LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY IN THAI ENGLISH FICTION

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UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR

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Field of Study: Varieties of English

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ABSTRACT

English in Thailand has not been yet accepted as another non-native variety because of the debatable notion of ‘Thai English’. The native variety of English is still considered the correct English in most domains in the Thai society. In the literary domain, the development of an English peculiar to the country can however be observed. This study thus examines features of linguistic creativity, namely lexis and discourse, in five contemporary English writings by Thai authors in order to identify indicators for a Thai variety of English. The selected collections of short stories are ‘Dragon’s Fin Soup: Eight Modern Siamese Fables’ (2002) by S.P. Somtow, ‘Sightseeing’ (2005) by Rattawut Lapcharoensap, and ‘The Umbrella and Other Stories’ (1998) by Supasiri Supunpaysaj while the novels are ‘Shadowed Country’ (2004) by Pira Canning Sudham and ‘Chalida’ (2002) by Salisa Pinkayan. The features are interpreted using an integrated approach which combines the World Englishes frameworks of Kachru (1983a; 1983b; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1992a; 1992b; 1995; and 2003), Strevens (1980; 1982; and 1987b), and Schneider (2007). Through textual analysis, findings reveal that the Thai writers highlight their English fiction with distinctive strategies of linguistic innovation. Morphologically, they create lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan translation, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, clipping, and ellipsis. Stylistically, they invent nativisation of context, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, code-mixing and code-switching, the colloquial variety of English, and discourse styles. It appears that these characteristics are not only similar to those used by other non-Anglo English writers but also provide unique indicators for Thai English lexicon and discourse patterns. They are persisting features of the English development, contextualisation, innovation, nativisation, transcultural creativity, localisation, Thai
cultural loading of English language, Thai identity construction of English literary discourse, realisation of thought patterns in Thai writing style, multilingual code repertoire in literary and cultural contact, structural similarities to New Englishes, structural uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes, and structural uniqueness of Thai English. There is evidence that ‘Thai English’ may be emerging as ‘a developing non-native variety’ in the Expanding Circle rather than ‘an established variety’ in the Outer Circle.
ABSTRAK


dan corak wacana. Ini adalah pengembangan ciri-ciri Bahasa Inggeris dalam bentuk kontek, inovasi, nativisation, kreativiti antara budaya, penempatan, kebudayaan Thai membanyakkan bahasa Inggeris, pembinaan identiti Thai wacana sastera Bahasa Inggeris, merealisasikan corak pemikiran dalam gaya penulisan Thai, kod repertoir berbilang bahasa dalam sastera dan hubungan kebudayaan, persamaan struktur untuk Englishes Baru, keunikan struktur Englishes Asia Tenggara, dan keunikan struktur Thai Bahasa Inggeris. Ada bukti yang menunjukkan bahawa Bahasa Inggeris Thai yang wujud adalah jenis yang masih berkembang dalam negara ‘Expanding Circle’ dan bukan lagi jenis yang mantap seperti dalam negara ‘Outer Circle’.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

This chapter provides an introduction to the study of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English fiction. It begins with the statement of the problem and the rationale of the study, continues with the objectives of the study and the research questions, and finally discusses the significance of the study, scope and limitation, as well as definition of terms.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

English in ‘the Expanding Circle’, a term coined by Kachru (1985), is not regarded as a full non-native variety while Englishes in ‘the Outer Circle’ often are. In fact, the Expanding Circle has five features that distinguish it from the Outer Circle. First of all, learners and users acquire English to effectively communicate only with foreigners. This is also indicative of the learners’ and users’ desire to manifest their awareness of the western culture, as well as a means of exhibiting their modernity and civility. Ordinarily, models of British and American English are the only main sources of norms such as dictionaries, grammar books as well as culture and literature. Furthermore, the status of English remains merely as a foreign language due to the priority given to the national language. Besides, English is mainly used in classroom rather than other domains. Nonetheless, an economic trend is emerging; there is an awareness that English proficiency leads to getting good jobs. In addition, English in the Expanding Circle has
not had a history of colonisation; the structure of British and American English was not implanted here. This, however, excludes some countries like Myanmar and Egypt. Although the two countries are British post-colonies, English here has not been fully and continuously developed due to socio-political factors (Berns, 2005: 86-87). On the contrary, users in the Outer Circle have been interacting with non-Anglophone users. English in this context is used as a vernacular with the goal of communicative competence, rather than aiming to be not being native-like. Moreover, the British and American English models have been transformed into non-native norms as institutionalised English, thus grammar books, dictionaries and literatures in English have been produced by users in the Outer Circle. Additionally, the status of English is a second language after the national language, so English in these countries goes beyond the classroom, and even used as a business language. It is an official language for administration, a lingua franca for intranational communication, and a vital means in major media, etc. Finally, English had been a colonial language in the Outer Circle countries. These differences between English in the two circles can partly explain why English in the Expanding Circle has not been recognised as a non-native variety.

English in Thailand is considered to be in the Expanding Circle rather than the Outer Circle as it is more limited to international purposes rather than intranational ones. English is used as a key communication tool between Thais and foreigners, so it is rarely a common language used among Thais themselves. Moreover, English involves the majority of Thais, mainly via educational domains rather than others, but it is not used as an instructional medium for all levels. Unsurprisingly, Thais are taught English using Thai language as the medium of instruction in schools which in a way, negatively affects their proficiency in the English language.
English has not been given much priority in the Thai society. Different ethnic groups have been assimilated and use only Thai for almost all functions. This results in the limitation of English to certain domains such as tourism, trade, diplomacy as well as science-technology. Hence, the multifunctional aspects of English in the Thai context are not apparent. This raises the questions, ‘is there such a thing as Thai English?’ and ‘does Thai English exist?’ These notions are often thought to be controversial since English in the Thai context was not transplanted by the British and Americans and it has neither been used as an official language in administration nor as a major language in media. Thai English has thus not been accepted as a non-native variety as have Singapore and Malaysian Englishes. This is because the use of English in Thailand does not have the following features that make an English as a variety (Butler, 1999a: 82): (i) standard and recognisable patterns of pronunciation passed on from different generations; (ii) certain words and phrases expressing the prominent physical and social circumstances and considered peculiarity to the variety; (iii) history – a sense that this English variety occurs because it is a part of the history of the language community; (iv) a literature created without apology in that variety of English; and (v) reference works like dictionaries and style guides that show the people in such community decide spoken and written norms for their English. In other words, questions concerning English in the Thai society include ‘whether there are unique words and phrases for a Thai variety of English’, ‘whether there is a historical development of Thai English’, ‘whether there is a creative literature written with the use of Thai English as linguistic expressions’, and ‘whether a dictionary of Thai English and a manual of Thai English styles are available as a significant model for Thai users of English. These questions have rarely been addressed in research studies.

English in Thailand can be considered ‘contextualised English’. English has taken on new words and phrases because of the Thai context in which it finds itself. Such
new words and phrases in English need to be specifically interpreted with reference to the Thai culture (Butler, 1999a: 83). For instance, a loan translation ‘long-song’ must be interpreted cognisant with Thai culture and literature as this literally means love letter in verse. Although English is contextualised in the Thai language and culture, it is not nativised English that possesses all of the aforementioned features. Instead, it has developed through much the same processes as in the native variety.

Like other countries in the Expanding Circle, English in Thailand relies on the model and standard of American and British English, so it is called ‘norm-dependent’. Meanwhile, English in the Outer Circle becomes ‘norm-developing’ as it has undergone a period when native norms were used during the colonial period (Jenkins, 2003: 16). In other words, it is difficult for the English used by Thais to develop its own identity or a variety because it has never diverged from the native norm. Many Thais believe that using English in the American and British way will help them become the standard users of English, so they have not considered that there is a Thai variety of English (Sitthirak and Pornchareon, 2006: 3).

English in Thailand seems to be the developing non-native variety although it has not been accepted worldwide. Beyond educational domains, the use of English representing the ideology and locality by Thai users has eventually appeared in the cultural domain, especially via new English literature, namely Thai literature in English. In fact, the phenomenon of literary creation in English in Thailand and other countries in the Expanding Circle is somewhat unclear due to the limited amount of new English literature production versus the quantity produced in the Outer Circle. Similar to those in the Outer Circle, Thai writers of English utilise linguistic strategies, namely, creativity in
their expressions as the salient non-native features through lexis and discourse styles to present the acculturation of English into the Thai language and culture.

Consequently, certain linguistic features in English infringing standard British/American English may be viewed as confusing or ruining the language, especially by native English-oriented Thais. In World Englishes, these features are considered as meaningful deviation or linguistic creativity in Thai fiction writings in English, however. Hence, a positive view toward these is explored in this study so that the features of ‘Thai English’ in Thai literature in English can be revealed.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

The need to determine if there is a Thai variety of English from examining Thai English literature is the rationale of the study. A growing amount of Thai English literatures represents the most outstanding domain of English in the country. They inevitably contain a wide spectrum of linguistic creativity that features a controversial Thai variety of English. This rationale thus involves the notions of contact literature and linguistic distinctiveness of non-native varieties of English.

Contact literature, the result of languages in contact, is a literary product by non-native writers in multilingual communities to portray contexts which are divergent from the traditional English literature such as African and Indian English literatures. This literature differs from native-English literature as it has two main facets: a national identity and a linguistic distinctiveness. The national identity appears in the focus on local identities as seen in the theme, characters, and background such as African and Asian cultural values, beliefs, heritages and traditions, not the Western-Judaic-Christian
The linguistic distinctiveness marks contact literature as it functions as non-native varieties of English like Nigerian English and Philippine English, especially via stylistic devices and contexts of situations. These two facets thus stand for a new phenomenon in World Englishes literature and varieties of English (Kachru, 1986: 160-161).

The term ‘non-nativeness’ from ‘varieties of English’ appears in different contexts such as *Nigerianness* and *Malaysianness*. It concerns the linguistic variation in English of non-native users from the native-speaker norms (Kachru, 1986; Llamzon, 1999). According to Odlin (1989: 26-27), the linguistic variation involves language transfer. If the expression in the target language by L2 users is full of L1 interference, it is called errors or negative transfer. However, if such an expression shows the appropriate grammatical use of L1 items, it is called positive transfer. The latter relates to the view of Llamzon (1999: 96). English expressions by non-native users should be viewed as resourceful deviation, not errors although it violates linguistic rules of the native variety of English. For example, the use of the question tag ‘is it?’ or ‘isn’t it?’ in the utterance “You have a problem, is it?” is unacceptable for native varieties of English, but it is widely used in Malaysian and Singapore English, especially in spoken communications and contact literatures. Similarly, Pandharipande (1987: 155) states that deviation in creative writing and newspaper registers is considered intentional deviation. It is a linguistic device which non-native writers use in nativised Englishes to create an appropriate extralinguistic effect. Hence, deviant patterns of language in contact literature represent creativity, not mistakes. Such patterns support linguistic distinctiveness of non-native varieties of English.

Apart from sociolects and ethnolects, linguistic creativity is a part of lectal varieties that reflects local identities of non-Anglo multilingual users. It exhibits the
evidence of nativisation via a dynamic, innovative, and acculturative process in which users attempt to declare the ownership of the language for communicating their individual, ethnic, cultural, and national identity (Kachru, 1990: 9-11). Creative nativisation leads to an emergence of both new meanings for new and old forms like words of Thai English ‘Tuk-Tuks’ and ‘farangs’.

Linguistic creativity occurs when writers share the English language, the major genre and creative strategies like oral narrative and critical practices. Further, it happens through the writer’s two worlds: the writer’s English creativity as well as mother tongue and its associated literature. The two worlds gear the shaping of English language with material subjects and themes in a new literary environment. They also help the writer’s negotiation of two traditions - the writer’s indigenous language and literary convention as well as the native English language and literature (Thumboo, 2009). This negotiation becomes a linguistic and literary integration into contact literature.

Linguistic creativity has been of interest in studies on contact literature. It is used as a strategy by many bilingual or non-Anglo literary writers to create new literary texts to capture local and international readers and to present varieties of English. It has been examined in several Outer Circle literatures such as research by Parthasarathy (1987); Fernando (1989); Rahman (1990); Wong (1992); Velautham (2000); Govendan (2001); Cruz (2002); Bamiro (2006); and Azirah (2007). These studies exhibit the full non-native varieties of English in contact literature. On the one hand, this strategy has been investigated in some works in the Expanding Circle. For example, Chutisilp’s (1984), Zhang’s (2002), and Watkhaolarm’s (2005) studies attempt to provide evidence for the developing non-native variety of English. These relatively few studies on
English in the Expanding Circle have inspired the researcher to investigate linguistic creativity in a Thai variety of English focusing on Thai English fiction.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are as follows:

(1) To ascertain the features of linguistic creativity in Thai English fiction via the following sub-objectives:

(1.1) To examine the characteristics of lexical creation; and

(1.2) To analyse types of discourse creativity.

(2) To identify the indicators of Thai English.

The primary objective aims to feature two levels of linguistic innovations in Thai English literary writings. Lexical creativity concerns the Thai writers’ creation of English words that violate lexico-semantic and morphological rules of Standard English vocabulary. Discourse creativity refers to an invention of literary and rhetorical styles that are unparallel to stylistic rules and traditional conventions of native English literature.

The second main objective arises from the first one. Once the features of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English fiction are described, the existing indicators for a Thai variety of English are discussed. In this regard, whether Thai English is a non-native variety or contextualised English will be clarified with an interpretation of the results of the main objective, information on sociolinguistic background of English in Thailand, previous studies in Thai English, and selected approaches to World Englishes.
1.4 Research Questions

Based on the objectives of the study, the research questions are as follows:

(1) What are the features of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English fiction?

(2) To what extent do the features indicate an existence of a Thai variety of English?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of non-native varieties of English with the shift from a focus on native English to regional usage of the language can be seen, for example, in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. However, this has not resulted in a fast-growing body of knowledge in World Englishes in Thailand. Many empirical studies on English in Thailand highlight ELT, second/foreign language acquisition, translation, discourse and communication, as well as Anglophone literary and cultural criticism. A few studies have examined linguistic and literary aspects of the English development in Thailand. The notion of contact literature has been unfamiliar to Thai scholars of English studies. This is because native-English varieties and literature, British and American, have been prioritised in Thai university curricular. This study aims to contribute to increasing the knowledge in the field, by pointing out the existence of Thai English literature in the Expanding Circle.

Moreover, it is challenging to clarify what is Thai English by studying the use of English lexis and discourse styles in the Thai cultural context in the selected Thai English literature. In other words, this study will portray non-native features of English in Thailand via the Thai writers’ creative ability of acculturating English elements into
Thai linguistic and socio-cultural patterns.

The findings will provide a data-base for departments or organisations in Thailand and other ESL/EFL countries that are responsible for teaching and researching English as a foreign or second language to exemplify the features of creative nativisation in Thai English fiction when teaching or conducting research on varieties of English or new English literature. Besides, it will be useful for ESL/EFL teachers at secondary and tertiary levels as well as English linguistics and literature academicians to consider such a new literary technique that stresses the linguistic identity of non-Anglo fiction writers.

Finally, this study will encourage other researchers to further studies on creative nativisation beyond what is used in other kinds of English literary texts created by Thais and other ESL/EFL writers such as non-fiction and poetry, including non-literary texts, especially in magazines, newspapers and journals.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The scope of this study is limited to an analysis of the use of Thai English only in written texts from two fictional genres - two novels and three collections of short stories - originally written in English by five contemporary Thai writers. The notion of Thai English is discussed in relation to prominent features with several examples of ‘nativised creativity’ at the lexical and discourse levels. The lexical creativity centres only on elements of lexical semantics and lexical morphology of unique Thai English words. Moreover, the discourse creativity emphasises certain distinctive aspects of stylistic, rhetorical, and pragmatic variation of English language use at the textual level.
with regard to Thai literary conventions and discourse styles, etc.

On the other hand, an analysis of the linguistic creativity is neither derived from any spoken texts nor poetic and non-fictional ones, so statements about Thai English are to be discussed under fictional texts alone. This is because the number of Thai English fiction published is larger than that of poetry and non-fiction. Likewise, Thai English non-fictional sources are various – creative non-fiction, features, travel writing, and auto-biography. This also includes media texts like newspapers and magazines in which language has been edited by native-English sub-editors. These non-fiction texts convey linguistic creativity only slightly when compared to fiction. Consequently, fiction embodies dialogues with colourful flavours of linguistic formations via the characters’ interaction, and narratives requiring a deep rhetorical analysis. This feature of fiction displays a relationship between fictional English and natural English in print of speech in the selected Thai English literature. The Thai writers create the characters’ speech patterns which closely resemble spoken Thai English. Furthermore, fiction also carries thematic components that need an interpretation with the socio-cultural background of Thai literary discourse and conventions. This supports more dimensions of examples for lexical and discourse innovation in fiction than poetry and non-fiction. Meanwhile, phonological elements in poetry and expository patterns of language in non-fiction would be other variables that lead to a multi-layer analysis. In other words, the use of only fictional texts results in a uniform analysis, so the findings will appear consistent. Likewise, spoken texts vary, for example, classroom discourse, radio and television programs, and public speech. Their features are also different from written texts, especially regarding ‘phonological variation’ which is beyond the scope of this study. In addition, ‘syntactic creativity’ is not emphasised in this study. From the researcher’s preliminary exploration by reading
the selected Thai English fiction books, it appears that the writers use Standard English grammatical structures whereas they create a wide range of lexicon and discourse styles to represent a Thai variety of English. Furthermore, previous studies in Thai English grammar are based on non-literary texts – Horey (2006); Trakulkasemsuk (2007); Pingkarawat (2009). In the meantime, earlier research studies on Thai English literature – Chutisilp (1984), Watkhaolarm (2005) and Khotphuwiang (2010) – reveal only lexical and stylistic innovations. As a result, this study does not examine clauses and sentences that violate Standard English structure or any simplified grammar features influenced by substrates.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In this study, three main aspects of relevant terms that are referred to are defined - Englishes, its linguistic processes and its literary products. Firstly, there are many terms for ‘Englishes’: Varieties of English, World Englishes, New Englishes, Postcolonial English, English as a global language, English as a world language, English as an international language, and English as a lingua franca. Secondly, linguistic processes of Englishes appear in different terms as a result of the interlanguage processes. They are variation, nativisation, acculturation, approximation, contextualisation, and deviation. Lastly, different terms of literary products of Englishes have overlapped with the term ‘contact literature’ that has been defined earlier. They are commonwealth literature, postcolonial literature, new English literature, non-native English literature, world literature in English, and creative writing. The definition of the three perspectives of these terms is displayed in Appendix A.
1.8 Conclusion

The introductory chapter reveals that the notion of a Thai variety of English is still ambiguous. Nevertheless, the concept of contextualised English is evident in lexical and discourse creativity in Thai fiction in English. The two layers of linguistic innovation play a major role in this study. An analysis of the innovation requires an interpretation of the developing non-native variety of English in the country. This study is important as it is an index of the growth of the linguistic and literary knowledge in the World Englishes field.
CHAPTER 2

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH IN THAILAND

2.0 Overview

This chapter provides a sociolinguistic background account of English in Thailand in terms of emergence, functional uses, and education policy. This profile serves as an insight into socio-historical and socio-political processes of English useful in discussing an existence of a Thai variety of English in Thai English fiction.

2.1 The Development of English Language

English emerged in the Thai society because of its spread during the European colonial period in Asia. Indeed, English was not a colonial language used within Thailand as Thailand is the only country in the Southeast Asia, which was never colonised. However, many factors and situations that mould English here are similar to those of British and American postcolonial countries. Cyclical processes of the English development in the country are examined via two of five phases in Schneider’s (2007) model.

2.1.1 Phase 1: Foundation (1612-1949)

(1) Socio-Political Background

Early contact between Thailand and Britain can be traced back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It started in 1612 when a diplomat, Sir Thomas Essington, and the British East India Company merchant, Lucas Antheunis, were
permitted by King Song Tham (1610-1628) to open the trading outpost in Ayutthaya (the then Capital of Thailand) (Shotiyangsiyakul, 2003: 323-324). During that time, Thailand allowed many other European countries to set up their trading stations in the Kingdom, so English people were not given more priority than other Europeans. The Company had not been successful in Thailand. It was overshadowed by the Dutch in 1621, so it was closed temporarily in 1623. Then, the Company was revived in 1661 but its administration was intervened by the Thai monarchy’s authority, thus it lasted only until 1686 (Jumsai, 2000; Farrington and Na Pombejra, 2007). After the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, the Company returned to Thailand. At around this time, Colonel Francis Light, the founder of modern Penang, journeyed to Phuket Island in 1772. The trading between the two islands led to a friendship between Captain Light and Phraya Surinthraja, the Governor of Phuket in 1774 and King Taksin’s acceptance of Captain Light (Phuket Property & Home, 2009). Overall, this early intercourse between Thailand and Britain was tied to commerce, not colonisation.

The crucial contact between Thailand and Anglophone countries (Britain and America) resulting in the importance of English language for modernising the country and avoiding colonialism occurred during the Bangkok Period in the early nineteenth century. America is another key country which brought the Thai-English cultural and linguistic intercourse, following the commencement of the treaty of friendship and commerce between America and Thailand in 1833 (Duke, 1982: 9). However, several negotiations between the two parties through interpreters failed due to misinterpretation in languages and strong feelings of identity of their own culture. Then, King Nangklao (King Rama III) (1824-1850), who could not speak English, came to rule. He realised the importance of the British Empire in Asia, and required his royal children and officers to study English to communicate with the British and American people (Plainoi,
1995: 57; Sukamolsan, 1998: 69). In 1851 King Mongkut (King Rama IV), the first Thai king with English proficiency, proposed many foreign policies to secure Thailand as an independent country. Thus, treaties with European nations became more flexible. This reign is considered a highpoint of the prosperity for the cultural and linguistic contact between Thai and English. In 1857, His Majesty, with his good command of English, began to modernise the country by encouraging the nobility to study English and science, and eradicating outdated customs faced by foreigners in order to facilitate the development of understanding and friendship between Thailand and European countries. Other strategies included the employment of English and American advisers for tutors (e.g. Anna Leonowens) and government officials, and liberalising missionary and trading residences in Bangkok (Dhiravegin, 1975: 14-17).

The relationship between the king, his royal family and other noblemen, and the English and Americans was strengthened due to the use of English. There was still a large gap between illiterate indigenous people and westerners, however. Only when the westerners spoke Thai to the local people, did they become welcome or approachable to lower-class Thais.

The Thai and English contact during the reign of King Monikut spread to other provinces. Chiang Mai was the likely capital of Northern Thailand, bordered by British Burma. It thus became another English Residency because the British Burma’s officials, businessmen and labourers were allowed by the King for temporary visit, work, and inhabitation. In this regard, the British Borneo Company was given the timber concession in 1855. Many ethnic groups of British India and Burma like Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis and hill tribes were migrant labourers and became the present day residents of Thailand. Besides, Chinese from Yunnan also immigrated to Thailand. This made Chiang Mai a multicultural society. Likewise, in the South many Chinese
labourers had been migrating to Phuket since Captain Light started governing Penang resulting in the modernisation of both islands (Karnchanawanich, 2008). The relationship between the Yunnan Chinese and the local people was stronger than other minorities due to similar ethnicity, but all these indigenous people managed to live harmoniously in Chiang Mai (Suwannakat, 2011). The relationship between English officers of the British Borneo Company and their British Indian migrants was smooth due to the use of English. Similarly, Chinese migrants to Phuket got along well with their British employers and local people. However, understandably, there was still a gap between the local people of Phuket and English traders because of language constraint.

King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) successfully continued the foundation of English and the modernisation of Thailand proposed by his father, King Mongkut, whose idea to use English to counter colonialism is important and might have been able to construct English as a preserving-Thai tool. With English competency and a thorough comprehension of the West, King Chulalongkorn’s visits to Europe twice in 1897 and 1907 made a good impression on the European leaders. His international ties led to a requirement for his children to learn English and either French or German (Dhiravegin, 1975: 25-27). The King continued employing foreign advisors to modernise the country. English was a lingua franca between them and the personnel of the Court (Dhiravegin, 1975: 41-44). During this time, some English and American government officials of Thailand married the local people, so a number of Eurasian children were born (Mettarikanon, 2006: 81). Further, many English and American diplomats, missionaries, and officers went to Chiang Mai. Besides, the British Borneo Company had been allowed for the forestry concession until 1955. The number of the company’s ethnic workers from British Burma and India gradually increased. At the same time, American missionaries were setting up Catholic schools, hospitals, and churches in Thailand.
(Suwannakat, 2011). In the reign of King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI), Thailand became more modernised as many infrastructure projects were completed. Although the king was western-oriented, he did not want Thais to follow all western cultures as they would lose their Thai identity. Hence, he encouraged Thais to choose certain cultures of the West to suit their needs. For example, acquiring English as a language of knowledge could make Thais more educated. After the First World War, America started to play more political, military and educational roles in Thailand. Therefore, western influences could be observed in many aspects of Thai life (Suebwattana, 1988: 62). During the reign of King Prajadhipok (King Rama VII), as a result of the world economic crisis, namely the Great Depression in 1930s, foreign advisors were replaced by western-educated Thai government officials. Furthermore, the modernisation of Thailand since King Chulalongkorn spread to three major provinces. Chiang Mai is in the north and Songkhla is in the south, both bound to Bangkok by railways. The Chiang Mai Railway Station was used by many English people and indigenous groups from British Burma working in the forestry industry. Similarly, Hat Yai (Songkhla) Station that is connected to the Butterworth Station (Penang) started to spur Songkhla’s economy. Likewise, Phuket’s commerce grew as it was linked by sea with Penang. As a direct result of better transportation facilities, English settlers in British Burma and British Malaya had better chances to contact Thailand’s local people.

With a change from an absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarch in 1932 (Kullavanijaya, 2002), Thailand had a prime minister and cabinet with important roles which affected the socio-political relationship between English and American delegations. During World War II, the status of English-American residents in the North and South faced problems as Thailand was used as the passageway of the Japanese troops marching to British Burma and British Malaya. The relationship between Thai
and English-American residents deteriorated. For instance, the British companies in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son stopped their forestry trading then, so their local workers were unemployed (Taiyai Studies Centre of Maehongson Community College, n.d.). Furthermore, the influx of workers and local peoples discontinued and their contact with English residents in Northern Thailand was broken after Burma’s independence in 1948. Many tin mining companies of British Malaya in Phuket, Ranong, and Pang-nga temporarily stopped production due to the Japanese invasion of the island. The companies ended their commerce with Phuket after Malaysia’s independence in 1957.

(2) Identity Construction

During the early contact between Thailand and the Anglophone countries (1612-1686 and 1767-1850), English diplomats and traders considered themselves the temporary privileged members in Thailand while the local people did not know much about the background of the British East India Company and the Kings’ intentions. They knew that many foreign traders gave them more chances to trade in the best goods. They were afraid of approaching the westerners due to their inability to use English and other foreign languages. However, the local people hardly thought that the company would colonise the country as Thai Kings themselves had been able to colonise many neighbouring countries, except Burma. Hence, both parties had their strong cultural identity. No kings were eager to learn foreign languages from traders as the transaction was conducted through Portuguese and Malay interpreters. Moreover, some kings were very strict with the British and American diplomats. Further, the Court of Thailand had a solid identity of Thainess in using local titles with foreign noblemen who worked in the country. For instance, Captain Francis Light was called ‘Phraya Ratcha Captain’ (the Minister of Royal Captain) and Mr. Robert Hunter, a Scottish trader, was named as
‘Luang Awut Wiset’ (the Lord with Magic Weapons). A number of English and American delegations with Thai titles seemed to be accepted by the Court due to their *Thainess*. Nevertheless, they still used their English names when interacting with other non-Thais. Some of them liked to show off their titles and privileges to the local people (Plainoi, 1995: 54-65).

Since the year of modernisation in 1856, the identity construction through the use of English developed through class, race, and career of Thais and foreigners. The British and American residents in Thailand had classes; the diplomats and government advisers would not live nearby the traders. They still considered themselves as privileged members. However, missionaries could be either close to the royal families while being teachers, or approaching the commoners while disseminating Christianity. Likewise, traders were close to high-class Thais when they came to shop at their department stores. The traders with smaller stores could also interact with commoners in Thai. English traders and American missionaries in Bangkok and Chiang Mai adapted themselves to the local people by learning Thai. Burmese and Indian ethnic labourers of the British Burma used English as a lingua franca while they were acquiring Thai to converse with the local people. Likewise, the British tin mining Chinese labourers attempted to use Thai with the local people in Phuket. English-American residents and other foreigners, as well as ethnic labourers, and the Thai elites and royal families thus constructed their identity in English. The former group working with the Court used formal English while those traders used a range of formal and casual styles. Similarly, the Thai elites and royal families recognised themselves as the ruling classes, so their English would be very native-like; they constructed ‘the British-cum identity’. King Vajiravuth was the most westernised King due to his schooling in England. This led him to adopt English cultural and social values within Thailand such as an establishment of
Vajiravuth College in 1910 which was modelled after a public school in England (Wongthes, 1990: 140). The King constructed his ‘British-cum-local identity’. With nationalism, however, he transformed English cultures into Thai. First of all, he coined new words in Thai but provided their original English ones in the bracket such as ‘bannathikarn (editor)’ and ‘chart (nation)’ (Thong-em, 2005: 74). In addition, he translated some of Shakespeare’s plays, for example, ‘Venit Vanit’ (1916) from ‘The Merchant of Venice’, ‘Tam Jai Tan’ (1921) from ‘As You Like It’ and ‘Romeo Lae Juliet’ (1922) from ‘Romeo and Juliet’ (Tungtang, 2011: 48). In the meantime, all migrants in Chiang Mai felt that they had their own ethnic identity and they were only temporary migrant workers. Likewise, the English officers felt that they were the privileged, and their workers had to speak English to them. Local residents in Chiang Mai and Phuket shared the viewpoint that they were the owners of the provinces. The English traders resided for business only temporarily. The traders accommodated the local people by using Thai dialects to accomplish their commerce. Overall, the British-cum local identity of Thai users of English is limited to only the Kings and the elites as English was generally still uncommon among the commoners. This shows that the English language and Anglophone culture have not fully penetrated Thailand.

(3) Sociolinguistic Conditions

The sociolinguistic phenomena resulting from the Thai and English contact in this stage are evident in translation, teaching, functional uses, and attitudes.

From 1612-1767, there was no evidence of Thais with English competence. The interaction through trading was done by interpreters as the kings could not speak English, so treaties were made in Thai, Malay, Portuguese and English. Interpreters in the Ayutthaya, Thonburi, and early Bangkok Periods communicated with English
traders in Malay and translated into Thai via Malay-speaking interpreters from Kedah (then Thailand’s vassal state) and Pattani. Likewise, many English traders in the Malay Peninsula, including the northern part of the Gulf of Thailand, had learnt Malay before learning Thai (Yutthapongthada, 2007).

The first Thai, who could use English, was found in the Thonburi Period (1767-1782), namely Phraya Surinthraja. He had extensive interaction with many Europeans in his time and a decent grasp of their culture and business habits. He also had good knowledge of commerce, as well as spoken and written English. He met Captain Francis Light, who could speak Thai, and the pair soon became well acquainted (Phuket Property & Home, 2009). Other Thai people in the states around the Andaman Sea who could use English were Phra Kra, the then governor of Kra (now Ranong province) and Phraya Pimol (Khan), the later governor of Phuket. Phraya Pimol could read orders, invoices, and receipts in English (Srinak, 2003: 97-113). It was possible that their acquisition of English arose due to their teaching Thai to Captain Light and business communication with other Westerners. Since the early contact with English traders, only three Thai governors could speak English as interpreters were used extensively.

In 1822, the negotiation for a treaty between John Crawfurd, an English delegation, and interpreters of King Buddha Loetla Nabhalai was very difficult due to the use of many interpreters with a process from English to Malay and from Malay to Thai. No treaty was signed due to language barriers but the negotiation made Thailand conscious of the importance of English as a means of communication. King Nangklao was impressed by the discipline and uniforms of the Indian soldiers who accompanied Crawfurd’s British-trained delegation. The King directed that his own guard be trained in the western way. Besides, he had a Thai translated version of English textbooks on

In terms of education, scholars have different views regarding the year when Thais started learning English. Genaise (1989: 61, as cited in Tuaychareon, 2003: 1) believes that English must have been spoken or taught privately then because of the high number of western residents in Ayutthaya. This evidence is not supported by any studies, however. Solid evidence of this matter appears in Durongphan et al.’ (1982), Sukamolson’s (1998), and Kullavanijaya’s (2002) studies that non-formal English instruction started during King Rama III’s reign, especially in the Court of Thailand. Prince Mongkut (King Mongkut) studied English with American missionaries, namely Dr. D.B. Bradley and J. Caswell, while being ordained in Rat Pradit Temple, Bangkok. Within six months, the Crown Prince had mastered the language and could later correspond with the Queen of England and the American President in English. Other key persons who learned English for diplomatic transactions were Prince Chutamani, Luang Wongsathirajansit, M.R. Kratai Issarangkul, and Mr. Mode Amattayakul (Aksornkul, 1982; Tinpang-nga, 1997). Then, King Mongkut encouraged his royal family members and noblemen to learn English and Western science to ensure that Thailand had modernised itself before being modernised by imperialism (Luangthongkum, 2007, as cited in Kirkpatrick, 2012: 14-15).

English education during the reign of King Mongkut operated only in the Court of Thailand with the assistance by British/American missionaries who used English as a medium of instruction. Similarly, in 1872 King Chulalongkorn established an English language school for the later generation of elites in the Court. Their teacher, Francis Petterson, taught in English without any Thai words, so he faced some negative actions
by his students. The school was closed within three years because his method was unpopular; the Thai students preferred learning English through Thai as an instructional medium. Nonetheless, the school had produced the students with good English (e.g. Prince Damrong). In 1878, an American missionary, Samuel McFarland, was allowed to establish an English language school at the Nantha-Utthayan Palace. This school carried the larger number of students than the earlier palace schools. It focused on training in reading-writing for clerks and teaching of Mathematics, arts, and sciences. The school was later moved to the Sunanthalai estate and became popular among Chinese trading families and commoners, so most of the graduates had commercial careers (Wyatt, 1969; Wyatt, 1984, as cited in Chotikapanich, 2001). From 1881 to 1898, three royal schools in which English was used as an instructional medium were founded in Bangkok – Suan Kulap (1881), Ratchawitthayalai (King’s College, 1897), Anglo-Siamese School (later renamed Sunanthalai estate, 1898). Because of English acquisition in the royal schools, the Thai elites possessed English proficiency. This also led to their travel to Europe and America to study and to bring back western lifestyles. Since King Mongkut’s reign, English has been an indicator of high status in society (Eiewsriiwong, 2004).

Teaching English to the public that includes a decent amount of commoners of middle class started in Bangkok in 1836 when an American missionary named ‘Mrs. Davenport’ was allowed to establish a school named ‘Rong School’. In 1840, a boarding school was founded by the missionary named Miss M.E. Piece. However, neither of the schools was popular among Thai students (Yutthapongthada, 2007: 20). These missionaries did not succeed in converting the Thais to Christianity but turned their attention to education, medicine, and modern technology (Methitham, 2009: 32). Indeed, the missionaries reached out to the lower class people in terms of teaching
English. Among these, Dr. Smith founded the first private academy called ‘University Siam’ offering a study of English language and Western science. Many graduates here later became high-ranking government officers (Chotikapanich, 2001: 12). Additionally, this public education was supported by King Mongkut who employed Europeans to prepare texts to help the Thai people learn English (Chutisilp, 1984: 88). The first English course book in Thailand, produced by Dr. Bradley in 1842, was “Elementary Lesson Designed to Assist Siamese in the Acquisition of English Language” (Sukamolson, 1998: 70).

During King Chulalongkorn’s reign, public English education was more recognised. The first public school, Wat Mahannapharam (1884), and another fourteen schools in main provinces, where English was taught as a subject, were established (Wyatt, 1969: 315-317, as cited in Chotikapanich, 2001: 17; Pisalbutra, n.d: 43, as cited in Yutthapongthada, 2007: 34). Indeed, English was included in the curriculum from 1890. The primary and secondary education structure was modelled from that of England (Ministry of Education, 1996: 1; Buls, 1994: 70, as cited in Tuaychareon, 2003: 48). Further, in higher education institutions, English was used as a language for training specialised officials for government service (Chutisilp, 1984: 94). In addition, English as an instructional medium for all subjects (except Thai language) was used in private schools by the American Presbyterians in Bangkok and Chiang Mai during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. The first boys school in Thailand is Bangkok Christian’s College (1852) but the first in the North (Chiang Mai) is the Prince Royal’s College (1887). Then, the first girls school in Chiang Mai is Darawittayalai, founded in 1878 (Pinyakorn et al., 2007; the Prince Royal’s College, 2005; Dara Wittayalai School, 2011). The students of these schools and other Christian schools in Thailand were taught with American English.
In the reign of King Vajiravuth, English was used as an instructional medium at the first university, Chulalongkorn University, founded in 1917. Most of the instructors during its early establishment were British and American missionaries, so they found it easier to use English. Thus, many Thai technical words influenced by English were created here (Chutisilp, 1984: 91).

Few lower-class Thais had a chance to study English because the formal education policy had not been developed. While government officials and the rich people of Thailand were learning English, English-American residents here had regularly acquired Thai language since the Ayutthaya Period due to the need in communicating with indigenous people. In the early Bangkok Period, those who had department stores and publishers in Bangkok were fluent in Thai as they needed to transact with local customers.

Speaking English with British or American accents was a must for the royal families and ministers. However, among commoners, those who attempted to learn and use English with native speakers during the early Bangkok Period were teased as fools; other people would laugh at their English expressions because English was a new, strange, and difficult language that one spent many years to acquire (Wongsurawat, 2003: 40-41). It did not mean that those with English proficiency would be insulted, but English became the language for the more privileged Thais.

Apart from education, English became a tool of social skills among the hi-class local and foreigners. Oriental Hotel Bangkok was the meeting place of high class local and foreigners who used English as a lingua franca. For instance, two famous English authors, *Joseph Conrad* and *Sumerset Maugham*, visited the hotel. Conrad first arrived
in Bangkok in January 1888, so his literature employed the scents and flavours of life in
Bangkok. Maugham came to Bangkok in 1923, his books ‘Siamese Fairy Tale’ (a
children’s literature) and ‘The Gentleman in the Parlour’ (a travelogue) have themes
influenced by his tour of Thailand and its neighbouring areas (Tour Bangkok Legacies,
2005a). Besides, English as an intranational language has been used in the Royal
Bangkok Sports Club, the most prestigious club of the elite society supported by the
royal family since the reign of King Vajiravuth. Members of the club must use English
for social activities. Thai elites converse with each other and with privileged foreign
members in English. Other similar clubs are the Siam Society and the Polo Club, etc.
The club members have a native-like command of English (Chutisilp, 1984: 96).

Unlike Bangkok, in Chiang Mai, English as a lingua franca was used between
native English officers, Burmese traders and labourers, and between Thai students and
American missionaries. Likewise, the British tin mining traders in Phuket conversed in
English with their local officers and their Chinese labourers from Penang.

English in Thailand also functions as a medium of newspapers. Dr. Bradley’s
invention of the first printing press led to the introduction of English language
newspapers in Thailand. The first newspaper named Bangkok Recorder was published
in Thai and English and the only English newspaper was ‘Bangkok Calendar’. Both
papers were intended for local and English-American residents in Bangkok but the
initial readership was very low. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the greatest
number of English newspapers was published such as Bangkok Daily Advertiser (1868-
1871) The Bangkok Times (1887-1942), Siam Free Press (1891-1908), Siam Observer
(1893-1932), and Bangkok Daily Mails (1907-1939). In comparison, Star of Siam was
the only English newspaper during the reign of King Rama VI due to the rising
popularity of Thai newspapers (Wibulsri and Worapan, 1987: 7, 11-15). Articles in those newspapers were written and edited by native English journalists with consideration of British English norm for spelling, vocabulary and grammar.

During the initial stages, the function of English in Thailand extended as a medium of new literatures. The first literature in English by a Thai writer, Kumut Chandruang (1912-1970) who was sent to study in America is an auto-biography, *My Boyhood in Siam*, published by the Los Angeles Times in 1935. After World War II, Prem Chaya (1915-1981), a British-groomed Thai, published his first poetry in English, *Siamese Idyll*, in 1946 in Bangkok. These two writings presented new English styles and cultural contents about old Siam and Thailand, for example, the use of Thai idiomatic expressions and metaphor translated in English as well as the Thai characters and local themes of Buddhist beliefs. Nevertheless, they found little recognition in the country at that time. Many Thai users and learners of English considered only native-English language and culture as appropriate.

Hence, sociolinguistic conditions of English in Thailand in the early stages indicate that this foreign language had not been spread to all groups and classes of users. Interpreters and learners of English were limited to only high-ranking people. Likewise, the readers of English newspapers and Thai English literatures were only confined to overseas-educated Thais. In fact, the diffusion of English to the lower-class people via education faced difficulty as there were a few Thai teachers of English. When Thai students of Grade 5 were given a chance to study English as a required subject according to the first compulsory Education Act in 1921 (Durongphan et al., 1982, as cited in Darasawang and Watson Todd, 2012), this requirement shifted to the secondary level in 1936. Meanwhile, the study of English was later banned by the
Japanese during the Second World War (1941-1945) (Sukamolsan, 1998). Overall, in this stage British and American English played an equal role as the best norms for English in Thailand. Unfortunately, the significance of the two varieties as an educational language was rarely conveyed to lower-class Thais because the English education policy then was not fully established yet.

(4) Linguistic Effects

The first Thai English word found during the King Narai’s reign (1656-1666) is ‘farang’ that is either based on the Persian ferangi, meaning “Franks, and more generally Westerners” (Cruysse, 2002: 58-59) or on Thais’ glimpse of the first Europeans in Thailand in 1511, the Portuguese, who were called ‘farang’ (foreign) (Chutisilp, 1984: 87). Since then, the word ‘farang’ has been referred to ‘any light-skinned westerners’. Next, ‘Junk Ceylon’, the first name of Phuket given by westerners, refers to a cape known as Jang Si Lang or ‘Tanjug Salang’ in Malay. Junk Ceylon was later known as Thalang (a present district of Phuket) and became Phuket (Phuket Guru, 2011). Besides, the word ‘Menam River’ was found in French and Dutch maps of early Bangkok. Westerners misunderstood that the ‘Chao Phraya River’ was actually named ‘Menam’ which in Thai only means ‘river’ (Sitthithanyakij, 2008: 33-35).

In the early Bangkok Period, some English loanwords in Thai came about. In the reign of King Nangklao, some Thais repeated certain English words after hearing them spoken by interpreters such as ‘A-Min-Ra-Bad’ (Edmund Robert), ‘Muang-Ni-Ther-Land’ (The Netherlands), and ‘En-Cha-Neer’ (Engineer). In the reign of King Mongkut, only few Thais could use English, so English loanwords were pronounced in Thai – ‘kap-tan’ (Captain), ‘polit-man’ (policeman), and ‘ob-fit-ser’ (officer) (Thong-em,
Furthermore, many foreign residents in Bangkok called King Mongkut ‘The First King’ and His Majesty’s cousin ‘Phra Pinklao’ ‘The Second King’. Moreover, they used the word ‘new road’ to refer to the first road of the country (Blog Gang, 2004). Besides, seven English words with Thai origin were found in English dictionaries or Western documents – ‘Siamese twins’ in *Times* (1829), ‘Wat’ (Thai Buddhist temple) in *Chinese Repository XIII* (1844), ‘farang’ in *Narrative Repository Capital of Kingdom of Siam* (1852), ‘Siamese cat’ in *London News* (1871), ‘Siamese coupling’ in *Scriber’s Magazine* (1891), ‘klong’ (canal) in *Kingdom: Yellow Robe* (1989), and ‘Siamese fighter’ (fighting fish) in *Goldfish Varieties* (1929) (Simpson and Weiner, 1989).

Other English expressions in the reign of King Mongkut were also noted. Thai soldiers being trained with the local English (Indian) military of Sepoy by Captain Impey, who was employed from British India, understood commands in English, for example, “Spread Both Columns from Center to Center” (Wongsurawat, 2003: 39; Sornparin, 2007: 42). Moreover, the expression ‘Hurray-Hurray’ was used by a minister and among the king and other foreign diplomats while staring at the eclipse of the sun in Prachuab Khirikan Province on August 18, 1868. Such an expression in Thai was not used during that time, but became a lingua franca among foreigners (Smith, 1999: 95). In addition, the ‘Second King’ (Phra Pinklao) was much westernised due to his good diplomatic relationships with the United States. His son’s nickname was ‘George’ that was derived from an American President’s name ‘George Washington’ but was instead enunciated as ‘M.C. Yord’ since ‘George’ was pronounced as ‘Yord’ in Thai (Sabploy, 2004: 9-11).

From the reign of King Chulalongkorn, various English loanwords were widely used - “hotel, emperor, motorcar, queen, dinner, park, villa, general, lift, restaurant,
museum, and exhibition” (Prasithrathasint, 2004: 59-61). Some items were used until the reign of King Vajiravuth – “captain, bank, policeman, agent, and officer”. In this reign, many English loanwords were coined in Thai - “officer, president, committee, opposition, commonsense, editor, and nation” (Thong-em, 2005: 74). Several English words were difficult for Thais to pronounce, so they were translated into Thai. However, some translated words - football or ‘mark-kaeng’ (shin and leg game) or ‘mark-teh’ (kicking game) and lift or ‘hongleun’ (lifting room)” - were not popular among Thais, so they were left as loanwords.

Overall, the contact between Thai and English in the first phase results in the following foremost linguistic phenomena. It appears that a decent amount of indigenous words had been imported and translated into western documents and English dictionaries since 1829. These words are not toponyms but cultural items. Moreover, English loans with Thai pronunciation are probably awkward but they reflect an attempt to use English. However, a slow movement of translating English loans into Thai started at this stage. This also includes such expressions used in a military training or the ‘hurray’ incident during one certain eclipse which were translated in Thai.

2.1.2 Phase 2: Exonormative Stabilisation (1950- )

It took about three centuries for the majority of Thais to be familiar with the English language and Anglophone culture. Indeed, the hi-class Thais’ acquaintance and competence of English through educational, transactional, literary, and journalistic functions since the early nineteenth century insufficiently support the statement that English in Thailand has been stabilised by a native variety of English. The crucial factor shifting English here to the second phase is the period of time when the majority of Thais have more opportunities to acquire and use English. This appears in the post-
World War II when Thais are influenced by the American culture. In this regard, the arrival of English in Thailand in this phase is supported by Kirkpatrick (2012: 17) – a Thai variety of English is still developing and a native variety (either British English or American English) is regarded as the model, so English here remains at the stage of exonormative stabilisation. A further discussion of this follows below.

(1) Socio-Political Background

With the end of British Burma and British Malaya, the English influence over Thai ways of life lessened and was replaced by Americanisation. From 1950-1964, the American aid to Thailand covered military, economic, technical and educational areas. The American community in the country expanded considerably (Indorf, 1982; Wyatt, 1984, as cited in Masavisut et al., 1986). During the Vietnam War (1964-1973), 50,000 American military personnel were stationed in Central, South-eastern and North-eastern Thailand, so the American lifestyle was brought to the local people. Many Thai businesses like tailoring soldier (G.I.) uniforms and nightclubs were profitable. However, Eurasian and Black American-Thais were born as various Thai women became these American soldiers’ rent wives. After the war, some of these women and children migrated to the United States with those G.I. soldiers. The interaction between the American soldier-delegations and the Thai people was both positive and negative. The then Thai government felt safer with the abundant financial aid from the American Army during the Cold War Period, so this helped Thailand become a developed country. Moreover, many Thais in the provinces (where there were army bases) were employed or could operate businesses, so the economy of those provinces was boosted. Further, many well-known entertainment venues in Bangkok (Silom) and Chonburi (Pattaya) were promoted and became foreign communities since the army used those places to rest and to recuperate. On the one hand, many conservative Thais felt that the
American soldiers left many problems, such as haft-caste children, drugs, prostitution, and the promotion of the image of Thailand as the paradise of sexual tourism. Hence, some organisations offered resistance to Americanisation in Thailand. Notwithstanding, most Thais inevitably faced various aspects of American influences. From the 1970s onwards, the Thai government has decided that if Thais are proficient in English and aware of Western cultures, these skills and knowledge will lead the country’s tourism and commerce to the global market (Masavisut et al., 1986: 201). At present, the notion of international cultures is added to this policy, and the importance of English has been realised by the Thai government as seen in an implementation of projects to enrich the Thais’ English ability.

(2) Identity Construction

In the second phase, Thai users of English construct their linguistic and cultural identity, ranging from the native-speaker likeness to the local. First of all, Thai residents in provinces where there were American bases considered themselves rightful citizens, so at first, they viewed the American soldiers as strangers. After having worked with them, however, they considered the Americans to be good sources of income. English was an important tool for a better quality of life. They found it difficult to speak with Native American accents, so they thought broken forms but at an understandable level of English were a must. What the locals did not know is that these American soldiers – air force, navy, and army – had their social classes. The whites did not live nearby the blacks; their interaction was thus for military purposes only. All American soldiers thought that they were just persons who came to bring to Vietnam and to help Thailand. They could help stabilise the local area’s economies as well as bring English usage and the American culture. On the one hand, many of them insulted the local people who spoke broken English, but they still needed to acquire Thai for survival.
Since 1987, an influx of foreign tourists to Thailand has helped shape the way Thai speakers use English. The American accent is the best English model, followed by the British and other native-English accents or at least a farang accent (spoken by any westerners). Other Asian and Thai accents have been ignored due to their divergence from standard native-English. During this time, many American-educated Thais constructed their ‘American-cum-local identity’ to be a good model for other Thai speakers of English.

American English has played vast roles in Thailand as it is linked to modern technology, mass media, and popular culture, but British English is still a significant choice since this variety implies a political resemblance between Thailand and Britain. A number of Thai users prefer this variety due to Britain’s constitutional monarchy system (Kirkpatrick, 2012: 17), quite similar to the local political setup. Thus, Thai users have developed their way of speaking English by modelling these two varieties meanwhile other native varieties – Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Englishes – have not been popular. Consequently, the local or Thai way of using of English has not been fully accepted among Thais themselves.

(3) Sociolinguistic Conditions

After the Second World War, many Thai elites became journalists and editors in the existing two English newspapers Bangkok Post (1946- ) and The Nation (1981- ). The former uses the American standard while the latter which belonged to Thai owners uses the British standard. This mirrors the balancing status of the parent variety in Thai English media. Nevertheless, a majority still patronise Thai newspapers. Similarly, the number of Thai literatures in English has been rising since 1950 (See Chapter 5). Most of the authors are overseas-educated Thais. They tend to express more Standard English
forms than local forms in English. However, this non-native English literature has been marginalised in the Thai society. Meanwhile, British/American literature has been well noted as it represents a valuable resource of the Anglophone culture and heritage as well as an approach towards civilisation and modernisation. Hence, Thai newspapers and writings in English still serve as a communicative tool for exclusive users.

On the other hand, English is more approachable to various classes of Thais during the presence of the American army bases in the country. Thai diplomats and army commanders in contact with the American supreme commanders used good English while the use of broken English by Thai officers, lower rank soldiers, and rent wives was controversial. Nevertheless, the local people in the army bases seemed to approach the American variety of English though they were not aware of either British or American English. Most Thais during that time knew that such variety was ‘farang’ English. Moreover, the American styles like foods, fashion and music were flowing into the Thai way of life. Coombs (1982: 113-114) states that thirty or forty English volunteer teachers were sent by the American government each year during the time to secondary schools around the country. This allowed the Thai students to be more familiar with American English accents.

During this time, several Thai elites who graduated from Britain and America became ministers and government officials, consequently setting the British and American English norms and models for usage and pedagogy. Thus, pidginised forms with Thai accents were totally unacceptable. This fact remained constant in English education in Thailand until 1995 though the number of native-English teachers in the country had been declining since the revolution in 1932. English textbooks and guidebooks by native writers were considered standard while those by the Thai people
were ignored if not, taken for granted. The 1950’s was a turning point in the history of English education in Thailand. British and American experts introduced aural-oral method of English to replace grammar-translation method in order to enhance the Thai students’ English proficiency, closer to sounding like a native-speaker (Durongphan et al., 1982: 30).

The status of English in Thai education was uncertain after World War II. In 1955, English became an elective subject in primary education but a compulsory course at the tertiary level. Those who wanted effective English skills needed to study at a private school. This had been steady until 1978 where English was reinstated as an elective course for all levels. This lasted in 1995.

The 1996 English curriculum for primary and secondary education presented a novel phenomenon. Previously the curriculum aimed at attaining English proficiency similar to that of a native speaker. This new curriculum, however, promoted English as a means of access to globalisation, boundary-free mass communication, and modern technology. Moreover, one goal of this curriculum was that “students will primarily gain knowledge and understanding of ways of life and cultures of those who use English as the mother tongue and of the world community in general, as well as be able to creatively communicate Thai cultures to others” (Sukamolson, 1998: 83-85). Indeed, this displays the importance of international English as a communicative means in the global society, but a native variety of English was still used as the norm.

Since 1996, the Education Ministry has been supporting the establishment of international and English-programmed schools. Nowadays, many primary and secondary public and private schools throughout the country offer Bilingual, Mini
English and English Plus programmes (OBEC, Thai Ministry of Education, 2010). Likewise, several state and private universities offer international programmes. The number of foreign students in the country is thus growing; the use of English as a lingua franca will play more roles in Thailand in the future. This also includes many private English language houses and camps in Bangkok and other major cities convincing Thais to learn English for jobs and pleasure. With various English programs, native and non-native English teachers appear in dramatic, rising number. Although native and non-native varieties of English are competing, Thai students and teachers still prefer the former variety (Buripakdi, 2010).

Beyond the education domain, Thai government also sheds light on an economic domain of English. In 1987, Thailand began promoting tourism, advertising and improved English in the country. The so-called ‘farang’ or native English accents have been recognised since then. Besides, some provincial cities like Chiang Mai, Phuket, and Pattaya have been filled with foreign tourists, causing an influx of Thais from different regions who were successfully employed because of their English competence.

Currently, there appears to be only 10 per cent of Thai users of English, approximately 6.5 million people (Bolton, 2008). This mirrors a limited use of English in Thailand since the introduction of English more than 300 years ago. Nonetheless, Trakulkasemsuk (2012) argues that the number of the English users is actually larger if standard and non-standard use of English is considered. In this respect, the latter notion has not been recognised by Thais themselves; broken form of English, namely Tinglish is considered abhorrent. In this phase, the basilectal variety of English by Thais emerged. Evidently, several local employees in shopping centres in Bangkok and other major provinces attempt to use broken English for business survival (Komon, 1998, as
cited in Foley, 2005). Likewise, in a typical apartment in Bangkok the switchboard operators speak passable English to residents from both English and non-English speaking countries (Smalley, 1994, as cited in Pupipat, 1998). Similarly, broken English has also been used in remote areas in the Northeast, the former American army base provinces. A 2003 report by the social and economic development institute of northeastern Thailand showed 14,063 Thai women married to European and American retired men (Dornsom, 2010: 2). Those men live and work in the communities as teachers, farmers and gardeners. The Thai wives and children can speak simple English while they also have to converse in Thai (Supanpaysaj, 2010). These instances are evident that the number of Thai users of English has been increasing although using the non-standard English.

The recognition of Thai and international cultures for English acquisition and usage since 1996 and evidence of Tinglish users seem to step into the early phase of nativisation for Thai identity in English. However, this level has not been apparent, and this will remain so for as long as Thais still laud the native variety of English as the best norm.

(4) Linguistic Effects

During the presence of the American bases in Thailand, non-translated English signs and posters were found around the provinces such as “Welcome to Korat 388 Tactical Fighter Wing Best in Sea” and “Home of the Hunters” (Tee-Noi View topic, 2009: 8; CRMA42, 2008). Moreover, code-switching and mixing of Thai and English had been used by rent wives – “One car come One car go Two car krom” (two cars crashed) (Charungkitanant, 1997: 63). Interestingly, some new English words created
by Thais have been used since then – ‘American fried rice’, ‘rent wife’, ‘second hand wife’, and ‘sea, sand & sex policy’ (Supanpaysaj, 2010).

Currently code-switching and code-mixing are popular in Thai media. Kannaovakun and Gunther (2003: 71) found that sports programs on Thai television tend to use Thai English code-mixing more often than other genres. This is followed by talk shows, game shows, and Thai dramas. The subsequent amount of the code-mixed items are of single nouns (e.g. ‘course’, ‘trainer’ and ‘dinner’), verbs (e.g. ‘support’, ‘cancel’ and ‘promote’), and compound nouns (e.g. ‘matching fund’, ‘love scene’ and ‘mini series’). Similarly, Arakwanich (1996: 35) states that English words are mixed in many registers of Thai language such as sports, computer and technology, and medicine. Thais inevitably mix English words; sometimes they do not know exactly which of the words are Thai or English. This is widely found in stores’ titles which are mostly blended by Thai and English – ‘Rungruang Ceramic and Wassadu’ and ‘Waen Top Chareon’. In addition, Thai English code-switching commonly emerges in popular Thai songs, television game and talk shows, radio programs, and academic lectures, etc. This phenomenon shows the linguistic strategies Thais attempt to use for accommodating their English use; there is a common perception that Thai English code-mixing and switching make them more modern.

The above instances can also yield some symptoms of nativisation of English; code-mixing, code-switching, and Tinglish forms are exponents for constructing the notion of Thai English. However, these spoken features are inadequate since a few Thais speak with mesolect and acrolect varieties. Meanwhile, the development of written English by Thais via creative literature, newspapers, magazines, and textbooks is gradual. To make Thai English more nativised, both spoken and written
characteristics of English must display a wider range of theacrolectal or standard level. Nonetheless, evidence of the two phases indicates that Thai English is still following either British or American English. Once Thai English is as significant as native English, Thai English will continue beyond this early developmental stage.

2.2 Functions of English

English has been developing in the Thai society for more than 300 years. Different functions of English have changed; Thais increasingly use English for different domains. The present functions of English are revealed in four domains according to Kachru’s (1983a) functions of non-native Englishes that are also related to Strevens’s (1980; 1982) five vehicles of English as parameters for local forms in English. This information is shown in the figure below and detailed in Appendix B.
Figure 2.1: Functions of English in Thailand

From Figure 2.1, the interpersonal function contains the highest amount of English domains in Thailand. The first two groups of the users are those who were
either educated overseas or have good English education background in the country. Surprisingly, in Bangkok the teaching of Buddhism via a radio program, delivering a speech for Friday Muslim prayers at a mosque, and providing masses at churches operate in English language in order to reinforce foreign audiences as well as for the participants' comprehension. Nowadays, Thais with English nicknames and frequently using English words for daily life and occupation are considered up-to-date persons. Prominently, media and business are the largest domains. Thai-made products, entertainment and commercial sectors require their advertising in English as a language of marketing strategies since Thai customers have developed values and attitudes that imported products or services branded in English provide more creditability than Thai products (Masavisut et al., 1986: 203-204). Moreover, English programmes that broadcast on national television stations appear in only three talk show programmes and one news programme solely in English – *Morning Talk*, and *Thai-Oz Talk with Jaye Walton*, *Hello English*, and *Newsline* on Channel 11. Other English learning programmes are conducted in a mixture of Thai and English. There are a number of English radio programs in Bangkok and some major tourist provinces, Phuket, Pattaya, and Chiangmai, but only the National Radio Station of Thailand broadcasts English news on 102.25 FM nationwide. Similarly, two leading Thai English newspapers and magazines are distributed throughout the nation while some local ones are circulated in only the main tourist cities. English songs by Thai singers in the copyright covered version appear in a moderate number. However, Tata Young and Hugo are the only Thai singers with original English albums. Likewise, Thais prefer watching Hollywood movies that are dubbed into Thai language rather than those with Thai subtitles. Thus, very few English movies are produced by Thais. The first Thai movie featured Thai characters speaking solely English. It was not popular as Thai viewers do not understand English. Since then, Thai English films have been rarely produced; only
some jointly produced films by Thai and foreign companies in which Thai actors and actresses use only English.

Instrumental and regulative functions subsequently carry a decent range of English domains. Thai is used as an instructional medium in public and private schools and universities. Nevertheless, international schools like *Bangkok Pattana School* and *Ruamrudee International School* are using English from kindergarten to upper secondary levels. Moreover, *Assumption University* and *Asian University* offer all courses in English. Similarly, many state and private schools in Bangkok and other main provinces have been offering the English Program (EP) as an option. Likewise, some well-known state universities *Chulalongkorn University*, *Mahidol University*, and *Thammasat University* offer many international programmes. In the light of international conferences, the fields of English language teaching as well as science-technology are conducted in English. Additionally, some examples of internationally recognised peer-review journals of science and social sciences in English published in Thailand are *Journal of the Science Society of Thailand, The Siam Society’s Natural History Bulletin, Journal of Thai Agricultural Science, Kasetsart Journal*, and *Journal of Scientific Research at Chulalongkorn University* (Pupipat, 1998: 57), *PASAA* (language teaching-learning) and *NIDA Economic Reviews*. In terms of governmental sectors, Glass (2008: 30) states that Thailand has Thai as the only official language but no ‘second’ official language. Nonetheless, Thai diplomats, security and defence administrators, policemen, as well as judges use English for international affairs.

The imaginative function is the smallest domain of English, but it is chosen for this study. It is unified as it embodies only written discourse of a literary field. This leads to a uniform direction of research methods and approaches. In the meantime, other
functions are based on both spoken and written texts of interdisciplinary studies – education, psychology, mass media, politics, science, and law. This results in complicated methodology of research. Indeed, English in Thailand has been extensively used in these four functions but its literary domain reflects the radical change of this foreign language and the greatest growth of a new variety of English. Various creative literatures in original English by Thai writers have been steadily increasing. According to Patke and Holden (2010: 148-149), Thailand was a non-European colony, but it has several outstanding writers in English with a global reputation. Montri Umavijani wrote poetry in English, utilising a Haiku style in his twenty-seven slim volumes. Pira Sudham, with a number of fiction and non-fiction titles, was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1990. Then, there is the most famous Thai author in this region, S.P. Somtow, with many gothic and fantasy fiction works. Other Thai English writers with literary genres have also been locally and internationally published. This is evident in the profile of Thai English literature as choices of data (See Chapter 5).

2.3 English Language Education Policy

The current English education policy in Thailand is described in relation to the English Curriculum implemented by the Thai Ministry of Education’s Tenth National Education Development Plans (2008-2012). In addition, other kinds of special support of English education by the government for the public are also highlighted. This heading is delineated via the following figure:
Figure 2.2: English Language Education Policy in Thailand

Figure 2.2 shows that Thai Ministry of Education emphasises the importance of English education for Thai students, teachers and workers to enrich their English ability.

From primary to secondary level, English is a required subject for 12-year basic
education. The number of hours for an English course for Grades 1-3 students steadily rises once they are in Grades 4-6. On the one hand, Grades 7-9 students spend less time learning English when they reach Grades 10-12. Students of both levels study four main aspects of English activities: (i) *language for communication* embodies four macro skills of English, exchanging and presenting information, expressing feelings, and creating interpersonal relationship; (ii) *language and culture* contains the use of English regarding native-speakers’ cultures appropriate for Thai cultures; (iii) *language and relationship with other subjects* wherein English links other areas of knowledge and broadening learners’ views; and (iv) *language and relationship with communities and the world* refer to English to be used both inside and outside the classroom and in the global society. The second and fourth areas keep Thai students close to the notion of World Englishes. Interestingly, local culture of the students is added in this curriculum though native English ways of life are still prioritised. Similarly, English textbooks by native writers are the main learning material, so the students seem not to encounter the phenomenon regarding Thai English. For assessment, Grade 7 students have more opportunities to take tests than others. Further, the numeric five bands and scores look similar to an international system of A-E (OBEC, Thai Ministry of Education, 2009). Different from those of the basic education level, Thai students at public and private universities in which Thai is used as an instructional medium are required to pass at least 6 credits of courses in general English in their first year and the same amount in English for specific purposes in second and third years (Wongsothorn, 2001: 37). They have more chances to learn English via different activities, to be evaluated via several modes, and to experience the concept of local English in textbooks than those at the lower level. Referring to English teaching and professional support, the first two units aim to improve Thai teachers and students’ teaching and English skills respectively while the last is to enhance their needs for specific English. Overall, the present English
education policy covers four levels of acquisition and use – primary, secondary, tertiary, and professional. These levels are similar in that Thai language is used as a medium of instruction and training since Thai teachers, trainers, trainees and students are not proficient in English. Hence, the Thai government gives priority to native English instructors in order to enhance the Thais’ English competence. However, this policy slowly helps reinforce an emergence of a Thai variety of English as Thai teachers are not encouraged to speak solely English in classrooms.

2.4 Conclusion

The development of English in Thailand could be seen in the foundation and exonormative stabilisation phases as a result of the strong influences of British and American varieties of English. Early symptoms of the nativisation phase are emerging but the legacy of native-English language and culture has been deeply rooted in the Thai perspective. English has been extensively used in the country as it is evident in various functions. The interpersonal function, especially regarding mass media, is varied; English words and sentences are created for marketing strategies for Thai products and businesses. However, the imaginative function stands out as some Thai English writers are internationally recognised due to their literary distinctiveness and dissemination of a Thai variety of English. In terms of English education policy, Thai has been used as an instructional medium in English courses, so Thais have low proficiency in English. The Thai Ministry of Education is thus seriously working on enhancing the efficiency of English instruction and use by intensifying English curriculum for all levels and structuring certain centres of language teaching and professional development. As a result, English in this context seems to be approaching the early stage of its local variety
and being developed by Thai users for the Thai society; nevertheless, it will take many more years for Thais to liberate themselves from relying on a native variety of English.
CHAPTER 3
APPROACHES TO WORLD ENGLISHES

3.0 Overview

This chapter reviews approaches to World Englishes that are relevant to this study. The selected approaches are discussed in terms of their theoretical underpinnings as well as strengths and possible weaknesses. Aspects of their strengths adapted to this study are highlighted. In addition, other important approaches, which are not chosen, are also discussed.

3.1 Selected Approaches to World Englishes

The following prominent scholars espouse three main approaches to World Englishes chosen as the framework of this study:

(i) Local forms of English and world map of English (Strevens, 1980;1982) and cultural presuppositions (Strevens, 1987b);

(ii) Models of non-native Englishes (Kachru, 1983a), contextualisation and lexical innovation (Kachru, 1983b), three concentric circles of English (Kachru, 1985;1992a), bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature (Kachru, 1986;1987), cultural contact and literary creativity in a multilingual society (Kachru, 1992b), transcultural creativity in World Englishes literature (Kachru, 1995), and nativisation of mantra as identity construction in Anglophone Englishes (Kachru, 2003); and

(iii) The dynamic model of the evolution of postcolonial English (Schneider, 2007).
3.1.1 Strevens’s Approach to World Englishes

Strevens proposes “Localised Form of English” and “The World Map of English” as the parallel paradigm but projects “Cultural Presuppositions” as an individual one.

(1) Local Forms of English

Local forms of English (LFEs) have developed via five phases as follows: (i) the ‘Founding and Consolidating’ phase (1350-1600) is the period when English was confined to the language of England and it established itself as an anglicising language; (ii) the ‘Adventurers’ phase (1600-1750) is that English was firstly spread over the globe by explorers, traders, and settlers who formed English-speaking communities and brought various loanwords; (iii) the ‘Independent Colonies’ phase (1750-1900) is the time for independence for former-British colonies of the USA and Australia. English in this phase became an innovation that differs from that of Britain; (iv) the ‘Colonial Subjects’ phase (1900-1950) concerns an introduction of English as a second language in the social and educational systems of the British and American colonies, in Africa and Asia; and (v) the ‘Cultural Independence’ phase (1950-the present) is the period of independence for all former British and American colonies. Hence, LFEs outside Britain started at the second phase and developed from the third and fourth phases. Then, an identifiable LFE clearly appears in the final stage (Strevens, 1982: 10-12).

LFEs occur since English has expanded its users, uses, and forms. Now there are more non-native English users than native users. Strevens (1982: 22-23) thus divides English users into three types, namely English-speaking countries (ENL), English-using countries (ESL), and Non-English-using countries (EFL). Moreover, English serves as a vehicle for varying uses for non-native speakers - public education, public
administration, science, media and new literature. In addition, LFEs which penetrate many English-using communities can be called in different contexts such as Singapore English. The emergence of LFEs can be judged by defining and differentiating parameters. They now possess particular types and different emerging features. These descriptions are provided below (Strevens, 1980: 65-76).

Defining parameters delineate and justify particular LFEs from different linguistic features. They consist of six components. Firstly, dialect and accent are paired. In English-using communities, one may speak either local dialect with local accent or Standard English with non-localised accent (e.g. RP and GA) or Standard English with local accent. Hence, an LFE appears as the mixture of dialