8%	0.8%
ตรัส/tra↑d/'to say'	1.4%	0.6%	1.1%	1.1%	2.1%
โปรดเกล้าฯ/pro↑dodkla↓aw/'to favour'	1.3%	2.8%	0.6%	1.5%	1.1%
เสด็จขึ้น/sade↑dkhy↓n/'to go up'	1.3%	1.4%	3.0%	0.7%	1.1%
บรรทม/bantho↑m/'to sleep'	0.8%	0.2%	3.2%	0.6%	0.8%
โปรด/pro↑d/'to favour'	0.7%	0.4%	1.0%	1.0%	0.8%
ประพาส/prapha↓ad/'to tour'	0.7%	3.3%	0.6%	0.1%	0.8%
เสด็จมา/ sade↑dmaa/'to come	0.5%	0.2%	0.6%	1.1%	0.8%
	3196=100%	489=100%	530=100%	719=100%	1458=100%

4.2.3.3 The Limited Role of the Verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go'

Turning to the key verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go', I noted before its large share of exclusive TRL verbs, both in terms of the number of entries and in terms of the number of lexical items. However, the different lexical items under the verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' are mostly concerned with basic directions of movement, rather than expressing more complex actions. We can see that in table 4.13, which shows the exclusive TRL verbs, including lexical items composed with เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go', which are used in all four periods, and in which we mostly find verbs such as เสด็จออก/sade↑d□□g/'to exit & เสด็จเข้า/sade↑dkha↓w/'to enter', เสด็จลง/sade↑dloN/'to go down & เสด็จขึ้น

/sade[↑]dkhy[↓]n/'to go up' เสด็จไป/sade[↑]dpaj/'to go' & เสด็จกลับ/sade[↑]dkla[↑]b/'to return' or เสด็จมา/sade[↑]dmaa/'to come. Most other lexical items are created through the variability between using the simple form of เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go' and the more complete (for a King and a Queen) form of เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน /sade[↑]dphra↔ra[↓]adchadamn↔↔n/.

An important finding in table 4.14 is the increase in the relative usage of the complete form for the King's movement, เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน

/sade[↑]dphra↔ra[↓]adchadamn↔↔n/, coming at the expense of the shorter form (which, in fact, should be used for lower ranked royalty), which is เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go'.

This is one of the only cases in the area of verbs where I found evidence of increased formality of usage, and it corresponds to findings in the areas of nouns and especially pronominals.

Verbs expressing other kinds of more complex action which I found, and which are mostly not shown in the tables 4.13 and 4.14 due to low frequency, are: เสด็จเยี่ยม

/sade[↑]dji[↓]am/'to visit', เสด็จสาธิต/sade[↑]dsa[∇]athi↔d/'to demonstrate', เสด็จชม

/sade[↑]dchom/'to view', เสด็จตรวจ/sade[↑]dtru[↑]d/'to inspect', เสด็จฯเยือน

/sade[↑]djyan/'to visit', เสด็จฯเปิด/sade[↑]dp↔↔d/'to go open', เสด็จเล่นกีฬา

/sade[↑]dle[↓]nkiilaa/'to go play sports', เสด็จบุก/sade[↑]dbu[↑]g/'to brave his way', เสด็จ

บำเพ็ญ/sade↑dbamphen/'to go perform', เสด็จนมัสการ/sade↑dnama↔sakaan/'to go
 greet'. All of these verbs could be expressed through the use of ทรง/soN/ (most are, in
 fact). The fact that these actions were performed immediately after or during or in some
 close relation to a royal movement, allows the writers to use the verb expressing the
 movement, เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go', as a royal marker to the verb. Since numerous types of
 action can be imagined as connected to a royal movement, there could be a possibility
 of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' marked verbs acquiring prominence, perhaps in a similar way to
 ทรง/soN/. The examples above show that the possibility existed, but the fact is that it did
 not materialize. Though เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' remains one of the most important verbs of
 TRL, with a relatively wide field of application, it did not develop its inherent potential as
 a general marker. There could be different reasons for this; the strong, perhaps limiting,
 link to physical movement is one. As we will see in the next Chapter, the prominence of
 nouns relating to physical locations and means of transportation drops dramatically from
 the first two to the last two periods, a fact which signifies that physical movement
 becomes less emphasized as a royal activity. But, the most probable explanation is that
 there is no need for more than one universal marker. The only justification for having
 more than one marker would be a division of labour as regards different rank or status
 levels, as for example one would be used for the rank of King, queen and immediate
 siblings and the other for other royal ranks. This did not happen in the case of TRL and it
 seems that since ทรง/soN/ already partially fulfills the role of universal marker in the
 making, the development of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' in that direction has been stalled.

Table 4.14 Most Frequent Variants Of The Verb เสด็จ

	TOTAL	1930-	1950-	1983-	1997-
เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔n/'to go'	46.9%	20.4%	38.8%	52.7%	56.3%
เสด็จ/ sade [↑] d/'to go'	17.0%	34.5%	19.6%	15.3%	10.5%
เสด็จออก/sade [↑] d□□g/'to exit	7.7%	7.7%	4.8%	6.6%	9.1%
เสด็จพระราชดำเนินกลับ /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔n kla [↑] b/'to return'	4.3%	2.4%		5.5%	5.7%
เสด็จพระราชดำเนินไป /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔n paj/'to go'	4.0%	7.1%		3.9%	4.4%
เสด็จลง/sade [↑] dloN/'to go down	3.3%	3.7%	4.8%	1.1%	3.9%
เสด็จไป/sade [↑] dpaj/'to go'	3.0%	4.3%	10.8%	1.4%	0.9%
เสด็จกลับ/sade [↑] dkla [↑] b/'to return'	2.7%	7.7%	6.4%		1.2%
เสด็จขึ้น/sade [↑] dkhy [↓] n/'to go up'	2.4%	2.3%	6.4%	1.1%	1.7%
เสด็จพระราชดำเนินมา /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔nmaa/'to arrive'	1.6%	1.0%		3.6%	1.1%
เสด็จพระราชกุศล /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchakuso [↓] n	1.2%			5.0%	
เสด็จมา/ sade [↑] dmaa/'to come'	1.0%	0.3%	1.2%	1.8%	0.6%
เสด็จเข้า/sade [↑] dkha [↓] w/'to enter'	0.9%	0.3%	3.6%		0.7%
เสด็จผ่าน/ sade [↑] dpha [↑] an/'to pass'	0.8%	2.3%	1.2%	0.2%	0.5%
เสด็จถึง/ sade [↑] dthy [↓] N/'to arrive'	0.8%	2.0%	1.6%	0.2%	0.4%

เสด็จออก/sade [↑] d [□] g/'to exit	0.7%	0.7%		0.9%	0.9%
เสด็จพระราชดำเนินถึง /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔n thy [◇] N/'to arrive'	0.5%				1.1%
เสด็จลง/sade [↑] dloN/'to go down	0.4%	1.7%		0.2%	0.2%
เสด็จเยี่ยม/ sade [↑] dji [↓] am/'to visit	0.4%	1.3%	0.8%		0.2%
เสด็จพระราชดำเนินเข้า /sade [↑] dphra↔ra [↓] adchadamn↔↔nkha [↓] w/'to enter'	0.4%	0.3%		0.5%	0.6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

4.2.3.4 Summary of Exclusive TRL Verbs:

To sum up briefly, exclusive TRL verbs, defined as TRL verbs which are not created through the application of ทรง/soN/, include both simple (mostly Khmer derived) verbs and composites created by the application of Standard Thai verbs with TRL nouns. The first group is closed to further lexical creations, but one prominent member of it, the verb เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go', serving as a general verb for movement, could have had the potential to become a marker with wide application. This however, has not occurred. We saw some examples where it is used to mark a wide assortment of action verbs, but these are the exception rather the rule. Other simple exclusive TRL verbs such บรรทม /bantho[↑]m/'to sleep', เสวย/saw↔↔j/'to eat', โปรด/pro[↑]od/'to favour' are used consistently in all periods, but are specific to their areas. Composite verbs are one area where linguistic creativity could be occurring, but in fact, new lexical items are few and

short lasting. This can be explained by the growing prominence of ทวง/soN/ as an easy solution for lexical needs.

The only two areas of exclusive TRL verbs where I found significantly increased usage are the verb “to give” and verbs related to the celebration of the King’s birthday.

4.3 Summary

The examination of change in the usage of TRL verbs is one of the major parts of this thesis, as verbs are, based on the power mandala model of the TRL, the area which is most prone to change in the TRL.

I divided the verbs of TRL into royal and non-royal verbs based on the criterion of the subject of the verb. Commoners are the subjects of non-royal TRL verbs and we found that the proportion of royal verbs out of total verbs grows significantly, pointing to an increased role of commoners in the dialogue with the monarchy. The most significant non-royal verb by far is ทวง/thawa \diamond aj/’to give’, and its usage increases to the point that it dominates all actions of commoners towards royal persons. The importance of “giving” is symptomatic of the Thai value system in general, and its growing importance in relation to the royal house is a significant finding.

As far as royal verbs are concerned, these signify actions performed by the royal persons themselves. While there is a small exclusive TRL verb lexicon, the most interesting finding was in regards to new TRL words created through the application of the prefix ทรง/soN/. I found marked increase in the usage of this prefix, serving as a convenient marker of new TRL verbs and opening the register to the full linguistic resources of the Thai verb lexicon. The impact of the dramatically increased usage of this prefix regularizes the register and potentially can turn it from a complex system with many rules and special vocabulary into a simple system of respectful marking. Furthermore, the use of the prefix allows much new content to be expressed which otherwise would have had no means of expression. In the periods of the 1980s of the 1990s this new content emerges in the form of a new group of verbs that convey the image of the King as “working hard”, “trying”, “being determined”, “teaching”, “explaining”, “sympathizing with”, “worrying”, and a host of other attributes which add up to a new concept of kingship. The new concept of kingship as reflected in these verbs is one of the main findings in this thesis.

Meanwhile, the spread of the use of ทรง/soN/ creates a great sense of lack of uniformity in the usage of TRL. New and old forms co-exist and numerous non grammatical usages spread, both hypercorrections and duplications, in prefixed Standard Thai, of well established exclusive TRL verbs.

And as far as exclusive TRL verbs are concerned, that is an area where we find a lack of linguistic creativity, a role that has been usurped by ทรงแง/soN/. I examined in particular the verb เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go', a verb indicating movement that used to dominate TRL verbs in the past and had the potential to become a general marker such as ทรงแง/soN/, expressing numerous new types of action. I found the use of this verb to be in relative decline and its potential to create new compound TRL verbs unfulfilled, as this role has been fully assumed by the prefix ทรงแง/soN/



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER 5

PRONOMINALS AND NOUNS IN TRL

Chapter 5 examines changes in the usage of TRL pronominals and nouns. The purpose of the chapter is to identify changes in the more conservative parts of the TRL, and to qualify such observations in terms of what they can tell us about perceptions of the monarchy and its role. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first looking at pronominals, the second at nouns. The first section of each part is a brief outline of the main characteristics of the linguistic group under study.

5.1 Changes in the Usage of Pronominals in TRL

5.1.1 Brief Outline of Pronominals in TRL

By pronominals I mean linguistic instruments of personal reference. This group includes pronouns, titles, kinship terms and names. The borders between these different lexical groups are often blurred in actual usage in Thai (Roengpitya, 1973: 143-148). I therefore believe that one has to look at personal references as a whole, rather than discussing them under different headings, as, for example, discussing kinship terms under the heading of nouns.

TRL pronouns exist in the second and the third persons only, namely when addressing a royal person or when referring to one. In the first person, a royal person would use polite standard Thai pronouns, but will not refer to himself by using a TRL pronoun. On the other hand, common people addressing a royal person, or persons with royal title addressing their superiors will use a TRL prescribed self-humiliating pronoun to refer to themselves. Only a person who addresses a royal person uses this TRL first person pronoun.

Of the second and third person pronouns, the highest degree of elaboration occurs in the second person. This corresponds to findings about other royal registers, such as the Javanese (Prasithratsint, 1998: 106). The elaboration in the second person involves the length and complexity of the pronoun used, as well as the degree of detail in distinguishing different ranks in the hierarchy. The King himself is addressed as ใต้ฝ่า
 ละของธุลีพระบาท/ ta_↓ajfa_↓ala_↓?□□Nthu_↑liiphra_↔ba_↑ad/, which translates roughly into “The dust of the dust under the soles of the royal feet” (Roengpitya, 1973: 45).

Pronouns for the lower royal ranks are reduced sequential versions of the pronoun for the King. Each rank is differentiated minutely. As for TRL pronouns in the third person, the degree of elaboration is much lower. There are two basic pronouns พระองค์

/phra_↔?oN/ and ท่าน/tha_↓n/, the first used for any high-ranking royal person, the second for all-important persons, both Royalty, nobility and prominent politicians and public figures. In practice, however, the pronoun ท่าน/tha_↓n/ is often used for the King

himself. Also, the two are often combined to form a third version: พระองค์ท่าน/
 phra↔?oNtha↓n/, which could be compared to English “his majesty himself” and
 which expresses special reverence (Roengptiya, 1973: 141).

The relative simplicity in the use of third person pronouns is, in a sense, not surprising.
 The situation of addressing a royal person directly is much stronger, emotionally, than
 that of reference, and “the degree of exaltation and humility seemsto increase greatly
 when the Royal personage is physically present”(Roengpitya, 1973: 44).

First person TRL pronouns are used by commoners who address royalty (or minor royalty
 to address superior royalty). The first person pronoun, used when addressing the King or
 a high royalty is ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า/kha↓aphra↔phu↑dthaca↓w/ for men, and เก้า
 กระหม่อมฉัน/kla↓awkram□↑mcha◇n/ for women (The Thai Royal Language, 1996: 24-
 29). The first literally means “the slave or servant of the Lord Buddha”, thus equating the
 King with the Lord Buddha. The second would translate as “my head and the top of my
 head”. Consecutive first person pronouns used for royal persons of lower rank relate to a
 scale of diminishing gap between the addressing person and the person being
 addressed. The sequentially reduced reference to one’s head parallels the sequentially
 reduced reference to the King’s (and then to senior royal person’s) feet in the second
 person pronoun.

Besides pronouns, royal persons are often referred to by their titles or by different abbreviations of their titles. The titles are complex creations that describe the kinship relationship of a person with a King (during the reign of which the person was born, and can be either the present or a former reign), the kinship relationship with the present King, and various merit-based titles, including titles originally related to the Sakdina title system. This last system changed its referential meaning as the system of government changed. The relation to **a reign** determines one's title, while the relation to **the (present) reign** is described through kinship terms. Kinship terms are often derived from Sanskrit or Pali and prefixed by the honorific พระ/phra↔/ Kinship terms are also very similar in structure to TRL nouns.

While the titles can be abbreviated, still, mere names or nicknames without titles will never be used as a personal reference, neither for the King nor for other royal persons. (The Thai Royal Language, 1995:13). The names, if used, will always be preceded by a part of the title. This corresponds to a general tendency in polite Thai to precede the name of a respected person, such as teacher or high official with his title.

The most important title and name is that of the King himself. The King's royal title is not a part of the system described above, as this system is based to a large degree on a reference to him as its focal point. The present King's title and name (not the full official version, which is even more long and elaborate) is พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิ

พลอดุลยเดชมหิตลามาธิบดีจักรีนฤเบศรคามินทรायामินทรราชบรมนาถบพิตร. In actual use, many shortened personal references to the King are used. The various TRL dictionaries list various abbreviated titles (The Thai Royal Language, 1996:13-14).. The title most often used is, in relatively formal tone พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↑adso◇mde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑uhu◇a/, sometimes shortened to พระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ca↓awju↑uhu◇a/ and in more relaxed tone ในหลวง/najlu◇aN/. The first includes the honorific พระบาทสมเด็จพระ/phra↔ba↑adso◇mde↑d/ prefix, which is a part of the full title of every King (and means, in exact transliteration “great excellent feet”), coupled with the title พระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ca↓awju↑uhu◇a/, which means “a King”, or in exact transliteration, “Ruler Above the Head. (Roengpitya, 1973: 42). The abbreviated ในหลวง/najlu◇aN/ is the most widely used in informal speech.

5.1.2 Analysis of the Change in Usage of Pronominals in TRL

In this section I will look at the data related to changes in the usage of pronominals for the King only. The data in this section is based on a total of 6,597 entries of reference to the King. Reference to the King is by far the most prevalent TRL personal reference, and since the King stands at the apex of the royal family, changes in the usage of personal reference to him will be of the greatest interest.

As we can see in Table 5.1, the most frequent form of personal reference to the King is

พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑adso◇mde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑uhu◇a/. The

second most frequent title is ในหลวง/najlu◊aN/, but the gap between these two most frequent forms is very large: a factor of one to five in the 1997-99 period. This stands in contrast to daily use where, though there are no formal studies to that effect, it is quite evident that most people would use ในหลวง/najlu◊aN/.

Table 5.1 Frequency of All Personal References to the King (Including Pronouns and Titles)

	TOTAL	1903--35	1950-56	1983-85	1997-99
พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↗adso◊mde↗dphra↔ca↘aw ju↗u↗hu◊a/ พระองค์/phra↔?oN/ ในหลวง/najlu◊aN/ ใต้ฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท /ta↘ajfa◊ala?□□Nthu↗iiphra↔ba↗ad/ พระมหากษัตริย์/phra↔maha◊akasa↗id/ พระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔↔ca↘awju↗u↗hu◊a/ พระองค์ท่าน/phra↔?oNtha↘n/ องค์พระประมุข/?oNphra↔pramu↗ig/ สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /so◊mde↗dphra↔ca↘awju↗u↗hu◊a/ องค์พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /?oN phra↔ba↗adso◊mde↗dphra↔ca↘awj u↗u↗hu◊a/ 0.8%	47.8%	41.8%	26.7%	50.7%	48.9%
	21.5%	17.1%	28.4%	20.8%	21.5%
	10.2%	18.4%	21.5%	6.1%	9.8%
	5.2%	3.3%	0.5%	8.7%	4.2%
	4.2%	0.7%	1.0%	5.2%	4.4%
	2.8%	14.8%	1.8%	1.6%	2.2%
	2.2%	0.5%	4.3%	1.6%	2.4%
	1.0%			2.0%	0.9%
	1.0%	2.3%	14.5%	0.1%	0.1%
	0.8%			1.1%	0.8%

พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน/phra↔ca↓awphE↑ndin/	0.6%	1.0%	0.3%	0.8%
มหाराช/maha↔ara↓ad/	0.5%			0.9%
พระยุดคคบาท/phra↔ju↑kolaba↑ad/	0.5%		0.7%	0.5%
ทูลกระหม่อมพ้อ/thuunkram↔↑mph↔↓/	0.3%			0.6%
สมเด็จพระบูรพกษัตริยาราชเจ้า				
/so↔mde↑dphra↔buraphakasa↑dtarijaa				
thi↔ra↓adcha↓w/	0.3%		0.7%	0.2%
กษัตริยาราช/ kasa↑dthira↓ad/	0.3%	0.3%		0.5%
พระประมุข /phra↔pramu↑g/				
	0.2%		0.1%	0.4%
ฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท				
/fa↔ala?↔Nthu↑liiphra↔ba↑ad/	0.2%	0.8%		0.2%
พระราช/phra↔ra↓acha/	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%
รอยพระบาท/r↔jphra↔ba↑ad/	0.1%			0.2%
ภูมิพลอดุลยเดช				
/phuumi↔phon?a↑dunjade↑ed/	0.1%		0.2%	0.1%
พ้อหลวง/ph↔lu↔aN/	0.1%			0.2%
	6597=	391=	400=	1842=
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
	3964=			

One interesting fact relates to change over time. As can be seen in table 5.1, the

proportion was very different in the first period, where 41.7% of the King's titles used are

พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑adso↔mde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑uhu↔a/ versus

18.4% for the use of ในหลวง/najlu↔aN/... In the second period, that of the 1950s, the

pattern of use is much more towards increased usage of *ในหลวง/najluᵛaN/* versus *พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑adsoᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/*, with only 26.8% usage of *พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/phra↔ba↑adsoᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/ versus 21.5% for *ในหลวง*

/najluᵛaN/. This, however, is reversed in the third period, where the more elaborate

form becomes by far the most frequent form, reaching 50.9% of the total number of the

King's titles used versus only 6.1% for *ในหลวง/najluᵛaN/*. In the fourth period the title

พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑adsoᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/

maintains its primary position, though a bit less than in the third period.

An additional interesting point that we can see in table 5.1 is changes in the usage of

other abbreviated royal titles. Besides *พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/phra↔ba↑adsoᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/ and *ในหลวง/najluᵛaN/*, there are

other abbreviated royal titles that are popular in different periods. In the 1930s the title

พระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/ is used in 14.8% of the cases in which the King

is referred to by title, while in the 1950, the title *สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/soᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/ acquires a similar position with 22% of the

usage. Both titles are hardly used in other periods at all, and in the last two periods there

is no main third title besides *พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/phra↔ba↑adsoᵛmde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵛa/ and *ในหลวง/najluᵛaN/*, with the

possible small exception of the title พระมหากษัตริย์ /phra↔maha↔akasa↔d/, which is hardly used in previous periods but gains some prominence, reaching 5.2% and 4.4% in the last two periods respectively. The conclusion may be that while in the first two periods there is still an attempt to use a form which is less elaborate than พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↔adso↔mde↔dphra↔ca↔awju↔ahu↔a/, but more formal than ในหลวง/najlu↔aN/ such a quest is abandoned later on, and the more elaborate form is adopted in full at the expense of both these less formal titles, but also at the expense of the more casual ในหลวง/najlu↔aN/.

Another observation, based on these numbers, is that the 1950s signify the point where the use of the elaborate พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↔adso↔mde↔dphra↔ca↔awju↔ahu↔a/ reaches its lowest point, while the use of ในหลวง/najlu↔aN/ reaches 21.5% of total use, its highest point.

The change of relative importance between these forms is, in my opinion, of great significance. It signifies, in the last two periods, a trend towards elaborate forms and increased formality. The “low ebb” in the use of the elaborate พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว /phra↔ba↔adso↔mde↔dphra↔ca↔awju↔ahu↔a/ in the 1950s is not accidental. In my opinion, it is connected to the low profile of the royal house during that time. I will look at this point in more detail in Chapter six.

Additional evidence of this tendency to elaborate in the two later periods can also be seen in table 5.1 in the appearance of the second person pronoun ได้ฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท / ta↓ajfa↑ala?□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/, which is hardly used in the first two periods, especially the second one, but springs into renewed use in the last two periods. This pronoun is one of the more powerful symbols of the exalted status of the monarchy and its complete absence in the 1950-56 period is significant. Its usage in the two later periods is not only as a second person reference (where it will appear in citations from addresses to the King), but also a highly honorific third person pronoun.

While the use of ได้ฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท/ ta↓ajfa↑ala?□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/ reaches its lowest point of usage in the 1950s, the pronoun พระองค์/phra↔?oN/ reaches its highest level of usage during the same period, reaching 28.4% of all references to the King, versus a level of 17-20% in other periods. Stylistically, the use of this third person pronoun is often abandoned in favour of repeating the full title, resulting in a rather slow moving pace of narration. Increased use of this pronoun indicates a more regular, less formal, less elaborate style of writing, which is symptomatic of the 1950s, compared especially to the last two periods.

Interestingly, the general change towards elaboration in the more recent past comes simultaneously with a completely contradictory and new trend, which is not yet reflected

in my data. This trend is to refer to the King as a father, พ่อ/pho[↓]/ . I mentioned this trend in the first section of this chapter, and in table 5.2 we can see a few cases of the form พ่อหลวง/pho[↓]lu[↓]aN/ in the last period. The table doesn't convey the full spread of this trend. Where it can be more clearly identified is newspaper advertisements on the occasion of the King's birthday, or on the occasion of various contributions to the King's charities. It can also be seen in speeches, as for example, Prime Minister Taksin Shinawatra, in his inauguration speech on the 9/2/2001 referred to the King as พ่อหลวง/pho[↓]lu[↓]aN/, avoiding any formal titles. The increased use of พ่อหลวง/pho[↓]lu[↓]aN/ reflects the increasing feeling of reverence interlaced with deep affection that is felt by the Thai population towards their King. It also signifies a move away from the sense of awe and distance towards the monarchy, which is ingrained so deeply in Thai culture and a sense of harking back to the supposedly kind paternalistic rule of Sukhothai under King Ramkhamheng, who is referred to as พ่อขุน/pho[↔]khun[↓]/. The extent of this tendency can also be seen in such areas as popular music. A recently released album by the singer Thongchai McIntire titled “แทนหัวใจให้พ่อ/thEEnhu[↓]acajha[↓]jpho[↓]/” or “devoting my heart to father” is clearly dedicated to the King, even though throughout the collection of 12 songs the only word of personal reference is “father”. The language used is Standard Thai without a trace of TRL. Two of the songs are titled “รอยเท้าพ่อ/r[↔]jtha[↔]awpho[↓]/” and “รอยเท้าของพ่อ/r[↔]jtha[↔]awkh[↔]Npho[↓]/” substituting for the TRL term for “the King's footsteps พระยุคลบาท

/phra↔ju↔gkolaba↑↑ad/. This TRL expression is often used in relation to the King.

The equivalent Standard Thai expression is very rare. Using it to title two different songs might be a “hint” as to the actual person referred to.

Additional information that can be extracted from table 5.1 is the proliferation, in the more recent past, of other miscellaneous titles used as reference to the King. For example,

the terms: พระมหากษัตริย์/phra↔maha↔akasa↑↑d/ , องค์พระประมุข

/?oNphra↔pramu↑↑g/ , พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน/ phra↔ca↔awphE↑↑ndin/. Unlike the titles พระ

เจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔↔ca↔awju↑↑uhu↔a/ or สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว

/so↔mde↑↑dphra↔ca↔awju↑↑uhu↔a/, these are not abbreviations of the longer title

พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑↑adso↔mde↑↑dphra↔ca↔awju↑↑uhu↔a/ but

refer to a different set of terminology, which is more international or more translatable. All

three terms can be more readily translated into the English word “King”, while พระบาท

สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑↑adso↔mde↑↑dphra↔ca↔awju↑↑uhu↔a/ or its

abbreviations are not readily translatable. They can only be translated to a “Thai King”.

The appearance of these new titles signals a change towards a certain

internationalization of the monarchy

To sum up briefly, we see a number of changes in personal reference to the King. The

most significant in our data is the rise in the usage of an elaborate title at the expense of

the more casual one. This observation is supported by the increased use of highly honorific pronouns. The picture is, however, not one sided. We also see the emergence of personal references that express a paternalistic vision of society with the King as caring, loving father. Also, there is increased use of “international” titles, or titles that are more easily translated to the English term “King”.

5.2 Changes in the Usage of TRL Nouns

5.2.1 A brief Outline of TRL Nouns

Moving from pronouns, names, kinship terms and titles to nouns, we shift from dealing with the subjects of TRL (namely, people of royal rank), into dealing with some of the objects of TRL. The “subjects” are those whose presence, in person or as reference, necessitates the use of TRL. The category of TRL nouns includes various objects or things, but also people that fulfill different functions in the court, such as พระพี่เลี้ยง /phra↔phi↔li↔a↔N/’nanny’, พระอาจารย์/phra↔?a↔caan/’ teacher’, etc.

(Aksornpong, 1994: 100-101). The exception is aggregate nouns such as government, parliament, committee or any other nouns that refer to groups of people. These nouns do not require TRL treatment and are used in their original form.

TRL nouns therefore include objects that “belong to”, are “related to”, or are “being used” by a Royal person. Such relations of possession or use make these objects an extension of the Royal person and therefore require linguistic treatment. The “closer” such objects are to the Royal person, the more likely it is that permanent TRL terms will exist for them. Otherwise, terms will be created as per the need.

There are three ways to create TRL nouns. In the most important one, TRL nouns are based on Pali or Sanskrit nouns (or verbs in the case of abstract nouns) and are preceded by the prefix พระ/phra↔/, which is originally derived from the Sanskrit & Pali term for “excellent” or “sublime” (Aksornpong, 1994: 129), and which is also extensively used by Buddhism in Thailand. Nouns prefixed by พระ/phra↔/ can be further prefixed by two additional honorific particles, ราช/ra↓adcha/ and บรม/brom/ (The prefix บรม/brom/ itself is exclusive to the King himself). The word ราช/ra↓adcha/ is derived from the Sanskrit word for King, while the word บรม/brom/ is derived from the Sanskrit word for “supreme” (Aksornpong, 1994: 129). These two additional particles mark different ranks of royalty, so that a noun describing an object used by the King will be prefixed differently than a noun describing an object used by a low ranking royal person. The second way of creating TRL nouns is by using a number of suffixes, such as หลวง/lu↗aN/, ตัน/to↓n/, and ทรง/soN/, all three of which are applied at the end of the core word, and used more often with standard Thai words than with borrowed Pali or Sanskrit words, as is the case with พระ/phra↔/. The above particles are characterized by the

Royal Institute guide as mostly relating to “unimportant” objects or as used in informal situations. (The Thai Royal Language, 1993:11). As for their meaning, translating them as “royal” in English will convey their exact meaning. For example รถหลวง /ro↔dlu↔aN/’car’ is immediately translatable into “Royal car”, while รถยนต์พระที่นั่ง /ro↔djonphra↔thi↔ina↔N/’car’ not exactly is. I believe that the use of these terms is the point where the TRL gets closest to European polite court speech. The third way of creating TRL nouns is by combining a TRL noun with a non-TRL noun, as for example รถพระที่นั่ง /ro↔dphra↔thi↔ina↔N/’car’, ห้องทรง/h↔Nso↔N/’bathroom’, โต๊ะเสวย /to↔saw↔Ej/’dining table’, and so forth. In these examples รถ/ro↔d/’car’, ห้อง/h↔N/’room’ and โต๊ะ/to↔/’table’ are the Standard Thai nouns. As can be seen in the examples, both TRL nouns and verbs can be used as the basis for creating new TRL nouns. This third way of creating TRL nouns by various compositions with exclusive TRL words is the most acceptable one today.

Historically, marking with the honorific prefix พระ/phra↔/ has been the most common way of creating TRL nouns, especially when the core words were Pali, Sanskrit or Khmer terms, which indeed most core words were. Today, however, the word-creating procedure, which simply uses the prefix พระ/phra↔/ has been criticized as being too simplistic and lacking in dignity. Criticism of “thoughtless” use of the prefix พระ/phra↔/ has been expressed in various public discussions conducted by important public

figures, such as in a debate, led by Kukrij Pramaot (1978), concerning the future and role of TRL. The criticism has often taken the form of ridicule by trying to bring it ad absurdum. Kukrit refers to the term for radio $\text{วิทยุ/wi}\leftrightarrow\text{dthaju}\leftrightarrow/$ and asks whether it should be called $\text{พระวิทยุ/phrawi}\leftrightarrow\text{dthaju}\leftrightarrow/$, a suggestion that draws laughter from his audience. In another such example he asks whether the TRL for ashtray, $\text{ที่เขี่ยบุหรี่}/\text{thi}\downarrow\text{ikhi}\uparrow\text{aburi}\uparrow\text{i}/$ should be $\text{พระที่เขี่ยบุหรี่}/\text{phra}\leftrightarrow\text{thi}\downarrow\text{ikhi}\uparrow\text{aburi}\uparrow\text{i}/$, again drawing laughter. His suggestion is $\text{ที่เขี่ยพระโอสถ}/\text{thi}\downarrow\text{ikhi}\uparrow\text{aphra}\leftrightarrow\text{ooso}\uparrow\text{d}/$, where $\text{พระโอสถ}/\text{phra}\leftrightarrow\text{ooso}\uparrow\text{d}/$ is the TRL term for medicine and cigarettes (usually used with the addition of the verb $\text{สูบ/su}\uparrow\text{ub}/$ 'to inhale'). His suggestion is in the direction of the third method that I pointed to, that of relying on various exclusive TRL words as a base for new TRL terms. Changes and growth in the TRL noun lexicon are therefore not as easy as is the case with TRL verbs.

The TRL has a rich lexicon of words for concrete objects such as body organs and limbs as well as the various household utensils and articles of clothing that will be used by royal persons. Most of these terms are based on Pali or Sanskrit root with the use of the prefix $\text{พระ/phra}\leftrightarrow/$. Other honorary prefixes such as $\text{ราช/ra}\downarrow\text{adcha}/$ and $\text{บรม/b}\square\text{rom}/$ will normally not be used for these nouns.

An important group of TRL nouns is the abstract nouns. Changes in their usage can serve as important indicators of changes in the view of the monarchy. The abstract nouns are concerned with royal actions in a public capacity. Their importance is evidenced by the fact that while the section of body limbs, which I mentioned above, is limited in using only พระ/phra↔/ as an honorific prefix, the section of abstract nouns uses all the honorific prefixes that the TRL has, such as ราช/ra↔adcha/ and บรม/brom/. This accords them a higher degree of sacredness, and they can be seen as closer to the heart of Kingship. The abstract nouns are mostly based on Pali/ Sanskrit roots.

Important abstract nouns that relate to the King are: พระบรมราชโองการ/

phra↔bromra↔adcha?ooNkaan/'royal command', พระบรมราชโองการ/

ra↔adcha?oowa↔ad/'royal sermon', พระบรมราชวินิจฉัย/

phra↔bromra↔adchawini↔dcha↔j/'royal consideration', พระบรมราชูปถัมภ์

/phra↔bromra↔achuupatha↔m/'royal protection' พระบรมราชานุเคราะห์/

phra↔bromra↔achaanu↔khr↔/'royal support', พระบรมนามาภิไธย

/phra↔bromnaamaphi↔taj/'royal name', พระบรมเดชานุภาพ/'royal power', พระราช

ดำรัส/ phra↔ra↔adchadamra↔d/'royal speech', พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↔adchadamri↔/

'royal thought', พระราชปรารภนา/ phra↔ra↔adchaprā↔adthana↔a / 'royal wish', พระ

ราชดำเนิน/phra↔ra↔adchadamn↔↔n/'royal movement' พระราชกระแสด

/phra↔ra↔adchakras↔E↔E/'royal speech'. These examples cover a large part of the

abstract noun vocabulary, and all relate to the King himself. The majority of these nouns are graded by ranks through the sequential application of the ราช/ra↓adcha/ and บรม /b□rom/ prefixes. Lower ranks of royalty use the same terms as above with reduced prefixation.

Even though some nouns apply the บรม/b□rom/ prefix, while others do not, it is not always clear what the relative importance of those that do is. This prefix was traditionally reserved for the king only, and was not even applying to the queen. This rule was emphasized by King Chulalongkorn who, on nominating Queen Sawapa Pongsiri to replace him as a sovereign during his visit to Europe, stressed that she should be generally addressed as he would be, with the only exception of the use of the prefix บรม /b□rom/. There are no general rules that explain the difference. For example, both พระบรมราชโองการ/phra↔b□rom ↔ra↓adcha?oowa↓ad/ and พระราชดำรัส/phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/, mean a royal speech, though the first “speech” is more of a sermon. Is this difference (the being more of a “sermon”) the reason for the addition of the prefix บรม/b□rom/? Obviously, in the past, there was a difference and a special significance to some of these terms that “entitled” them to a higher degree of exultation.

The significance of the abstract nouns is pointed out in a study of the changes of the worldview of the Thai ruling classes by Antajak Satyanurak (1998). In that study Satyanurak claims that: “In writings of King Mongkut and other persons of the same and

following periods, they referred to the action of Kings in a different manner than in earlier periods. In those earlier periods they wrote about kingly action as the action of a semi-god or Bodhisatva, and as it came from a supreme source it required no process of thinking or decision making. Reports of royal decrees of that period had no reference to the process of consideration that preceded them. On the other hand, starting from the reign of King Mongkut, historical reports were written under the new frame of thought according to which the King is a human being who acts in history and we find numerous references to the process of thinking the preceded royal decrees and actions. We can see this most clearly in royal chronicles that were written before the era of King Mongkut compared to royal chronicles that were written during or after his reign, or in chronicles of Ayutthaya which were re-edited in the period of King Mongkut or thereafter” (Satyanurak, 1998: 66).

What Satyanurak makes clear is that abstract nouns and their usage are at the heart of the definition of the role and status of the monarchy. His argument revolves to a large degree on the usage of the TRL abstract noun พระราชดำริ /phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑↑/ 'thought' which can be found in frequent usage only from the era of King Mongkut. Increased use of one abstract noun at the expense of others may signify a shift in perception on the role of the monarchy. In the empirical section I will focus on the usage of these nouns.

The number of abstract nouns is small and relates, except in a few rare cases, to essential features and essential, primary actions of the Sovereign. There are no abstract nouns for any “secondary actions”, actions that are the implementations of the พระบรมราชโองการ/ phra↔bromra↓adcha?ooNkaan/ ‘royal command’ or of positions expressed in the พระบรมราชโองการ/ phra↔brom↔ra↓adcha?oowa↓ad/ ‘royal sermon’ or a พระราชดำรัส/ phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑↑d/ ‘royal speech’. Such secondary actions can be conducted under the พระบรมราชูปถัมภ์/ phra↔bromra↓achuupatha◇m/ ‘royal protection’ or with the full power of the พระบรมเดชานุภาพ/ phra↔bromdeechaanu↔pha↓ap/ ‘royal power’ or the พระบรมราชานุเคราะห์/ phra↔bromra↓achaanu↔khr↔/ ‘royal support’. They can be done in the name of the พระบรมนามาภิไธย// phra↔bromnaamaphi↔taj/ ‘royal name’, and can be the brainchild of the พระราชดำริ/ phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑↑ ‘thought’ or the พระบรมราชวินิจฉัย/ phra↔bromra↓adchawi↔ni↔dchaj/ ‘consideration’, They can also be done to satisfy a พระราชปรารภนา/ phra↔ra↓adchaprā↑↑adthana◇a/ ‘royal wish’. But these derivative actions are not, in themselves, a part of the essence of Kingship, and therefore do not have TRL abstract nouns.

The importance of the TRL’s small group of abstract nouns as entities can also be illustrated by the extremely frequent reference made by the initiators of different projects or policies to their being in line with or inspired by the King’s พระราชดำริ

/phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'thought'. The term พระราชดำริ

/phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'thought' acquires a scripture-like quality. In another

example: In the ceremony to install a new government, the พระบรมราชโองการ/

phra↔bromra↓adcha?ooNkaan/ 'Royal command' to install the government, which is

issued after coalition talks are completed, is received and revered as a sacred object.

The "objectification of action" process is highly visual in this case.

5.2.2 Analysis of the Change in Usage of Nouns TRL

Our examination of changes in the usage of TRL nouns was conducted on the basis of 12,356 entries for all four periods. The analysis will be divided into two parts, as was the case with verbs. The first part will examine changes in usage from the point of view of grammatical forms. The second part will be an analysis of changes in the usage of key words used and their reflection of the changing ideas of Kingship.

5.2.2.1 Changes in TRL Noun Usage in Respect to Grammatical Forms

In this section I will look at the changes in the usage of the key prefixes พระ/phra↔/,

ราช/ra↓adcha/, บรม/brom/. In the outline of nouns in the first section of this chapter it

was claimed that the prefix พระ/phra↔/ played a major role in TRL noun creation in the

past. Presently, however, its role in creating new terms is very limited. As we can see in

table 5.2, nearly 75% of all TRL nouns are prefixed by พระ/phra/↔. An additional 11% of all nouns are composed on the basis of TRL words, which, in their turn, are using พระ/phra/↔ as a prefix (as for example รอยพระบาท/rɔjphra↔ba↑ad/'footsteps', etc). That puts the total percentage of nouns which depend on พระ/phra/↔ marking at 86% of all entries, clearly demonstrating the overriding importance of this prefix in creating TRL nouns.

The number of new nouns created by the usage of พระ/phra/↔/ is very small. I found very few “new” nouns, which were: พระคําหมาย/phra↔kha↓adma↔aj/'expectation', พระคารม/phra↔khaarom/'oratory skills', พระคุณสมบัติ/phra↔khunna so↔mba↑↑d/'properties', พระฉาก/phra↑↑cha↑↑ag/'scene', พระเพลง/phra↔pleeN/'song', พระมรดก/phra↔m↔rado↑↑g/'inheritance', พระสติปัญญา /phra↔sati↑↑panjaa/'intelligence', พระสนับเพลา/phra↔sana↑↑bphlaw/'trousers', พระสุขภาพ/phra↔su↑↑gkhapha↓ab/'health', พระอารมณืขึ้น/phra↔?aaromkha↔n/ and พระบรมราชบริหาร/phra↔b↔romra↓adchab↔riha↔an/'management' .

This paucity in new word creation stands in contrast to the area of verbs, where we encountered a large number of “new” verbs. Unlike verbs, however, the question of whether a TRL noun has to be used in a certain situation or not is less clear-cut. For verbs, if the subject is royal the verb has to be TRL, whatever the action performed is. In

the case of nouns, not all objects possessed or used by a royal person require the use of TRL nouns. There is a large grey area of objects that need no TRL treatment and the definition of that grey area is flexible (except for obvious cases such as body organs). It includes all new nouns that refer to newly invented objects, such as computer, telephone, radio, etc. But it also includes nouns that are not permanently or intimately used by a royal person, but which are possessed or used briefly. Nouns prefixed by พระ/phra↔/ represent the well established and conservative part of the TRL noun lexicon. A drop in the usage of such nouns might indicate that the gray area is expanding and that fewer objects in the royal milieu are being referred to using exclusive TRL terms prefixed by พระ/phra↔/. Also, it might mean a relative increase in usage of polite Thai terms, which are not exclusively royal, but are polite enough and respectable enough to be considered as acceptable terms of reference in TRL. With these observations in mind, let us look at changes in the usage of the prefix พระ/phra↔/.

Tables 5.2 presents the changes in the usage of nouns prefixed by พระ/phra↔/. In contrast to the case of verbs, where we saw an increased share of verbs prefixed by พระ/soN/ out of total verbs, a trend that is linked to the process of active word creation, in the case of nouns the share of พระ/phra↔/ prefixed words is not increasing, but rather decreasing. Also, the share of other nouns that are composed with พระ/phra↔/ prefixed words is decreasing. The drop is from 96.9% of all TRL nouns in the 1930s to 85% of all TRL nouns in the 1990s. The original figure, 96.9%, demonstrates how important this

particle is in noun creation. The drop might indicate, as noted earlier, that the gray area of nouns that do not use TRL terms is growing at the edges. The uniform usage of พระ /phra↔/ prefixed nouns for all objects possessed or used by royal persons is being broken as other nouns are admitted into the gray area of undetermined usage. Rather than indicating a trend towards elaboration or simplification, this change indicates a marginal weakening of the grip that TRL usage has on discourse related to royal affairs.

Table 5.2 Changes in the Usage of the Prefix พระ/phra↔/

	TOTAL	1930-35	1950-56	1983-85	1997-99
ALL NOUNS	12356=100%	618=100%	667=100%	3589=100%	7482=100%
NOUNS PREFIXED BY พระ/phra↔/ Example: พระบาท /phra↔ba↑ad/'footst eps'	75.3%	82.8%	79.0%	74.0%	75.0%
OTHER NOUNS	10.8%	14.1%	10.9%	12.2%	10.0%

USING พระ /phra↔/ Example: รอยพระบาท /rɔ̌jphra↔ba↑ad/f ootstep					
TOTAL PERCENT OF NOUNS USING พระ/phra↔/	86.1%	96.9%	89.9%	86.2%	85.0%

From the large group of nouns using the prefix พระ/phra↔/ I shall now move to look at a sub-group, which uses additional honorific prefixes. Table 5.3 charts the relative usage of the honorific prefixes บรม/brom/ or ราชา/ra↔adcha/, and shows the percent of nouns which are prefixed by them out of the group of พระ/phra↔/ prefixed nouns. The objective of these two prefixes was to mark royal ranks, thus facilitating rank difference recognition in speech. However, in the texts which I reviewed, the differences in the rank of the persons who are the subjects of the sentences doesn't seem to play any role in determining the nouns that will be used. In fact, most of the different forms in the enclosed samples are applied to the King himself. If anything, the use of the different prefixes reflects either the importance of the event or the desire of the author to sound respectful enough.

It should be noted that many of the nouns using the prefix บรม/brom/ also use the prefix ราช/raadcha/ after it, as in พระบรมราชโองการ/phraabromraadcha?oonkaan/ 'royal command' or พระบรมราชโองการ/phraabrom raadcha?oowaad/'royal sermon' but not in every case, as in พระบรมเดชานุภาพ /phraabromdeechaanu?aphaad/'royal power'. Nouns that include both prefixes were grouped with all other nouns prefixed by บรม/brom/ and were not counted with nouns prefixed only by ราช/raadcha/.

The results of table 5.3 are a very small increase in the usage of both prefixes when counted together. The increase is, however, in the nouns marked by ราช/raadcha/, which constitute 20.9% in the 1930s, 17.5% in the 1950s, 19.8% in the 1980s and jump to 28.0% in the 1990s. Nouns prefixed by บรม/brom/ on the other hand, show a small increase in the first three periods and then a decline in the 1990s. The percentage in the 1930s is 10.1%, in the 1950s 12.1%, in the 1980s 13.6% and then a decline to 8.1% in the 1990s. The sharpest changes, in both cases, are in the 1990s, with a rise in nouns prefixed by ราช/raadcha/ and a decline in nouns prefixed by บรม/brom/. Changes in other periods are much smaller and therefore less significant.

Table 5.3 Changes in the Frequency of Usage of the Prefixes ราช/raadcha/ and บรม /brom/,

TOTAL 1930-5 1950-6 1983-6 1997-9

พระบรม/phra↔brom/	939	52	64	364	459
	10.0%	10.1%	12.1%	13.6%	8.1%
พระราช					
/phra↔radcha/	2295	107	92	527	1569
	24.6%	20.9%	17.5%	19.8%	28.0%
OTHER NOUNS					
PREFIXED BY พระ					
/phra↔/	9122	459	511	2698	5454
	74%	69.0%	70.4%	66.6%	63.9%
TOTAL	9308	512	527	2661	5608
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Obviously, the figures in table 5.3 have much to do with context and cannot be interpreted simply. Part of the changes might be related to different events requiring the use of different terminology. However, as mentioned before, events tend to repeat themselves and usage seems to be relatively rank-blind. The largest change takes place between the 1980s and 1990s, two periods which particularly share a very similar context and type of events reported. More detailed examination of the usage of these prefixes in different contexts would be required before any definitive conclusions can be made.

5.2.2.2 Content Analysis of Changes in the Frequency of Usage of Key TRL Nouns

The content analysis of the usage of nouns will be conducted in two stages. In the first and preliminary stage I will look at the most frequent nouns in all periods put together, trying to identify the main group and discuss their significance. In the second and main stage, I will focus on changes that occurred in this area by identifying the most frequent nouns of each of the four periods and looking at which nouns were more significant at which period and why.

5.2.2.3 Overview of the Most Frequent Nouns

In table 5.4 we see an overview of the most frequently used nouns in the total sample population. It presents to us a concise picture of the features of Royalty most often referred to. The shortlist in the table includes most frequent nouns, covering two thirds of all the noun sample population. The number of entries covered by the table is 8,280 out of a total noun sample population of 12,356. This fact alone offers an excellent illustration of how limited the discourse is. Since the total number of individual nouns found in the survey is 692, this means that two thirds of all usages of nouns are concentrated in a very small sub group of fewer than 40 nouns. Even though there is a general sense of a growing media exposure of royal activities, a fact reflected by the sheer volume of journalistic write-ups in the last period as compared to previous ones, still the discourse remains limited in its scope and repetitive in its nature.

Table 5.4 TRL Nouns by Frequency in All Periods

1	พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↑↑ad/'honor	9.0%
2	พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing'	5.4%
3	พระราชพิธี/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony'	4.4%
4	วโรกาส/warooka↑↑ad/'occasion	4.3%
5	พระที่นั่ง/phra↔thi↓ina↓N/'palace'	3.2%
6	พระพรชัยมงคล/phra↔ph□□nchajmoNkhon/'blessing'	2.6%
7	พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑↑/'thought'	2.4%
8	พระชนมพรรษา/phra↔chonphansa◇a/'age'	2.2%
9	พระมหากษัตริย์คุณ/phra↔maha◇akarunathinkhun/'kindness'	2.1%
10	วันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา/wanchal↔↔↔mphra↔chonphansa◇a/'birthday celebration'	2.0%
11	พระราชกรณียกิจ/phra↔ra↓adchak□□ranijiki↑↑d/'affairs'	1.9%
12	พระราชกุมารี/phra↔ra↓adchakumaarii/'child'	1.8%
13	พรรษา/ phansa◇a/'year'	1.7%
14	พระตำหนัก/phra↔tamna↑↑g/'palace'	1.7%
15	พระบารมี/phra↔baaramii/'power'	1.7%
16	พระวรกาย/phra↔worakaaj/' body'	1.6%
17	พระราชดำรัส/phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑↑d/'speech'	1.5%
18	พระราชวัง/phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'palace'	1.4%
19	พระบรมราชโองการ/phra↔b□rom ↔ra↓adcha?oowa↓ad/'sermon'	1.3%
20	พระราชวัง/phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'palace'	1.3%
21	สำนักพระราชวังsa◇mna↑↑g phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'royal bureau'	1.2%
22	รถยนต์พระที่นั่ง/ro↔djonphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'car'	1.2%
23	พระอาการ/phra↔?aakaan/'physical condition'	1.1%
24	พระทัย/phra↔thaj/'heart'	1.3%

25	พระบรมราชวโรกาส/phra↔bromra↓adchawarooka↑ad/'occasion'	0.9%
26	พระราชหฤทัย/phra↔ra↓adcha ha↑ry↔thaj/'heart'	0.8%
27	พระบรมมหาราชวัง/phra↔brommaha↗ara↓adchawaN/'palace'	0.8%
28	เครื่องราชสักการะ/khry↓aNra↓adchasa↑gkaara/'articles of worship'	0.8%
29	พระหทัย/phra↔hathaj/'heart'	0.7%
30	พระบรมฉายาลักษณ์/phra↔bromcha↗ajala↑k/'image'	0.7%
31	เพลงสรรเสริญพระบารมี/phleeNsa↗ns↔↗↔↔nphra↔baaramii/ 'songs that extol the royal might'	0.7%
32	พระบรมรูป/phra↔bromru↓ub/'image'	0.6%
33	กระบวนพยุหยาตราชลมารค /krabuanpra↔juha↑yaadtraachonlama↓ag/'water procession'	0.6%
34	พระบรมเดชานุภาพ/phra↔bromde↑edchanupha↓ap/'royal might'	0.6%
35	ผ้าพระกฐิน/pha↓akathin/'katin cloth'	0.6%
36	พระนาม/phra↔naam/'name'	0.5%
37	พระกระยาหาร/phra↔krajaaha↗an/'food'	0.5%
38	OTHER NOUNS	34.7%
	TOTAL	100%

The most frequently used noun by a substantial margin is พระเกียรติ

/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor'. The noun is often used as a part of the expression เสด็จเฉลิมพระเกียรติ

/chal↔↗↔↔mpha↔ki↑ad/ or "to celebrate in the King's honour". The heavy usage of

the noun refers to various celebrations or rituals conducted in the King's honour. Viewed

in this light, the first four frequent nouns: พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing', พระราชพิธี

/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony' and วโรกาส/warooka↑ad/'occasion', as well as

the sixth most frequent noun, namely พระพรชัยมงคล

/phra↔ph□□nchajjamoNkhon/ 'blessing', all refer to different aspects of the same type

of activities. Both พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/ and พระพรชัยมงคล

/phra↔ph□□nchajjamoNkhon/ 'blessing' refer to greetings or well wishes offered to the

King, often in the context of special occasions (วโรกาส/wa↔rooka↑ad/), which are

celebrated through the execution of special rituals (พระราชพิธี

/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/). These five leading nouns indicate that much of the court

activity is concerned with the performance, on special occasions, of rites in honor of the

Monarchy and the King.

These findings correspond to my general observations, in chapter one, about the context of the activities that are reported in the newspapers, especially in the latest two periods.

The general context does not, however, determine the type of activities taking place or their nature. Birthday celebrations or new-year celebrations can serve as an occasion for a variety of different activities with completely different characteristics. An analysis of key words, as I conduct here, can better convey the picture of the nature of the events.

Altogether three nouns in the list, number 8, พระชนม์พรรษา/ phra↔chonphansa◇a/, 10,

วันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา/wanchal↔↔mphra↔chonphansa◇a/ and 13, พรรษา/

phansa◇a/ refer to the auspicious event which centralizes many of these activities, which

is the Royal birthday. Reference is also made to two more ritual events, the water parade

(no 33) กระบวนพยุหยาตราศดมารค/krabuanpra↔ju↔ha↑ja↓adtraachonlama↓ag/

and the Katin ceremony, or the giving of robes to the Buddhist monks (no 35) ผ้าพระกฐิน

/pha↓akathi◇n/. Some of the other nouns in the list are also a part of the same group of

reference. พระบรมราชวโรกาส/phra↔b◻romra↓adchawarooka↑ad/ is an additional

term signifying Royal occasion to วโรกาส/warooka↑ad/. The term พระบารมี

/phra↔baaramii/ 'royal might' functions similarly to the first term พระเกียรติ

/phra↔ki↑ad/, with an emphasis on the King's greatness. Songs that extol the royal

might or เพลงสรรเสริญพระบารมี/phleeNsa◇ns↔◇↔nphra↔baaramii/ depict a similar

type of action to that of เสด็จพระเกียรติ/chal↔◇↔mphra↔ki↑ad/. To sum up, the most

frequent nouns in TRL convey an image of a monarchy that is heavily engaged in various

periodical ceremonies and rituals conducted in its honour (พระเกียรติ

/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor')

The second most important group of nouns is of those related to physical movement and

location. These nouns are พระที่นั่ง/phra↔thi↓ina↓N/'palace', พระราชวัง

/phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'palace', พระตำหนัก/phra↔tamna↑g/'palace', รถยนต์พระที่นั่ง

/ro↔djonphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'car' and พระบรมมหาราชวัง

/phra↔b◻rommaha◇ara↓adchawaN

/palace. These are important nouns which relate to the royal environment. Their prominence among royal nouns is to be expected especially when many of the events reported are public ceremonies that either take place in royal locations, necessitating the use of proper terms for these places, or, if conducted outside the court, necessitate the use of terms to refer to the means of transportation used to arrive at these sites.

What the high frequency of these nouns does convey is that much of what is reported has to do with physical movement to and from spots where ceremonies take place. This point was noted in the previous chapter in reference to the verb เสด็จ/sade[↑]d/'to go', which is by far the most frequently used of all exclusive TRL verbs. It can also easily be noticed in the various newspaper articles in which a large part of the text is devoted to a precise reporting of the exact time and manner of arrival and departure of members of the Royal family for each event. This style of reporting contrasts with journalistic reports about activities of politicians where exact time of arrival or departure and the manner of arrival or departure are hardly, if ever, reported, while the activities on the scene are reported in great detail. This style is clearly related to the style of royal chronicles.

The third group of frequent nouns are the abstract nouns which I discussed in detail

before. The nouns พระราชดำริ phra[↔]ra[↓]adcha[↔]damri[↑]/'thought', พระราชกรณียกิจ

/phra[↔]ra[↓]adchak^{□□}raniijaki[↑]d/'occasion', พระราชดำรัส

/phra[↔]ra[↓]adchadamra[↑]d/'speech' and พระบรมราชโองบาท/phra[↔]b[□]rom

[↔]ra[↓]adcha[□]oowa[↓]ad/'sermon' refer to the most frequent types of action performed

by royal persons besides officiating at the various ceremonies which they attend. The noun พระราชกรณียกิจ/phra↔ra↓adchak□□raniijaki↑d/ 'occasion' is a general noun used to refer to "royal engagements". As we saw in the previous section, there are a number of variants of this noun, which is convenient in referring to royal activities rather than searching for the correct terms that might exist for each kind of specific activity. This convenience is, I believe, what makes this term so popular.

The importance of the abstract nouns พระราชดำริ/
 phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/ 'thought', พระราชดำรัส
 /phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/ 'speech' and also พระบรมราชโองการ/phra↔b□rom
 ↔ra↓adcha?oowa↓ad/ 'sermon' was mentioned in reference to Satyanurak's (1998)
 comments about the significance of the increasing use of พระราชดำริ/
 phra↔ra↓adchadamri↑/ 'thought' as reflecting the process of thought, rather than the
 mere issuing of decrees or พระราชโองการ/phra↔ra↓adcha?ooNkaan/ which are
 issued without concern to the reasoning behind them. (Satyanurak 1998; 66).

Interestingly, the important noun พระราชโองการ/phra↔ra↓adcha?ooNkaan/ 'command'
 or พระบรมราชโองการ/phra↔b□romra↓adcha?ooNkaan/ 'command' is used very rarely
 in the texts that I surveyed, most probably reflecting the fact that the regime is a
 constitutional, not absolute, monarchy. My impression of earlier texts which I read is that

this abstract noun has been the most frequently used one during the period of the absolute monarchy.

The three abstract nouns discussed here are used not so much in reference to specific actions taking place at this or that time, but rather as independent entities which are the products of the King's work and dedication. Related to them are terms such as โครงการพระราชดำริ/khroonNkaanphra↔ra↓adchadamri↑/'royal project (literally: project of the royal thought)', แนวพระราชดำริ/nEewphra↔ra↓adchadamri↑/'royal line of thought' and other terms. Among the three abstract nouns, it is พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adchadamri↑/ which is gaining more and more usage as a term of reference to the King's thoughts, ideas, projects and policies.

Other frequently used nouns belong to different areas. There are very few which relate to objects (besides the above mentioned nouns of places or modes of transportation).

These few are เครื่องราชสักการะ/khry↓aNra↓adchasa↑gkaara↔/'articles of worship' for articles related to the officiating of ceremonies and พระกระยาหาร /phra↔krajaaha↕an/ for Royal food. Also, the terms พระบรมรูป/phra↔bromru↓ub/ and พระบรมฉายาลักษณ์/phra↔bromcha↕ajala↑k/ both refer to images of the King or of previous Kings. The terms พระวรกาย/phra↔worakaaj/' body' and พระอาการ /phra↔?aakaan/'The Royal state of health' both relate to reports about the King's

health. At times when there are indications of deterioration in the King's health, there is extensive newspaper coverage of the type of disease, the treatment and the progress of the healing process. It is mostly during such occasions that there is extensive usage of TRL terms for body organs and limbs, except when these terms are used metaphorically. As was shown in chapter two, events concerned with the King's health are some of the most heavily covered events.

This last comment brings us to the important term "Royal heart", which in our list shows up three times in three different forms: พระทัย/phra↔thaj/, พระราชหฤทัย /jphra↔ra↓adcha↔ha↑ry↔thaj/ and พระหทัย/phra↔thaj/. The use of the honorific prefix ราช/ra↓adcha/ is possible in the case of พระราชหฤทัย/jphra↔ra↓adcha ha↑ry↔thaj/ because heart is used metaphorically and not as a body organ. The noun stands therefore as a proxy to the King's interest, his compassion and his feelings. This metaphoric use is borrowed from standard Thai, where the word for heart ใจ/caj/ is used in numerous different metaphorical combinations, and its use signifies, like the case of พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adcha↔damri↑/'thought' a new perspective on the institution of Kingship. I should note that there are also some many cases of borrowing from the Standard Thai abstract noun form, as in ความพอพระทัย /kwaamph□□phra↔thaj/'satisfaction'. The King's thoughts and the King's heart are therefore the new focus of attention, standing in contrast to the earlier image of a semi divine monarchy that is concealed behind a veil.

5.2.2.4 Period by Period Analysis of the Most Frequent Nouns

In the previous section I pointed out the most frequently used TRL nouns in the total sample population and indicated some important noun groups and their meaning. In this section I will repeat the same exercise, but conduct it separately for each of the four periods. I will then analyze the changes that took place in reference to the noun groups, which I described in the previous section.

In table 5.5 we can see the results of the frequency analysis conducted for each period. What can be seen immediately is a great difference between the first two periods and the second two periods. In the first period the list is headed by nouns that describe physical locations and modes of transportation. That remains the same in the second period, but with the addition of nouns that relate to burial and cremation. The cremation of King Rama the VIII, which took place upon the return of the present King from Switzerland was the most highly covered royal event of that decade, in which, in any case, coverage of royal events was scant.

It is only in the last two periods that we find the predominance of the nouns พระเกียรติ

/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor, พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing', พระราชพิธี

/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/ 'ceremony', วโรกาส/warooka↑ad/ 'occasion' as well as some of the nouns relating to the royal birthday. This fact is quite surprising, as more continuity would have been expected. It indicates that some shift has indeed taken place. From a discourse that revolves around a laconic description of physical movement we move into a discourse that revolves around the symbolism of Kingship, its honor and might and acts taken by commoners to show their respect and obeisance towards this center of symbolic power and unity. This corresponds to my findings in the previous chapter about the growing importance of the non-royal TRL verb ถวาย /thawa↗aj/ and its increasing use in occasions that do not necessarily involve a physical audience (เข้าเฝ้า/ka↓wfa↓w/) with the King or members of the Royal family. The terminology is reminiscent of the "language of chivalry" which I discussed in chapter two. The significance of this shift is the process of abstraction from people and places to institutions and their symbolic power. This is nowhere mentioned as such, the object of reverence is still the King, not an institution in itself. This is particularly so in the case of the present King, who is revered by the entire population to an almost unprecedented degree. But still, even though it is very much personal, the terminology of the discourse, as reflected by the key nouns used, shifts both towards a greater degree of abstraction and towards a greater degree of occupation with the symbolic power of Kingship and demonstrations of reverence towards it by the population.

Other important nouns that figure prominently in the lists for the last two periods but are

almost completely absent from the first two periods are พระราชกรณียกิจ

/phra↔ra↓adchak□□raniijaki↑↑d/'occassion, พระมหากุณมาธิคุณ

/phra↔maha∇akarunaathi↔khun/'kindness' and พระราชดำริ

/phra↔ra↓adchadamri↑↑/'thought' . The importance of the first is as an indication of the

wide range of royal activities in different areas. This stands in contrast to the period of the

1950s where royal activities were limited by the regime of Marshal Phibun Songkram. It

also contrasts with the period of the 1930s where Royal activities, either before the

change of Regime, under Absolute Monarchy or during the transition period that led to

King Rama the VII's abdication, are less of the of the type that can be referred to as พระ

ราชกรณียกิจ/phra↔ra↓adchak□□raniijaki↑↑d/'engagement' As regards the

significance of the term พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adchadamri↑↑/'thought' as a feature of

the modern monarchy, this was discussed before. But it is worthwhile to note again that

the term hardly appears in earlier periods. The term พระมหากุณมาธิคุณ

/phra↔maha∇akarunathi↔khun/'kindness' also hardly appears in earlier periods, a

surprising fact given its being an important traditional TRL term. Its appearance, I

believe, is linked to the upsurge in the "language of chivalry" and is a part of the

discourse that involves the frequent use of the terms พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↑↑ad/'honor,

พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing', พระราชพิธี/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony', วโร

ภาส/warooka↑↑ad/'occassion and ถวาย/thawa∇aj/'to give'.

Table 5.5 TRL Nouns by Frequency in each of the Four Periods

Table 5.5/A TRL Frequency in 1930-35

1	พระที่นั่ง /phra↔thi↓ina↓N/'palace'	11.3%
2	พระนคร/phra↔nakh□□n/'capital city'	6.5%
3	รถยนต์พระที่นั่ง/ro↔djonphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'car'	3.7%
4	พระราชบัญญัติ /phra↔ra↓adchabanja↑↑↑d/'decree'	3.7%
5	พระราชวัง/phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'palace'	3.6%
6	พระเนตร /phra↔ne↓ed/'eyes'	3.2%
7	เรือพระที่นั่ง/ryaphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'boat'	2.8%
8	พระราชสำนัก /phra↔ra↓adchasa◇mna↑g/'bureau'	2.4%
9	พระบรมมหาราชวัง /phra↔b□rommaha◇ara↓adchawaN/'palace'	2.1%
10	พระราชหฤทัย /phra↔ra↓adcha ha↑ry↔thaj/'heart'	1.9%
11	พระนาม/phra↔naam/'name'	1.8%
12	เพลงสรรเสริญพระบารมี /phleeNsa⟨ns↔◇↔nphra↔baaramii/ 'songs that extol the royal might'	1.6%
13	รถไฟพระที่นั่ง/ro↔dfajphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'train'	1.6%
14	OTHERS	53.8%
	TOTAL	100%

Table 5.5/B TRL Noun Frequency in 1950-56

1	พระที่นั่ง/phra↔thi↓ina↓N/'palace'	9.9%
2	พระเมรุ/phra↔meen/'cremation place'	7.3%
3	พระราชพิธี /phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony'	5.0%
4	พระเพลิง/phra↔phiEEN/'flame'	3.6%
5	รถพระที่นั่ง/ ro↔dphra↔thi↓ina↓N/'car'	3.3%
6	พระอุโบสถ/phra↔?u↑booso↑d/'prayer hall'	2.5%
7	พระบรมโกษฐ์/phra↔b□romko↑od/'urn'	2.5%
8	พระบารมี/phra↔baaramii/'power'	2.4%
9	พระหัตถ์/phra↔ha↑d/'hand'	2.4%
10	พระราชวัง/phra↔ra↓adchawaN/'palace'	1.8%
11	พระตำหนัก/phra↔tamna↑g/'palace'	1.8%
12	ฉลองพระองค์/chal□□N phra↔?oN/'clothes'	1.8%
13	พระบรมอัฐิ/phra↔b□rom?a↑dthi↑/'bones'	1.6%
14	OTHERS	54.1%
	TOTAL	100%

Table 5.5/C TRL Noun Frequency in 1983-85

1	พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor'	13.5%
2	พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing'	8.4%

3	วันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา /wanchal↔(↔)mphra↔chonphansa↔a/ 'birthday celebration'	5.4%
4	วโรกาส/warooka↔ad/'occasion'	4.7%
5	พระมหากษัตริย์คุณ /phra↔maha↔akarunathi↔khun/'kindness'	3.0%
6	พระตำหนัก/phra↔tamna↔g/'palace'	2.2%
7	พระราชกุมารี/phra↔ra↔adchkumaanii/'child'	2.2%
8	พระบรมราชาไมตรี /phra↔brom↔ra↔adcha↔oowa↔ad/'sermon'	2.1%
9	พระราชกรณียกิจ /phra↔ra↔adchak↔raniiki↔d/'affairs'	2.0%
10	พระบรมรูป/phra↔bromru↔ub/'image'	2.0%
11	พระบารมี/phra↔baaramii/'power'	2.0%
12	พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↔adcha↔damri↔/'thought'	1.9%
13	พรรษา/ phansa↔a/'year'	1.5%
14	OTHERS	49.1%
	TOTAL	100%

Table 5.5/D TRL Noun Frequency in 1997-99

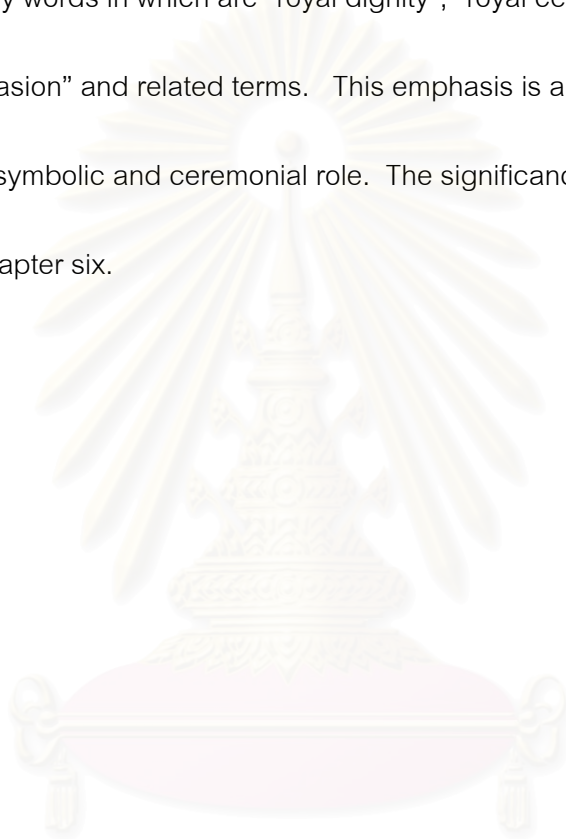
1	พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↔ad/'honor'	8.3%
2	พระราชพิธี /phra↔ra↔adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony'	6.2%
3	วโรกาส/warooka↔ad/'occasion'	4.9%

4	พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing'	4.9%
5	พระพรชัยมงคล /phra↔ph□□nchajmoNkhon/'blessing'	3.5%
6	พระชนม์พรรษา/ phra↔chonphansa◇a/'age'	3.1%
7	พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↓adchadamri↑/'thought'	3.1%
8	พระที่นั่ง/phra↔thi↓ina↓N/'palace'	2.9%
9	พระราชกรณียกิจ /phra↔ra↓adchak□□raniijaki↑d/'affairs'	2.2%
10	พระวรกาย/phra↔worakaaj/' body'	2.1%
11	พรรษา/ phansa◇a/'year'	2.1%
12	พระมหากษัตริย์คุณ /phra↔maha◇akarunathi↔khun/'kindness'	2.1%
13	พระราชดำรัส/phra↔ra↓adchadamra↑d/'speech'	2.0%
14	OTHERS	52.9%
	TOTAL	100%

5.3 SUMMARY

In examining the findings about the usage of TRL nouns and pronouns I found a tendency to use more elaborate forms, a tendency which is particularly pronounced in the area of pronominals. The usage of nouns shows a similar, yet less pronounced tendency. Overall, the usage of nouns shows less linguistic change than that of nouns

and a very weak inclination to create new words. With this background of remarkable continuity, we found a subtle change in the key words that constitute the hard core of the discourse about royalty. From an emphasis on physical locations and a simple description of movements from one site to another in the first two periods, we move into a discourse the key words in which are “royal dignity”, “royal ceremonies”, “blessing”, “auspicious occasion” and related terms. This emphasis is a shift from the actions of the monarchy to its symbolic and ceremonial role. The significance of these shifts will be elaborated in chapter six.



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

In the previous two chapters I examined the usage of TRL over the four periods of study in detail, looking for possible changes that occurred both in the forms used and in the content expressed. I conducted the search in light of the hypotheses, which were proposed as the basis for this thesis, as follows:

- 1) There is a decline in the uniformity of usage.
- 2) The stylistic patterns of the usage increase in elaboration.
- 3) There is an increased interest in traditional cultural values.
- 4) One can identify more and more attempts to reconcile modernity and tradition into one integrated whole.

While the first two hypotheses relate directly to the empirical linguistic findings, the later two were proposed as a possible inference from such findings. The interest in traditional cultural values and the quest for a new synthesis of modernity and tradition might not be observable directly in the linguistic data, but certain linguistic data might point towards or substantiate such conclusions.

This chapter will be divided into two parts. In the first part I will draw out the various conclusions from the empirical work in Chapters 4 and 5 and relate them to the

original hypotheses. I will discuss whether the evidence substantiates the original hypotheses proposed in this thesis or not. In the second part I will relate the empirical findings to the issue of the role of kingship in society and the various concepts or archetypes of kingship that exist in Thai society. My claim will be that the explanation of the processes behind the phenomena which I refer to in the third and fourth hypothesis are deeply linked to the issue of these archetypes of Kingship which exist in Thai society and culture.

6.1 Summary and Analysis of the Empirical Findings

6.1.1 Remarks on the Types of Changes Covered in Chapters Four and Five

The empirical findings from Chapters 4 and 5 can be divided into the two areas based on which the raw data was classified, namely, forms and content. By forms I refer to changes in patterns, which carry no significant semantic meaning. For example, a shift from the use of the title พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว

/phra↔ba↑↑adso◇mde↑↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑↑uhu◇a/ to the use of the title ในหลวง

/najlu◇aN/ is a shift in form because both terms refer to the same person, which is the King. Similarly, a shift between the use of the exclusive TRL verb พระราชทาน/

phra↔ra↓adchathaan/ and the verbs ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔ra↓adchathaan/

and ทรงให้/soNha↓j/ is also purely a question of form, as all these verbs refer to exactly the same action.

On the other hand, broader changes of form such as a general increase in the use of ทรง/soN/ or a general decrease in the use of พระ/phra↔/ might be a reflection of both changes in form and in content. We know that there is repetition in the content which is reported about royal affairs, but we cannot be sure that at least part of the change in the use of a certain form is not the result of reports about certain events which, for example, require the use of a large number of certain nouns. In the case of the usage of ทรง/soN/ the change in usage which I found was very large, in percentage terms, effectively doubling between the earliest and latest periods. Such a large change cannot be explained by differences in the nature of events alone. But, as we saw, this kind of change also goes beyond mere substitution of the type that exists between พระราชทาน/ phra↔ra↓adchathan/ and ทรงพระราชทาน/soNphra↔ra↓adchathan/ or ทรงให้/soNha↓/ . The change in form in this case is of a more general nature and it means a change in form towards a general relaxation in the criteria for introduction of new vocabulary. The thing that is changing is not merely specific words; what changes are “rules of the game”.

My interest in changes in “form” are, in cases such as ทรงให้/soNha↓/ , directed towards such changes in the “rule of the game” rather than changes of individual words. Interest in changes of form of individual words is a more narrow pursuit.

Talking about changes in form includes, therefore, two different applications of this term, a narrow one and a wide one.

In contrast to the issue of changes in form, the data collection of pure content is more straight-forward and involves the counting of key words, a process which I conducted separately for verbs and for nouns. The difficulty lies in interpretation of the results. In our case, however, the results lend themselves to interpretation because we can clearly see, both in the case of nouns and verbs, emerging groups of words with interrelated meanings, which either did not exist in the past, as was the case for verbs, or used much less frequently in the past, as was the case for nouns. Obviously, if we dealt with only a single word that relates to some content, or with a few single words concerned with a few unrelated contents, the drawing of any conclusions would have been much harder, and we might have found ourselves in a position where no coherent conclusions could be drawn.

The coherence in the interrelationship between the meanings of these “emerging” groups of words makes the job of identifying the nature of change relatively simple. It also makes interpretation of the results simpler, though we have to beware of jumping too fast directly from the meanings of the new words to the meaning of the change. A process of interpretation is still required.

We are looking, therefore, at data about changes in form as regards some key individual TRL words, at changes in form as regards the “rules of the game” of the register, and at changes in content as reflected in the frequency of usage of interrelated groups of words. I will start my exposition with the first group:

6.1.2 Changes in Form as regards Individual Key Words

I looked, in Chapters 4 and 5, at a number of alternative words expressing different forms relating to the same content. The duality here is between simple and elaborate forms. One form is an elaborate one and the alternative is simple. The purpose was to examine whether there is a change over time towards simple or elaborate forms.

We looked at:

- 1) Two alternative titles of the King: The alternative titles were พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว/phra↔ba↑adso↔mde↑dphra↔ca↓awju↑uhu↔a/ and ในหลวง/najlu↔aN/. The first title is, obviously, the more elaborate one. We found that in the 1930s these two titles represent 41.8% and 18.4% respectively of all references to the King. In the 1950s the results were 26.7% versus 21.5%, in the 1980s 50.7% versus 6.1% and 48.9% versus 9.8% in the 1990s. We can see that the change in the two later periods is towards the more elaborate form. In the 1950s, however, the change was in the opposite direction, that of larger

share of the less elaborate form. The change from the 1930s to the 1950s is that of simplification, while from the 1950s to the 1980s and 1990s is that of increased elaboration. The results for the last two periods are similar, with perhaps a slight tendency for less elaboration in the last period. Also, we found that the increase in the usage of the elaborate form came at the expense not only of *ในหลวง/najluᵒaᵒN/*, but also at the expense of two “intermediate” forms used in the 1930s and 1950s, namely, *พระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/phra↔↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵒa/ and *สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว*

/soᵒmde↑dphra↔↔ca↓awju↑ihuᵒa/.

- 2) We looked at two alternative pronouns for the King: the second person pronoun

ใต้ฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท/ ta↓ajfaᵒala?ᵒᵒNthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/ and the third

person pronoun *พระองค์/phra↔?oN/*. The two are not alternatives in the same

sense that the two titles in the previous section are, but the second person

pronoun is perhaps one of the most honorific terms in TRL and it often

substitutes as a highly honorific third person reference. The third person

pronoun itself is often exchanged for full titles, which creates a more elaborate

style of writing. We found that the second person pronoun forms 5.2% of all

personal references in the 1930s, 0.5% in the 1950s, 8.7% in the 1980s and

4.2% in the 1990s. The numbers for the third person pronoun *พระองค์*

/phra↔?oN/ are 17.5% in the 1930s, 28.4% in the 1950s, 20.8% in the 1980s

and 21.5% in the 1990s. Interpreting the results on the basis that usage of *ใต้ฝ่า*

ละของฐลีพระบาท/ ta↓ajfa◇ala?□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/ represents elaboration, while usage of พระองค์/phra↔?oN/ represents a simpler style, we get results which are identical to those of the previous example, namely, simplification of usage when moving from the 1930s to the 1950s, and increased elaboration when moving from the 1950s to the 1980s followed by a very moderate “set back” in the 1990s. The result are especially dramatic in the 1950s, where the usage of ใต้ฝ่าละของฐลีพระบาท/ ta↓ajfa◇ala?□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/ goes down to only 0.5%, while that of พระองค์/phra↔?oN/ shoots up from 17.5% to 28.4%.

- 3) I examined the use of the verb ถวาย/thawa◇aj/ ‘to give’ when used as a single verb compared to its usage in compounds that transmit the idea but add honorific verbs, such as กราบบังคมทูลถวาย/ kra↑abbaNkhomthuunthawa◇aj, ทูลเกล้าฯถวาย/ thuunkla↓awthawa◇aj and น้อมเกล้าฯน้อมกระหม่อมถวาย/ n↔□mkle↓awn↔□mkram↑mthawa◇aj/ ‘to obediently give’. I considered the single verb as the simple form and the compounds as the elaborate form. In the 1930s the single verb formed 65.2% of all cases, including the single and the compound verbs. In the 1950s the percentage is 88.8%, in the 1980s it is 89.6% and in the 1990s it drops to 75.9%. The data in this case can be distorted by context in the sense that “giving” to the King can be done in person or not, and there is a tendency to use the more elaborate forms when “giving” is done in the

context of an actual audience. In that sense, the first two periods tend to be similar in the fact that most interactions that involve “giving” are done in actual audiences, while in the last two periods there is a great number of cases in which it is not. If that is correct, then we can still interpret the result as indicating a simplification of usage (more usage of the single verb) when moving from the 1930 to the 1950s and increased elaboration from the 1980s to the 1990s. These results are similar to the previous cases as far as the simplification when moving to the 1950s is concerned. The return to elaboration occurs, however, in the 1990s instead of the 1980s. Taking into account, however, that in the 1980s and 1990s there are more cases of “giving” without an audience, the result should have been increased usage of the single verb. The fact that this did not happen in the 1980s, while the opposite happened in the 1990s, strengthens the conclusion that there is a change towards elaboration in the 1980s and even more so in the 1990s.

4) I looked at the verbs เสด็จพระราชดำเนิน

/sade[↑]dphra↔ra[↓]adchadamn↔↔n/'to go' and เสด็จ/ sade[↑]d/'to go', (see table 4.14 in Chapter 4) both expressing exactly the same meaning. While the longer form is supposed to be used for the King and the shorter form for lower ranking royal persons, in practice both were used for the King. They therefore present an elaborate and a simple version of the same verb. Comparing only those two verbs, I found that the full form constitutes 37.0% of usage in the

1930s, 66.4% in the 1950s, 77.5% in the 1980s and 84.2% in the 1990s.

Obviously, the change towards increased elaboration is continuous from one period to the next. We do not have here the same tendency that we found in the previous examples for the 1950s to be the period in which simple forms reach their peak.

- 5) I looked at verbs expressing the concept of “to say”, as presented in table 4.12 in Chapter 4, in which I compiled data on the usage of 28 verbs, all expressing the act of “saying”. The majority of the items in the table are constructed in the form in which the verbs ทรง/soN or มี/mii/‘to have’ are followed by a noun expressing the act of saying. I discussed at length in Chapter four the implications of noun based verbs and their “objectification” of royal action. I will consider such forms to be the elaborate ones. Only three verbs in table 4.12 are of the simpler, verb-only-form, and they are รับสั่ง /ra↔bsa↑N/, ตรัส/tra↑d/ and ดำรัส/damra↑d/. Compiling the aggregate percentage of these less elaborate three verbs out of the total, we find 55.2% in the 1930s, 68.4% in the 1950s, 22.9% in the 1980s and 13.3% in the 1990s. The results show a clear change in usage with the pattern similar to the first few examples that we noted, namely, a change towards increased use of the simpler forms in the 1950s, followed, in this case, by a sharp turn towards elaborate forms in the 1980s and 1990s. In this case, the trend towards elaboration strengthens, rather than weakens, in the 1990s, and it is much stronger than in some of the previous examples.

The examples that were presented above generally point to a change in the direction of increased elaboration occurring mainly in the 1980s and the 1990s compared to the previous periods. This was the case throughout our data. Also, there was strong evidence that in the 1950s the change was towards the usage of simpler forms as compared to the 1930s, but that this tendency was “reversed” going into the 1980s.

These findings support the first hypotheses that I proposed, namely, that of increased elaboration in usage and it corresponds to other, less quantifiable impressions of the style of writing, which is, in my view, more elaborate, more “heavy”, more repetitious, in the last two periods compared to the earlier ones.

6.1.3 Changes in Form as Regards the Basic “Rules of the Game” of the Register

In contrast to changes in the usage of individual words, changes in the basic rules affect the register as a whole and determine its general tone and the way it mediates and forms communication between people. Since the register is concerned mostly with vocabulary, the “general rules” of interest are concerned with the structure of words or with important linguistic particles that form TRL words.

From the point of view of form or general rules, I therefore looked primarily at two prefixes which dominate the etymology of TRL, namely *ทรง/soN/* and *พระ/phra↔/*, the first for verbs and the second for nouns. I examined for both prefixes whether there was any change in their usage, namely, if words that are constructed by applying these prefixes are gaining or losing their percentage share of nouns or verbs as a whole, and how significant were these changes. In the case of *ทรง/soN/* I also checked the finer details of changes as regards various specific applications of *ทรง/soN/*, such as usage as a prefix to Standard Thai verbs and usage as a verb “activating” TRL nouns and Standard Thai nouns. In the case of *พระ/phra↔/*, I also examined the smaller sub-groups of nouns prefixed by both *พระ/phra↔↔/* and by the additional honorary prefixes of *ราช/ra↓adcha/* or *บรม/bor□m/* (sometimes also *บรมราช/bor□mra↓adcha*)

The most important finding that I have is in the area of verbs and it is the dramatic increase in usage of the prefix *ทรง/soN/*, especially in the application that converts any Standard Thai word into TRL by simple affixation. I found that while in the 1930s verbs using *ทรง/soN/* constituted 27% of total verbs, in the 1950s they constituted 35%, in the 1980s 54% and in the 1990s 55%. This is undoubtedly a remarkable change. As we can see, the change is continuous, though slowing down in the last two periods. I devoted large parts of Chapter 4 to analyzing the meaning of this prefix and its effect on the character of the register. To sum up very briefly, what it does is convert a small, fixed and highly filtered sacred vocabulary, which intentionally expresses content very

narrowly in a rigidly closed system, into an open, unlimited and flexible vocabulary where the only “filter” is the need to mark verbs with the honorary universal marker พระ /soN/ .

As regards developments in the usage of พระ/phra↔/, there is no sense to look at an increase in its usage, as already in the initial period, words that include พระ/phra↔/ constitute 96.9% of all usages. Very little new word creation occurred too, and I managed to identify only a very small group of “new words”. The only change was in fact in the opposite direction, that of a small decrease. The decrease occurs in the two forms in which พระ/phra↔/ is incorporated in words, namely, as the main prefix that precedes the word as in พระบาท/phra↔ba↑ad/‘feet’ or as a prefix of a word that serves as the root component to a compound word, as in รอยพระบาท //rɔ̀ɔ̀jphra↔ba↑ad/‘footsteps’. In the first case the change is a reduction from 82.8% of all words to 75.0% of all nouns and in the second case the reduction is from 14.1% to 10.0% of all nouns. In total, nouns utilizing พระ/phra↔/ were reduced from 96.9% to 85.0% of all nouns.

There are interesting points of comparison between the usage of the two prefixes พระ/phra↔/ and พระ/soN/. In the case of พระ/phra↔/ unlike that of พระ/soN/, there was strong opposition to the creation of new TRL words through the attaching of the prefix to

Standard Thai words, whether or not they had Pali or Sanskrit roots. The alarm was raised not in respect to any specific suggested TRL term, but in respect to the idea that the introduction of new TRL words can become a simple technicality. It was viewed as leading to a cheapening of the register and as being absurd. As I mentioned before, I believe that the reason that the use of พ้อง/soN/ did not encounter such strong opposition is because the new words are coined ad-hoc; they do not remain “permanent” TRL words. But, nevertheless, the words are used, and leave their imprint, and as the requirements of modern media create larger and larger quantities of content, these temporary, or ad-hoc, usages, acquire a sense of permanency. In any case, the results of the “public moratorium” on the coining of new words using พระ/phra↔/ is that very little new content or new ideas are expressed by new nouns. The alarm raised about the implication of the prevalent use of พระ/phra↔/ serves as indirect proof to much of what I have said about the role of the prefix พ้อง/soN/.

One additional point of comparison between nouns and verbs is that for verbs there is a clear criterion of when a TRL verb has to be used, namely, when the subject of the verb is a royal person. For nouns, there is no such clear cut criterion because not every object or entity that is being acted upon, used, or belongs to a royal person needs to be a TRL noun. As we saw in chapter 5, there is a gray area of nouns which are not regular utensils used by royal persons, which may or may not be referred to as TRL nouns. The criteria for applying a TRL noun include proximity to the royal person, regularity of

usage, importance of the object, whether it is a new product or not and, most importantly, whether a TRL noun already exists for it or not. All these criteria are open to interpretation, except the last criterion. The result might be that the nouns used in a sentence are TRL nouns in the case that such exists and Standard Thai nouns where no TRL nouns exist. Whereas in the past the “interpretation” of these rules was presumably strict, namely, if no TRL noun existed then one would be coined or the whole phrase would be changed to accommodate the lack of a proper term, today, the interpretation is presumably more lax. Rather than trying to invent new nouns (which is, as mentioned above, suppressed if to be done by simple application of พระ/phra \leftrightarrow /), the users of the language use both available TRL nouns and relevant Standard Thai nouns. Whenever possible, users will attach the Standard Thai noun used to a TRL verb, as in ถวายการตรวจ/ thawa \diamond ajkaantru \uparrow ad/’examine’ or ถวายการรักษา/ thawa \diamond ajkaanra \leftrightarrow gsa \diamond a/’to treat’. In these examples, the nouns การตรวจ/kaantru \uparrow ad/’examination’ or การรักษา/kaanra \leftrightarrow gsa \diamond a/’treatment’ are not turned into TRL nouns. The presence of the TRL verb ถวาย/thawa \diamond aj/’to give’ legitimizes their use. This, however, can be compared to ถวายรถพระที่นั่ง/ thawa \diamond ajro \leftrightarrow dphra \leftrightarrow thi \downarrow ina \downarrow N/’to give a car’, where a TRL noun for car exists, resulting in both the TRL verb and the TRL noun being used instead of just using the Standard Thai word for car. In light of the above observations, it is possible that the reduction in the percentage of nouns using พระ/phra/ \leftrightarrow is an indication that this gray area is expanding and there is increased tendency to use nouns that are polite

or formal terms, but are not TRL nouns. As the usage drifts in this direction, the usage of nouns in TRL speech might be eventually limited to just a number of important nouns only instead of trying to cover all important object used or belonging to a royal person.

The present situation where, in some cases, Standard Thai nouns are used together with TRL nouns, is one aspect of the lack of uniformity to which I point in my second hypothesis.

Looking at the role of ทรงแ/soN/ specifically, historically the use of ทรงแ/soN/ as a prefix was limited to expressing new verbs in situations where this was unavoidable. Reading older texts, I found that the number of words prefixed by ทรงแ/soN/ was very limited, as if the writer was determined to use it when unavoidable only, and then only to express very simple verbs, quite often involving motion. This strict self-censorship disappears as the marker is now used to express almost any verb in Standard Thai. As against the growing usage of ทรงแ/soN/ as a prefix of Standard Thai verbs, I found declining use of ทรงแ/soN/ as a general-purpose verb used with TRL nouns. This was shown in table 4.6, where the percentage of ทรงแ/soN/ usages which were with Standard Thai verbs went up from 59.8% to 68.7% with the major change occurring from the 1950s to the 1980s, while, correspondingly, the percentage of ทรงแ/soN/ usages with TRL nouns went down from 19.7% to 9.0%, with the main decline occurring also between the 1950s and 1980s. The usage with TRL nouns is the traditional application of ทรงแ/soN/ and it relates to the ritualistic style of the register, a style that “objectifies” action. This style is important in

imbuing the register with its solemn, highly formal tone, and its decline means compromising that tone.

In the long run, the implication of such increasing usage of the prefix ทรง/soN/ is a regularization of the register. In the medium term, the implications of this tendency are as if two registers with two completely different rule games would operate within one system, like two souls in one body. Highly formal expressions, such as ทราบฝ่าละอองธุลีพระบาท/sa↓abfa∇ala?□□Nthu↔liiphra↔ba↑ad/ 'to know' or ทรงพระบรมราชโองการ/soNphra↔b□romra↓adcha?ooNkaan/'to issue a royal command' are used together with almost slang-like expressions like ทรงจู้จี้/soNcu↓uci↓i or ทรงเบื่อ/soNby↑a/ 'to get bored'.

This “being in transition” state is another part of what gives the register a sense of lack in uniformity, which I proposed in my second hypotheses. The fact that an important, but unwritten, rule of usage has changed, creates a situation in which new words which are allowed by this new usage exist side by side with the traditional TRL vocabulary, leading to the contrasts which I sampled above.

Another aspect of the lack of uniformity is in the contrast between the tendency to use elaborate words, which I pointed to above, and the simplification or regularization of the register as a whole. The simplification of the register makes it more accessible and

more comprehensible to common people. It is, in a sense, a more “democratic” court language. This tendency is, however, not driven by an inclination of the register to become more “popular”, but is most probably driven by influences of the media but even more so by communicative needs.

Some of the changes in the basic rules of word formation are probably the result of the exposure of the register to the mass media. One has to remember that the TRL developed as a register hand in hand with its own sort of “media”, or form of literature, which was the royal chronicles. As such it was both a register and a literary style combined. Much of “the unwritten rules” or the “unpronounced filters” which controlled the extent of what it does express and how much detail it allows, has to do with its being a literary style. The spread of modern media and modern literature exposed the TRL to usage in media with very different literary styles. In the field of literature, a stripped down version of the TRL is used and accepted due to its content being mere fiction (Dithiyon 1997). The journalistic medium, however, reports the **real** activities of the real royal family, acting, in some senses, as the modern version of the chronicles. News of the royal family is, however, only one item out of many types of news, and it is difficult to keep the literary style of one area of news completely isolated from the others. The effect, accumulating over time, of proximity to media using a completely open approach towards linguistic innovation must have been one of the reasons for the change leading

to increased use of ทรงแ/soN/ as a “temporary” means of expanding the vocabulary of the TRL.

A more important reason for change, however, must have been the requirements of the content itself. In other words, new content or new ideas come up which have no way of being expressed through the register as it is. The need comes up either to create completely new vocabulary or utilize an existing linguistic mechanism to express these new ideas. Since new word creation in nouns was blocked, the new ideas came to express themselves in the only open venue, that of verbs. The change towards greater use of the prefix ทรงแ/soN/ can accordingly be also analyzed from the point of view of “demand”, namely, what are the main uses of this expanded vocabulary, or what are the new words which are coined by utilizing the expanded role of ทรงแ/soN/ . The changes in the usage of both ทรงแ/soN/ and พระ/phra/↔ can therefore be seen, aside from their own significance, also from the point of view of the new content that looks for means of expression. These observations lead us to the examination of changes in content

6.1.4 Changes in the Content of TRL as Evidenced by the Usage of Key Words

Some of the most significant findings of this thesis are concerned with the content being expressed through key words in TRL. The data collection was conducted separately for

verbs and nouns, and the results were different in terms of the content of the key words, which were identified in each.

In the area of nouns we found a change from a predominance of nouns relating to the description of physical locations visited by royal persons or means of transportation used by royal persons to move from one place to the other. The new group of key words, starting from the period of the 1980s, relates to the ritual and ceremonial activity of the monarchy. New key nouns were พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor', พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing', พระราชพิธี/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony', วโรกาส/wa↔rooka↑ad/'occasion' and other nouns expressing the same ideas. The reduction in the importance of mere physical movement is also reflected in the area of verbs, where we see a reduction in the usage of the verb เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go'. The usage of that verb, and its different derivatives, diminished as a percentage of exclusive TRL verbs, from 54.3% in the 1930s to 37-40% in subsequent periods (table 4.13). Since the percentage of exclusive verbs out of total verbs went down sharply after the 1930s, the reduction of usage of เสด็จ/sade↑d/'to go' out of all verbs is even sharper. The shift from mere laconic description of movements from place to place to a focus on the ritual and ceremonial is symptomatic of what I believe is the renewed interest in the monarchy and in the traditions related to the monarchy, which I pointed out in my third hypothesis. The revival of the monarchy starting from the regime of Marshal Sarit Tanarat in 1957, was focused primarily on the ritual aspect of the monarchy, as Sarit has been

“reviving public ceremonies that have been neglected since 1932, encouraging the King to appear in public and making a major public show of allegiance to King Bhumibol Adulyadej” (Wyatt, 1984: 281). Marshal Sarit toppled the regime of Marshal Phibun Songkram, whose policies had a distinct anti-royal orientation. His regime brought more than just a new military regime. It brought new thinking about the way the country should be run and how it should relate to its traditional institutions. Unlike his predecessors, Sarit was educated in Thailand, was less influenced by Western political ideas and felt a great deal of respect towards the Monarchy and what it symbolized. Contrary to Phibun, who competed with the monarchy, he instituted its revival and an emphasis on the King as the symbolic center of a paternalistic, traditional society that derives strength from its own traditions and history. After twenty-five years of being politically sidelined, dating from the toppling of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the monarchy was returned to the center of the country’s public life. During the regime of Sarit and his successors, Thanom Kitikachorn, the monarchy gained stature as the King became heavily involved in numerous rural development projects. The monarchy came through as caring and involved rather than distant and aloof. Photos and films of the King trudging through muddy paths in remote areas were imprinted on the nation’s consciousness, while graduates of universities were all handed their degree personally by the King, a short ceremony which they photographed and cherished for the rest of their lives. Throughout this period of active social engagement, the King carefully avoided any intervention in the country’s political life. Except for a brief intervention in October 1973, the King

maintained, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, a position elevated above political power struggles, and established his position as a symbol of national unity, the national heritage, and as the most revered national figure.

The remarkable similarity between our figures of key words for the 1980s and the 1990s shows that a solid pattern has been established in the above mentioned period of the 1960s and 1970s, and has not changed significantly in the fifteen year gap between the two periods. The noun พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↑ad/'honor' was the most frequent noun in both periods, with 13.5% in the 1980s and 8.3% in the 1990s. The noun พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing' is the second most frequent noun in the 1980s with 8.4% and fourth most frequent noun in the 1990s with 4.9%, followed, in that period, by the related noun พระพรชัยมงคล/phra↔ph□□nchajmoNkhon/'blessing' with 3.5% (counting พระพร/phra↔ph□□n/'blessing' and พระพรชัยมงคล/phra↔ph□□nchajmoNkhon/'blessing' together would translate to this item also being the second most frequent in the 1990s with a combined 8.4% and in that case, if added to the figures of the 1980s, where it has a frequency of 1.3%, it would reach 9.7%). The term วโรกาส/warooka↑ad/'occasion' is the fourth most frequent in the 1980s with 4.7% and third most frequent in the 1990s with 4.9%. An interesting increase is in the noun พระราชพิธี/phra↔ra↓adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony' the second most frequent noun in the 1990s with frequency of 6.2%, whereas in the 1980s it is not one of the frequent nouns, although it is expressed by direct reference to the various ceremonies taking place. The

remarkable fact is that just four nouns, พระเกียรติ/phra \leftrightarrow ki \uparrow ad/'honor, พระพร
 /phra \leftrightarrow ph \square n/'blessing' (including พระพรชัยมงคล
 /phra \leftrightarrow ph \square nchajmoNkhon/'blessing'), วโรกาส/warooka \uparrow ad/'occasion' and พระราชพิธี
 /phra \leftrightarrow ra \downarrow adchaphi \leftrightarrow thii/'ceremony', account for 26.6% of all nouns used in the
 1980s and 24.3% of the nouns used in the 1990s, or **literally every fourth noun used**.
 This shows the extreme concentration of the discourse about royal affairs in very few
 words indeed.

Related to the issue of royal occasions, ceremonies and blessings are also mentions of
 the most important event in the royal calendar year, that of the King's birthday. The
 event is referred to as วันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา
 /wanchal \leftrightarrow mphra \leftrightarrow chonphansa \diamond a/'birthday' celebration with frequency of 10.4%
 in the 1980s, and, in the 1990s, through the terms พระชนมพรรษา/
 phra \leftrightarrow chonphansa \diamond a/'age' with 6.3% frequency and พรรษา/ phansa \diamond a/'year' with
 frequency of 4.3%. The fact that the royal birthday is not only an important event but that
 its importance is increasing sharply can also be seen in the area of verbs, as shown in
 table 4.13 (Chapter 4). Verbs related to celebration of the King's birthday grow, as a
 percentage of exclusive TRL verbs, from nothing in the 1930s to 15.1% in the 1990s. In
 the 1980s the percentage is 5.7%, while in the 1950s it is only 0.3%.

In comparison to the finding above, well known and important TRL nouns such พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↔adcha↔damri/'thought' has a frequency of 3.6% in the 1980s and 6.2% in the 1990s. The TRL nouns พระราชดำรัส/phra↔ra↔adchadamra↔d/'speech' and พระบรมราชโองการ/phra↔b↔romra↔adcha↔oowa↔ad/'sermon' each have a frequency of 4.0%, the first in the 1990s, the second in the 1980s. The relatively low frequency of these nouns is surprising because of the increasing importance of the King's projects based on his thoughts and his speeches. These nouns represent the participation of the monarchy in the country's public life from the "rational" angle of lines of thought, policies, administration and management. The first group of nouns, that of , พระเกียรติ/phra↔ki↔ad/'honor', พระพร/phra↔ph↔n/'blessing', วโรกาส/warooka↔ad/'occasion' and พระราชพิธี/phra↔ra↔adchaphi↔thii/'ceremony' represent the participation of the monarchy in the country's public life as a powerful symbol or an icon, a symbol that is revered to a degree that might be termed a cult in which the object of reverence, the King, seems to be regarded as a part, in one way or another, of the divine. The lower percentage of important nouns such as พระราชดำริ/phra↔ra↔adcha↔damri/'thought' and พระราชดำรัส/phra↔ra↔adchadamra↔d/'speech' demonstrates the predominance of the ceremonial.

This build up of a ritual-ceremonial agenda around the person of the King is the evidence I propose for the third hypothesis, that of an interest in traditional values. The

interest is not mere academic interest or the interest of a bystander. Rather it is full participatory interest and the fact of its participatory nature is evidenced by the data I collected on the usage of royal versus non-royal verbs. In table 4.1 we can see that the balance in royal-to-commoner interaction has changed. Whereas in the past, namely in the 1930s, 77% of the action is ascribed to royal persons and 23% to commoners, in the 1980s and 1990s, the percent of commoners share in the interaction climbs to 33-35%. The meaning of that is that commoners become more active, rather than passive in their interaction with the monarchy. The nature of commoner action towards the monarchy is also changed, as can be seen in table 4.3, and the act of “giving” or “making a donation” or “performing a sacrifice” towards the monarchy come to occupy 72-77% of all action towards the monarchy, up from 29% in the 1930s. The extent of “giving” to the monarchy makes it comparable directly to the only other institution that is on the receiving side of extensive “giving” by the population, namely, the Buddhist Sangha. Giving to the Buddhist Sangha is done for the purpose of acquiring merit. What we see is that as much as the Buddhist calendar exists as a series of points in time in which people revere the institution and make offerings to it in order to advance their store of merit, so the royal calendar becomes a series of points in time in which one reveres the institution and makes offerings to it. In both the Buddhist and the royal calendars, one is expected to listen carefully to moral preaching offered by senior monks in Buddhist events and by the King in royal events.

The ceremonial and the ritual do not, however, exhaust the store of traditional values which directly or indirectly involve the monarchy and which are reflected in the usage of the TRL. In that respect, it is the limitation on the creation of new TRL nouns which on the one side puts a cap on how much we can learn from their usage, but on the other side causes them to paint the aspects of reality which they have the terminology to describe, namely, the ceremonial and the ritual, in such bold colors and extreme percentages.

What is not reflected in the usage of nouns, due to lack of adequate terminology, can be discerned clearly in the area of verbs. Our content analysis of the usage of TRL verbs points to a distinct group of verbs that describe actions or states which are not a part of the traditional TRL terminology.

If we focus in table 4.7 on verbs which appear only in the last two periods of the 1980s and the 1990s (with the small addition of ทรงประดิษฐ์/*soNpradi*↑*d*/'to invent' which occurs 19 times in the last period and only once in the 1950-1957 period and ทรงปฏิบัติ/*soNpa*↑*tiba*↑*d*/'to perform' which appears 97 times in the last two periods and only 4 times in the 1950-1957 period) we will encounter a fascinating phenomenon. What we will find is a group of verbs that are very hard to find in past TRL texts. **These verbs represent the new in TRL usage.** Out of the 28 entries in the table (the table is organized by frequency), at least 20 can be counted as expressing the group of

intellectual and emotional states, beliefs and pedagogical expressions, which I mentioned in my remarks to the table in Chapter 4. Especially striking are: 1) Pedagogical expressions: ทรงย้ำ/ $\text{soNja} \leftrightarrow \text{m}$ ' to emphasize', ทรงชี้/ $\text{soNchi} \leftrightarrow \text{i}$ ' to point-out', ทรงเตือน/ soNtyan ' to warn', ทรงเน้น/ $\text{soNne} \leftrightarrow \text{n}$ ' to emphasize', ทรงแนะ/ $\text{soNnE} \leftrightarrow \text{?}$ ' to recommend', ทรงสาธิต/ $\text{soNsa} \diamond \text{athi} \leftrightarrow \text{d}$ ' to demonstrate', ทรงอธิบาย/ $\text{soN}^? \text{a} \uparrow \text{thi} \leftrightarrow \text{baaj}$ ' to explain'. 2) Expressions of efforts and worries on behalf of the nation: ทรงห่วงใย/ $\text{soNhu} \uparrow \text{a} \text{Njai}$ ' to be concerned', ทรงตรากคร่ำ/ $\text{soNtra} \uparrow \text{agtram}$ ' to relentlessly try hard', ทรงพยายาม/ $\text{soNphajaa} \text{jaam}$ ' to try', ทรงย่อท้อ/ $\text{soNj} \square \downarrow \square \text{th} \square \leftrightarrow \square$ ' to be discouraged', ทรงมุ่ง/ $\text{soNmu} \downarrow \text{N}$ ' to be resolved', ทรงริเริ่ม/ $\text{soNrir} \leftrightarrow \downarrow \leftrightarrow \text{m}$ ' to initiate'. These verbs represent features of monarchy which occupy a growing position in the past two decades. They also correspond well with a new moral vision that was introduced by the King in his version of the Maha-Chanok Jataka tale, as well as with the content of numerous addresses to the nation on the occasion of the New Year, the occasion of His birthday and other suitable occasions.

Four other frequently used verbs that appear mostly in the last two periods are ทรงปฏิบัติ/ $\text{soNpa} \uparrow \text{tiba} \uparrow \text{d}$ ' to perform', ทรงประกอบ/ $\text{soNprak} \square \uparrow \square \text{b}$ ' to put together', ทรงสร้าง/ $\text{soNsa} \downarrow \text{aN}$ ' to build' and ทรงประดิษฐ์/ $\text{soNpradi} \uparrow \text{d}$ ' to invent'. All four verbs can be seen as semantic branches of the "to do, to make" type of actions, to which I referred before as standing in certain contrast to the idea of Royalty as "commanding from

behind a veil". We saw some verbs that appeared in all four periods, which is not surprising, as the corresponding changes in the view of Kingship are rooted in the mid 19th century (Satyanurak 1998;64-68) The last two of the three verbs mentioned here are closely linked to the King's interest in engineering and invention. These interests are not new, as the King has been known to excel in a large number of areas, including the invention of various mechanical devices, since his early days on the throne. What is new is the central place these now take in the general discourse about royal activities. An excellent illustration of this is a verb with a very high usage rate, which does not appear in the above table because it is used only in the period of 1997-99. The verb is ทรงเกี่ยวข้าว/soNki↑awkha↓aw/'to harvest rice'. The event is a ceremonial plowing of first rice in Ayutthaya province on a demonstration farm. The King surprised reporters and the audience by going ahead and physically plowing the field, instead of officiating at the ceremony only. That made the event into one of the most heavily covered royal events of that year. The sight of the King trotting, in rubber boots, down the paddy, scattering the seeds, was seen as a source of great inspiration. The King's officiating at seasonal and agricultural cycle ceremonies is probably almost as old as the institution of monarchy itself, but the King's stepping into the field as a farmer is symptomatic of a new vision of the monarchy.

Totally, all these new verbs share about 40% of all verb usages in both the 1980s and the 1990s. There are no other dominant verbs during those two periods, except the

verbs “to be” and “to have” which are neutral in terms of meaning and the twin verbs of “to give” and “to receive” which together share 7.1% in the 1980s and 9.2% in the 1990s. These figures for the verbs “to give” and “to receive” compare to 25% in the 1930s and 35.4% in the 1950, so the figures for the 1980s and 1990s are much lower. However, at the same time we saw some other figures that demonstrated that “to give” is still a major verb, expressing deeply embedded social values, yet the usage of ทวง/soN / with Standard Thai verbs seems to have been usurped by this new group of verbs, which, it should be emphasized, hardly existed in previous periods.

How do we relate the image of the King as being down to earth, as hard-working, hard-trying, concerned, worried, yet hopeful the image reflected through data collected on nouns, namely of a King highly revered in ritual, a King who is the center of an active national cult, a King in whose honor a calendar of ceremonial events has been reverently created. Are these two images not in conflict? Can they relate to the one and same King.

Tackling this question, I wish to bring to attention the fourth hypothesis which I proposed, namely my “expectation to find attempts to reconcile modernity and tradition into one integrated whole”. The two seemingly contradictory images which I have just depicted represent in a way the image of a “modern” King on the one hand, and a “traditional” King on the other. The modern King is down to earth, participates in the

nation's social and cultural life by sponsoring various non-partisan activities. The modern King is warm, close to the people and attuned to their grievances. Elaborate, often mysterious, rituals and colorful ceremonies that are rooted in long standing traditions surround the traditional King. Situated in the midst of such ritual ceremonies, the King is distant and emotion-less. In section 2.6 I referred to the British case and to the simplicity as ordinary people" of the Windsors and the way it "somehow" fits in with the ceremony and ritual, so much of which is preserved in the British, as compared to continental, monarchy. Is the British model the correct reference points to our case, or is there a Thai archetype of Kingship that can better embrace these apparent contradictions?

In order to answer these questions, I would like to propose an analytical framework for looking at the King's role in society. This analytical framework, which follows the ideas proposed by Cohen (1991), will be related to a number of archetypes of Kingship which exist in Thai culture. What I would like to show is that the new synthesis of modernity and traditional values, to which I refer in my hypothesis, is a synthesis which is not completely new, but which is rooted in an old-standing archetype of Kingship.

6.2 Reconciling Tradition and Modernity and the Archetypes of Kingship

The purpose of the second part of Chapter 6 is to examine the empirical findings, as detailed in the first part, in view of concepts of the role of the monarchy in society and the archetypes of Kingship which exist in Thai culture. The first section will review the notion of horizontal versus vertical roles of the monarchy as proposed by Cohen (1991). The second section will describe the various archetypes of Kingship which exist in Thai culture. The third section will attempt to explain how modernity and tradition, as reflected in the multiple roles of the King in Thai society, are reconciled through the application of one of the archetypes of Kingship.

6.2.1 The Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Kingship in Thailand

As mentioned above, the thesis's title refers to changes in social and cultural values. I already explained that this statement concerns values that relate to the institution of monarchy. The question is what are these values? Obviously, we are not looking at social values that guide people in the conduct of their daily lives. Rather, we are looking at values which guide people's perspectives of their collective identities, their ideas of the greater group to which they belong and their place within it.

Thai society has often been described as a society in which the principle of hierarchy plays a significant role. Each person is another person's senior or junior, based on a multitude of criteria; no two persons are perfect equals. Hierarchy in Thai society is not

an arbitrary matter, but is a part of a grander, a “cosmic” hierarchy which encompasses all beings and of which it forms a sub-section. The laws of Karma, according to which the position of each being is determined by his past deeds and their merit content guide this grander system. This picture was drawn systematically in the Triphum Phra-Ruang, which was composed by the Sukhothai King Litai in the 14th century. It is based on and corresponds to the Buddhist worldview, and has been a part of the socialization process of Thais for many centuries.

The institution of the Monarchy occupies a central role in this hierarchical view of society. It stands at the apex of the social hierarchy with the King deemed as the individual holding the largest store of merit. Standing at the apex of the ladder, the monarchy is entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order or keeping people in their proper position on the ladder. The system of hierarchy in society is therefore inconceivable without the central figure of the King as a focal highest point. The institution of Kingship therefore represents the hierarchical or “vertical” principle of social organization. Under the absolute monarchy the “vertical” principle has been the only principle of social organization. The idea of belonging to a unified nation whose members are all equal in their membership of the group did not yet exist. Individuals did not see themselves as part of a Thai nation but as clients of a certain patron who himself was a client of a bigger and more powerful patron and so forth, or, in other words, as a part of a hierarchy.

The Chakri reformations of King Chulalongkorn and the nationalistic policies of his successor, King Vajiravuth, have changed that picture. King Chulalongkorn have initiated the process of creating a modern state while his successor embarked upon a creation of national identity in what emerged as a modern nation state. Both reformations were imported from the West in an attempt to become an equal partner with the Western powers by looking and functioning like them. The old paradigm, sometimes called the “galactic polity” or “the political mandala”, of empires with a powerful center which exerts its power over various dependencies has given place to the world of the modern nation state. In the nation state, a central administration controls equally all subjects in its clearly defined territory and it controls all its territories equally. The nation is made up of individuals who are all equally members of the nation and who all share a common national identity.

Introducing the idea of a nation brought a new dimension to group identity. This dimension is a non-hierarchical one or a horizontal one and it stands in contrast to the vertical principle we mentioned above. The place of Kingship in such a new society is a question that needs addressing. As Cohen notes “the contradiction between nation and Monarchy is potentially the most serious one. The reason is that the precise relationship between monarch and nation, and their related institutions, has not been full spelled out after the revolution of 1932. The King, like the Buddhist monks, is also not a full-fledged “citizen” in the substantive sense of the term. Thus he, and the narrow circle of the royal

family, does not vote in elections (although they are formally entitled to do so). Like the Sangha, the king is supposed to be above politics, though he is in fact an important factor in national politics, playing a crucial role in periods of crisis. This, indeed, is one of the principal symptoms of the contradiction, pointing to the question, who possesses ultimate legitimization in the modern Thai nation-state, the King or the people?" (Cohen 1991, 32).

The solution to this question is often phrased in terms of seeing the King as a symbol of the nation, as a representative of the nation's traditions, its past and its unique heritage or as the conscience of the nation. All these different renditions place the King within the rule of the horizontal principle. As a symbol, a repository or as a representative, he is still a part of the nation as a whole. He is not a symbol only of the court traditions of the past. Quite to the contrary, he represents each farmer and each worker, he symbolizes the traditions and the customs of members of all segments of society, and he is a repository of the heritage of all members of the nation.

The idea of Kingship as a symbol of the nation or the repository of the national heritage is a new idea of Kingship. Most probably it exists more in political science research papers than in the popular culture and in the real collective identity. Similarly, the dichotomy of horizontal versus vertical principles, which I elaborated above, while useful as a way of looking at Kingship and its role in society, is still only an abstraction. This

methodological abstraction is made in reference to “concrete” concepts of Kingship.

Having looked at the conceptual background, let us now look at the different concepts or archetypes of Kingship themselves.

6.2.2 The Archetypes of Kingship in Thai Society

Concepts of Kingship exist in order to explain the fact that certain members of society enjoy a level of power, which is in most cases far greater than the power of all other members, and in some cases reaches or approximates a level that can be described as absolute. Some concepts of Kingship explain only why a certain individual or family holds such powers, other concepts also explain why should such power should be held by a single person at all. Related to these core issues of legitimacy, whether of the person or the institution, are derivative questions on the form of relations between King and population and the manner in which each should conduct himself towards the other.

In studies of Thai society we often encounter two principal concepts of Kingship, that of the divine King or the Devaraja and that of the Patriarchal King. Both are attributed to different historical periods, The first, viewed as a Khmer import, is attributed to the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, while the second is attributed to the earlier, and smaller, Kingdom of Sukhothai (Rabibhadana 1996; 49-50). Their main characteristics are:

1) The King as the “Deva-Raja”: This concept identifies the King as an incarnation or manifestation of the Hindu god Shiva or Vishnu. The mysterious process of getting the divine essence is achieved in the coronation ritual, which is officiated by the court Brahmins. The cult reached its apex in the Khmer Kingdom of Angkor, where the King was worshipped as a living God. It is mainly through Khmer influences that the cult came to be practiced in Ayutthaya: Ayutthaya appears to have been much more Khmerized from the beginning. The oath of allegiance reputed to have been written in the first reign of Ayutthaya began by invoking the three gods of the Hindu pantheon: Shiva, Vishnu and Brahaman. The Brahamanic element provided the Kingship with majestic aura of mystery and a place in the cosmic order which buttressed the authority it needed to rule over a varied and widely scattered population. The position of the King was elevated and he was no longer accessible to the people (Rabibhadana 1996; 50). The lack of accessibility and the fact that legitimization was not based on conduct, present or past, in this world except for the execution of a body of rituals are the main marks of the concept of the King as a Devaraja.

2) The King as a Patriarch: The concept of the King as a Patriarch is often to be understood in the contrast it forms with the Deva Raja cult. The King acts as a “father” to the people, in a society which is close knit, relatively small and lacks elaborate procedures and rituals. The legitimization it offers to the King lies in his being the natural leader, like a father is in his family (Rabibhadana 1996; 49). While the Deva Raja cult

was obviously a real historical phenomenon with its own set of rituals, the patriarchal Kingship, attributed to Sukhothai, and particularly to King Ramkamheng, is more of an idealization of a certain period in the past. It is not clear to what extent it constituted a real historical phenomenon. At present, as we saw before, there is increasing tendency to use the patriarchic terminology and refer to the present King as the “father of the nation”.

Additional concepts of Kingship are mostly related to Buddhist cosmology, and they are:

- 1) The King as the “great elect” or Mahasamata. This concept is based on the theory of social development advanced in the important Buddhist text “Agganna-Sutra”. In that theory, the development of human society and the creation of private property lead to disputes over property. The King is “elected” as the supreme rule setter and arbiter.
- 2) The King as the “universal ruler” or Chakravartin. Here the concept is derived from the Buddhist cosmology, portraying the shape of the universe, with Mount Meru at its center and specifying the place of the world of men in relation to the world of deities and the world of animals, and “within this important conceptual framework, the institution of Kingship was set. Kingship, indeed, was seen as an attempt to parallel the cosmos. The Kingdom was thought of as a replica sharing the attributes of the macro universe” (Kyaw 1979; 156). The King was seen here as the “universal ruler” presiding over the micro cosmos of human beings. The

idea of the Chakravartin is where the Buddhist concept of Kingship comes closest to the cult of the Deva Raja.

- 3) The King as the “just ruler” or Dharmaraja. This concept of Kingship refers to the role of the King as the protector and preserver of religion. According to Kyaw “the idea that the King was the promoter and protector of religion was more important and perhaps more lasting than the other concepts, for the notion that the King was a Chakravartin or a Bodhisattva or a descendent of Mahasammata could not be accepted by most Buddhists if he did not follow this Buddhist tradition”.(Kywa 1979; 167). This principle therefore places a burden on the King but also offers him means to justify his rule. It does not, however, place the King in as exalted a position as the Chakravartin or the next concept, which is the King as a Bodhisatva.
- 4) The King as a “Buddha to be” or Bodhisatva. This concept merges the principle of the King as the Dharmaraja with an exalted position of divinity. On the one hand the King is seen as a Buddha to be who renounced the final fulfillment in order to assist his fellow humans. He is therefore seen as sacrificing for the sake of humanity. Following the ten precepts of the Dharmaraja is therefore just one of many acts of merit performed by such a King. On the other hand, his position is perceived as semi divine and he is worshipped accordingly.

In terms of the vertical-horizontal continuum, which I presented in the previous section, it is quite clear that the principles of the Deva Raja and the Chakravartin display the extremes of the vertical principle. The concept of the Mahasamatta presents perhaps the most horizontal principle, as it portrays the King as an agreed upon arbitrator, nothing more. Both the principles of the Dharmaraja and the patriarch are also relatively horizontal, since they offer accessibility to the King from members of society, reducing by far the distance between King and society favored by the principle of the Devaraja. The Dharmaraja and the Patriarch, though both above the people, are also close to the people. The principle of the Bodhisatva is the only one that combines the divine with closeness to the people and attention to their problems. According to this principle, the King can go to any lengths in getting close to the people, more than a patriarch or a Dharmaraja can without losing his dignity. Not only would the Bodhisatva not lose his dignity, but he would even reinforce his divinity, which is linked to the extent of his sacrifice and his willingness to forsake personal salvation for the sake of helping the common people, his subjects.

6.2.3 Analysis of the Empirical Findings in View of the Archetypes of Kingship in Thai Culture

We saw in the previous section that the concept of Kingship in Thailand, and in fact in Southeast Asia, is a complex construct that reflects the synthesis of three religions, Buddhism, Hinduism and local sets of beliefs, and which incorporates a number of different and distinct archetypes of Kingship which were variously referred to in different periods in history.

In the Thai case, once the system of government changed to be a constitutional monarchy in 1932, a paradigmatic shift occurred in the role of the monarchy. The reasons for maintaining a strict vertical orientation disappeared overnight.

Administering and managing a large territory was no longer the concern of the monarchy and traditional worries about usurpation ceased to be relevant as a factor which dictates some aspects of the conduct of the monarchy. The issue has shifted from that of the legitimacy of each particular reign to that of the role of the institution.

In spite of these paradigmatic changes, what initially transpired, according to some researchers, was a “freezing” of the monarchy in 1932: “The end of the absolute monarchy in 1932 may, in fact, have been a chief contributing factor to the modern day mystique and popularity of the present King. Before any degree of dissatisfaction with the rule of the king could spread down to the common people, the monarchy was toppled, and therefore was able to avoid all responsibility for mid-twentieth century turmoil in Thailand and the world, most notably as the result of World War 2 and post-

World war 2 industrialization. As a result, attitudes towards the King were frozen in 1932.

The inactivity of the King following 1932 only further entrenched an idealization of the monarchy of the past” (Taw 1992; 15).

Some of the linguistic findings collected in this thesis would support such observations on the grounds of the remarkable over-all continuity in the usage of TRL. After all, while changes in the status of the monarchy were dramatic, changes in the usage of the TRL were slow and incremental. The immediate aftermath of the change in regime sees no difference in usage at all. The return of the present King in 1951, after an almost continuous absence of a residing monarch for sixteen years, sees the increased usage of TRL, reflecting the increased need to report the activities of the now resident King, continuing almost seamlessly from where it left off. This continuity, with no legal coercion or political pressure, must reflect the view of the monarchy as rooted in or “frozen into” the culture rather than being contingent on temporal political configurations. Had the usage stopped in 1932, only to reappear in 1957 as part of Marshal Sarit’s “revival” of the monarchy, this study would have been of no interest, because usage or non-usage would have been seen as politically dictated. Similarly, if there had been no change of regime, or, what is more realistic, had changes been engineered and implemented by the absolute monarchy itself, as part of its adaptation to a new political environment, then continuity of usage would have been less remarkable a fact, with the same result that usage could have been seen as politically

dictated. The continuity of usage of the TRL in spite of the turbulent political history of the monarchy in this century is therefore a critical fact in establishing that the subject is of significant interest.

However, if the over-all continuity in usage in spite of sharp reversals in political fortune indicates that the use of TRL became a part of the collective Thai culture, then it follows that changes in usage reflect shifts in this collective perception. The "freezing of attitudes" could not be total. While much of the old has been preserved as is, new roles had to be carved out for a monarchy the status of which changed so dramatically. While much of the form has been preserved, new content had to be poured into it.. It is the consistency between different elements of this new content or these new roles that I wish to look for in this analysis.

As noted at the end of the previous part, what we see in the empirical findings presented in chapters 4 and 5 are two contradictory trends. On the one side we find 1) Regularization of highly elaborate linguistic instruments. 2) A growing role of commoners in an increasingly important process of "exchange" with the monarchy. 3) An emerging image of the hard working, caring, sacrificing and educating King. On the other side we find a tendency of 1) Increasing use of elaborate words. 2) Growing emphasis on the ritualistic, ceremonial aspect of Kingship. The discourse shifts from one based on a dry

recording of the royal movements and activities to one that focuses on the glorification of the institution, its honor, its symbolic power and its auspicious dates.

I raised the question of how these seemingly contradictory roles or images can coexist. My proposed answer is that these contradictions can be reconciled if we look at them through the prism of an important, though often overlooked, archetype of Kingship, that of the King as a Bodhisatva. I will explain the reasons by going through the different empirical findings and comparing them to different aspects of the main archetypes of Kingship, which I listed in the previous section, as follows:

I will start the argument with verbs: We saw that as far as “form” is concerned, the tendency in royal verb usage is towards simpler, universal forms, and especially the use of the prefix ทรง/soN as a multi-purpose converter of Standard Thai verbs into TRL. The increased use of ทรง/soN not only simplifies the language from the point of view of form but also opens the vocabulary to a much larger lexicon than previously used, including many simple Standard Thai words of daily use. As we saw, a big part of the new lexicon included terminology that related to new types of action performed by the King. This new terminology was not a random collection of words but rather was built around a theme. The theme portrays the King as working hard on behalf of the common people and putting his heart and soul in a great effort to improve their lot. The “content” of this image corresponds to the changes in “form”. Both act to reduce the distance between

the monarchy and the people; both negate the “heirarchical” principles of kingship. The tendency towards equalization is reconfirmed by our findings concerning non-royal verbs. There we found a greater degree of reciprocity, as reflected by the increased share of verbs whose subjects are commoners. This reciprocity is also reflected in the increasing weight of both the royal and the non-royal verbs of “to give”. Both sides seem to be giving to the other in a complex process of exchange. The values emphasized through all these linguistic usages are those of “effort” on the one side and “giving” on the other. The usages related to the value of “effort” seem to be the more active ones, as they form the main core of the new vocabulary. Still, the importance of “giving” cannot be discounted; it is just less new as the focal activity.

The importance of “effort” and “giving” is related to the Jataka tales that determine to a large extent the set of values promoted by Buddhism. The long standing Jataka tale of Vassandorn, emphasizes the value of “giving” and the Jataka tale of Mahachanok, recently promoted by the King, stresses the value of “effort” and “persistence”. The discussion of these Jataka tales brings us to an important but often neglected archetype of Kingship, a concept that was historically over-shadowed by the dual archetypes of the Devaraja, on the one side, representing the Khmer derived strongly hierarchical principle of kingship, and the Patriarch, representing the more horizontal, family based principle of kingship often attributed to the Sukhothai period. The concept that we look at here is that of the King as a Bodhisatva, or a future Buddha. The Jataka tales, as tales

of past Buddhas, who did not reach Nirvana, are in fact the tales of the deeds of past Bodhisatvas.

The concept of the King as a Bodhisatva incorporates the idea of the King's legitimacy coming from his vast accumulation of merit, but takes it further in one important direction, which is that "in Buddhist literature the bodhisattva was a savior in the sense that he postponed his own entry into nirvana in order to save his people. Such royal self-denial evoked the respect and admiration of his subjects. And the King had to fulfill his obligations of his pre Buddha status by setting an example to his subjects, at the same time contributing to his own future merit accumulation" (Kyaw 1979; 163)

The concept of the King as a Bodhisatva attributes to the King an element of "divinity", and in that sense it explains the elements of the ritual and ceremonial, which I found in the data. The sense of divinity is also what differentiates it from other concepts of Kingship related to Buddhism, such as the King as the "Great Elect" or Mahasamata or as the Dharmaraja. Where the concepts of the King as a Bodhisattva and these two other concepts overlap is in the fact that in all concepts the King bears a grave responsibility towards society. In both concepts being a King is a duty rather than simply a right. On the other hand, however, the divine element in the concept of the King as a Bodhisattva cannot be discounted: "The predominance of the cult of the Devaraja, resulting from the process of Indianization was one of the most important developments

in Theravada countries... In this cult the highest attributes of Kingship were so closely involved that the concept of a Chakravartin or a Bodhisattva, originating in the tenets of Buddhism, and that of an incarnated Shiva or Vishnu, drawn from the creed of Hinduism, became part and parcel of it" (Kyaw 1979, 155). The King as a Bodhisattva is therefore a concept that merges the divine Kingship with the "working Kingship", a Kingship that in some senses is very near to people's lives, their concerns, their problems, their daily toils, but in other senses is far and sublime.

To sum up briefly, the empirical findings from the usage of TRL verbs point towards an image of the monarchy which is related to the concept of the King as a Bodhisattva, who, having reached the highest point, has turned back and descended to the world of common people in order to help them and reduce their suffering.

The archetype of the Bodhisattva is the only concept of Kingship that allows divinity with closeness to common people to co-exist. All other concepts of Kingship would pull in one direction or the other. The Devaraja concept and the Chakravartin concept would pull in the direction of divinity, leaving no room for commonality. The concept of the King as the Mahasamata or "The Great Elect", the concept of the King as the Dharmaraja and the concept of the King as the Patriarch would leave no room for divinity. The tension between "divinity" and "commonality" which exists in the concept of the King as a

Bodhistava is reflected in the contradiction between the findings to which I elaborately pointed above.

To sum up, our linguistic findings point to two contradictory “images” of the King: 1) The modern King, close to the people, hard working, down to earth. 2) The traditional King, distant and expression-less, surrounded by majestic ceremonies and rituals. The evidence of these two contradictory images is in linguistic changes most of which occur between the 1930s to the 1950s and between the 1950s and 1980s. I have little to say on the image of Kingship that precedes these changes, because the evidence does not lie in the comparison of two distinct situations, but in the observation of change. The two images of Kingship correspond neatly to the vertical and horizontal principles. We can either leave the contradiction as it or attempt to find a concept that enfolds the contradictions. The fourth and most important hypothesis that I proposed in this thesis is that I expect to find attempts to reconcile modernity and tradition into one integrated whole. In the two contradictory images of Kingship we look, in fact, at elements of modernity versus elements of tradition. The claim I made is that both ends are in fact symbiotic parts of the archetype of the King as a Bodhisatva. The changes in the usage of the TRL can be made coherent if this hypothesis is accepted.

Furthermore, the interesting lesson from this analysis is that the concepts that can offer real conciliation of contradictions between modernity and tradition, perhaps not only in

Kingship, but also in other areas of society, are very often found in the cultural heritage, the store of ideas and archetypes, of the nation. In short, ultimately you need tradition in order to overcome the contradictions between tradition itself and modernity.



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Brief Summary

In this study I collected data about the usage of TRL in newspapers in four key periods spanning from the 1930s to the present, looking at changes both in grammatical forms used as well as in the content expressed through the frequency of key words, including pronominals, nouns and verbs.

I found evidence to support the four hypotheses that I proposed in Chapter 1, namely, I found a tendency for increased elaboration in usage, I found less and less uniformity in usage, I found interest in traditional values and an attempt to reconcile modernity and tradition into a coherent whole.

I also found, however, that the four hypotheses mentioned above present only isolated fragments of a complex reality which is riddled with internal contradictions. Looking at the first two hypotheses, I found that the tendency to elaborate was reflected in choices of highly formal pronouns or verbs at the expense of simpler ones, but on the other hand, I had other findings, which pointed to an existing process of simplification and regularization of the register, a process that leads, among other things, to the usage of

many common Thai words with a simple marking. The increasing lack of uniformity which I found was to a large degree the result of the growing prevalence of the usage of the prefix ทรง/soN. The spread of this important prefix signifies the standardization of the register, but the process of its spread entails, along the way, the creation of numerous non-grammatical forms and the unhappy co-habitation of highly elaborate terms with words taken from daily language. The lack of uniformity was therefore a temporary side effect of a highly regularizing process.

Most important, our analysis of the content of key words points to two contradictory visions of kingship emerging from the data. On the one side we find the vision of a monarchy that is immersed in ceremony and ritual, and as such, remains remote from the daily life of people. We can label this as a traditional vision of monarchy. The evidence for elaboration in linguistic usage, mentioned above, goes hand in hand with these content based findings. On the other hand, we find evidence of a monarchy, which is close to the people, which is straightforward and humane, which engages in hard work and dedicated effort, all of which are attributes that contrast with the emphasis on ceremony and ritual which I mentioned above. The simplification and the opening up of the register to outside vocabulary caused by the growing use of ทรง/soN is related and provides additional evidence of the importance of this vision of the monarchy. We can view this as representing modern monarchy

The findings upon which these conclusions are based come from content analysis in different areas. The evidence for the traditional monarchy comes mainly from the analysis of key nouns, while the evidence for the modern monarchy comes mainly from the analysis of key verbs. Not surprisingly, the vocabulary needed to describe the new, or modern monarchy can only be found in the area of verbs because it is the area that is most open to new vocabulary, due to the increasing usage of the prefix ทรง/soN, which allows easy import of words from Standard Thai. The observations about the content expressed in key words and the changes in the usage of grammatical forms are therefore intimately linked. The area of nouns, on the other hand, is more or less closed to new words and it therefore simply does not have the vocabulary to refer to the attributes of modern monarchy. What it shows, though, is a sharp transition from a laconic description that emphasizes physical locations and physical movement of royal persons to a description in which the key words relate to the ceremonial and ritual aspects of the monarchy.

The empirical results lead to the question of how we can explain the fact that the changes in the perceptions of the monarchy and its role in society are in the direction of both more ceremonial and more down-to-earth, both closer to the people and further from them, both working harder and more engaged in mere ritual, both more “modern” and more “traditional”. It is as if two distinct and contradictory visions of the monarchy are gaining the ascendance at the same time.

In terms of the changes in social and cultural values as reflected through this language usage, it is as if we look at two types of changes in values that go in opposite directions. On the one new values develop that embrace the modern. Are not the values of effort, persistence and hard work, of looking forward hopefully and trying to improve things, of being straight forward and down to earth, the very values that we often see as “modern values”, similar to the values of Protestantism which according to Max Weber are at the root of modern capitalist society. On the other hand the emphasis on elaborate ceremonies and ritual points to a distinctly traditional world-view, one, which is hierarchal, with the King standing high above the people, one, in which rituals are the means of getting results rather than hard work, one, in which form is often more important than content.

The interest in traditional values, which I refer to in my third hypothesis, does exist, but it is also matched here by a forward looking perspective based on a completely modern approach to life and to how to manage it.

How do these contradictions co-habit. It would be easier if we found evidence for the existence of the sets of values, showing one on the rise and the other on the decline. In such a case, the attempt to reconcile both, which I mention in my fourth hypothesis, would be needed only in the transitional period before the declining one has completely

disappeared. Our evidence of change shows, however, strong evidence that both sets of values are on the ascendant. How can they be reconciled in such a situation?

The way to approach this important question is either of the two:

- 1) To assume that modernization triggers contradictory changes in the way traditional institutions are perceived, namely, that there are both a desire to see the traditional institution fully adapt to the values of modern society, while at the same time there is a nostalgia to the memories of the past, which are being brought back wrapped in colorful ceremonial attire. This nostalgia get sometimes get stronger, the more that society has fully converted into being a modern industrial society. Based on this perspective, our findings about the perspectives on the Thai monarchy as reflected in language use are symptomatic of societies in transition, in whose value systems modernity struggles with tradition, the old struggles with the new, the horizontal struggles with the vertical, in short, we look at a society torn in between two opposite poles. Our findings, according to such an approach, would be one more illustration of this well documented process.
- 2) The other approach to these apparent contradictions is the one that expects to see a reconciliation of the contradictions. In our case, the fact that the apparent contradictions are found in the perspectives on one institution, which functions

smoothly to the benefit of the entire population seem to strengthen that point. My claim is that the contradictions in the changing perspectives on the monarchy are superseded by a concept or an archetype of kingship which can enfold both the vision of the modern and the vision of the traditional king. This concept is that of the king as a Bodhisatva. The beauty of this concept is that in it the divine turns his back to eternal salvation in order to help his fellow human beings. The king as a Bodhisatva can therefore be divine, with all the ritual and ceremonial implication of that, and still connect to common people at their own level and work hard on their behalf. Adopting this concept or archetype renders the contradictions as merely surface manifestations, rather than the reality.

Our analysis therefore leads me to conclude that the empirical data I obtained on the changes in the views of the monarchy, which on the surface can seem to be torn apart in contradictory directions, in fact tells us that a new, but in fact, very old, and very traditional concept of kingship is staging a comeback. Interestingly, this concept is not recognized as one of the major principles of kingships in Thai history, and is usually listed as more of a theoretical notion, when compared to the concepts of the king as the Devaraja, as the Patriarch or as the Dharmaraja. Different concepts usually coexist, the question is which is the central one in each period. In contemporary times, the idea of the present King as a father of the nation has also gained wide currency. The concept of the King as a Patriarch cannot, however, contain the ritual and ceremonial elements

which relate to a certain divine essence which Thais perceive in the present King, and which can only be explained by the concept of the king as a Bodhisatva.

7.2 Conclusions

I started this thesis with the observation that I was attracted to the subject after observing political events in Thailand and reading books, such as the one by Vatikiotis (1996) which focus on the revival of traditional institutions in Southeast Asia, revival that come in spite, or perhaps because, of successful processes of modernization and economic self confidence. The economic crisis of the past few years does not necessarily change this picture.

My purpose, in embarking upon this study, was to gain a better understanding of the phenomena of the revival of a monarchy by looking at the imprints that it leaves on some of its most intimate and sacred grounds, namely, its exclusive court language. Some of the questions were whether the nature of the new monarchy is significantly different than the old, is it a return based on pure nostalgia to idealized by-gone days or does the revived monarchy have a relevant contemporary message, is the new monarchy founded on the same principles as in the past or is it founded on new ideas such as “symbol of the nation”. All these queries revolve around the main question, which can be posed metaphorically as follows: on its journey from the past to the present, what is

the heritage that the monarchy bring with it? Does it bring merely fancy, yet empty ceremonies or does it bring also solid messages, which are relevant to modern times.

What I learnt from this study is that at least in the Thai case, the monarchy brings with it real content. It brings with it a vision of kingship, which is adequate and contemporary, namely a kingship that educates to values of effort, of hard work and determination, of being straight forward and unassuming, of education and high moral standard. But at the same time, it does not relinquish its traditional face, the majestic and highly ceremonial vista which is so closely associated with such an ancient institution. Moreover, beyond the vista of splendor, it also brings the ideological instruments that make it possible to coherently combine the new contents with the ancient symbols.



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

REFERENCES

English

Bell, Catherine. Ritual Theory Ritual Practice . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Brown, Michele. Rituals of Royalty-The Ceremony and Pageantry of Britain's Monarchy. New-Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1993.

Cannadine, David., and Price, Simon., eds. Rituals of Royalty-Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Chantornvong, Sombat. To Address the Dust of the Dust Under the Soles of the Royal Feet: A Reflection on the Political Dimension of the Thai Court Language. Proceedings of the Conference on Authoritative Words in South and Southeast Asia. Madison, Wisconsin, 1991.

Cohen, Erik. Thai Society in Comparative Perspective-Collected Essays. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1991.

Downes, William. Language and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Errington, Joseph J. Language and Social Change in Java-Linguistic Reflexes of Modernization in a Traditional Royal Polity. Athen: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1985.

- Evans, Grant. The Politics of Ritual and Remembrance-Laos Since 1975.
Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1998.
- Evers, Hans-Dieter., ed. Modernization in South-East Asia, Singapore: Oxford
university Press, 1973.
- Gumpertz, John J., ed. Language and Social Identity. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1982.
- Haas, Mary S. Thai-English Student's Dictionary. Stanford: Stanford University
Press, 1964.
- Hayden, Ilse. Symbol and Privilege-The Ritual Context of British Royalty. Tucson:
The University of Arizona Press, 1987.
- Humphrey, Caroline., and Laidlaw James. The Archetypal Actions of Ritual- A
Theory of Ritual Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship. Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1994.
- Komin, Suntaree. The Psychology of the Thai People. Bangkok: National Institute of
Development Administration, 1991.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. Content Analysis-An Introduction to Its Methodology. London:
Sage Publications, 1980.
- Lach, Donald F., and Van Kley, Edwin J. Asia in the Making of Europe-Volume 3-A
Century of Advance. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Longford, Elisabeth. Royal Throne-The Future of the Monarchy. Oxford: Hodder &
Stoughton Ltd, 1993.

McIntosh, Carey. Common and Courtly Language-The Stylistics of Social Class in 18th Century British Literature. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Pongsapich, Amara., ed. Traditional and Changing Thai World View. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1998.

Rabibhadana, Akin. The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period 1782-1873. Bangkok: Wisdom of the Land Foundation & Thai Association of Qualitative Researchers, 1996.

Rajchagool, Chaiyan. The Rise and Fall of the Thai Absolute Monarchy-Foundations of the Modern Thai State from feudalism to Peripheral Capitalism. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.

Reid, Anthony. Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce. Volume 1 & 2. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1993.

Reynolds, Craig J., ed. National Identity and its Defenders-Thailand 1939-1989. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1991.

Reynolds, Craig J., ed.. Thai Radical Discourse: The Real face of Thai Feusalism Today. Cornell: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1987.

Roempitya, K. Kanasut. A Semantic Study of Royal and Sacredotal Usages in Thai. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkley, 1973.

Schulze, Hagen. States, Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

- Seagrave, Sterling. The Yamato Dynasty-The Secret History of Japan's Imperial Family. London: Bantam Press, 1999.
- Smalley, Willam A. Linguistic Diversity and National Unity-Language Ecology in Thailand. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Smithies, Michael., ed. Descriptions of Old Siam. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Smithies, Michael., ed. Alexander Hamilton-a Scottish Sea Captain in Southeast Asia 1689-1723. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1997.
- Stevenson, William. The Revolutionary King-The True-Life Sequel to The King and I. London: Constable & Co, 1999.
- Suksamarn, Somboon. Buddhism and Political Legitimacy . Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Printing House, 1993.
- Taw, Harold. The Modern Thai Monarchy-Myths, Appropriations, and "Silences". Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkley, 1992.
- Tomlinson, Richard. Divine Right-The Inglorious Survival of British Royalty. London: Little, Brown & Company, 1994.
- Vatikiotis, Michael R.J. Political Change in Southeast Asia-Trimming the Banyan Tree., London: Routledge, 1996.

Winichakul, Thongchai. Siam Mapped-A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation.
Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1994.

Wright, Joseph J. Jr., The Balancing Act-A History of Modern Thailand. Bangkok:
Asia Books, 1991.

Wyatt, David K. Thailand- a Short History. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 1984.

Thai

Aksornpong, Woranan. The Use of Rachasap. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University
Press, 1995.

Assavavirulahakarn Prapot. The Origins and the Historical Development of
Rachasap. Proceedings of Conference on Rachasap and Thai Society,
Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, August, 1997.
(Unpublished Manuscript)

Ditiyon, Vinita. Rachasap in translation.

Thailand. Department of Research, Ministry of Education. The Thai Royal
Language. Bangkok: Department of Research, Ministry of Education 1996.

Naksakul, Kanchana. Khmer words in Rachasap. Proceedings of Conference on
Rachasap and Thai Society, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University,
Bangkok, August, 1997. (Unpublished Manuscript)

Pramote, Kukrit M.R., Nilawan, Pintong., Ratchaibun, Prasai. Public Debate about
Rachasap. Bangkok, 1978. (Unpublished Manuscript)

Prasithratsint, Amara.

Sociolinguistics. Chulalongkorn University Press, Bangkok, 1998.

Saang, Damnoensawad. Observation about learning and teaching Rachasap.

Proceedings of Conference on Rachasap and Thai Society, Faculty of Arts,

Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, August, 1997. (Unpublished

Manuscript)

Saensuree, Ladawan. Some observations about Rachasap, Bangkok, 1974.

(Unpublished Manuscript)



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Biography

Mr Moshe Ami Zarchi was born on July 8, 1961, Tel-Aviv, Israel. In 1983, he graduated from Tel-Aviv University, Faculty of Social Sciences with majors in Economics and Political Science. In 1983-4, he worked as an economic researcher in the Israeli Manufacturers Association. At the same time, he studied towards a degree in Business Administration in Tel-Aviv University. In late 1984, he arrived for a holiday in Thailand, during which he decided to remain in the Kingdom to explore business opportunities. Fascinated by Thai silk, he founded Tel-Dan Company Limited, in order to develop artistic Thai silk home-decorative products for export to the U.S.A. He has managed Tel-Dan Co. Ltd. since 1985, during which time the company has grown to a point where it is one of the largest exporters of textiles for home decoration from Thailand, employing over 600 people. In 1997, he joined the Thai Studies program in Chulalongkorn University in order to further his knowledge of Thai history and culture.

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย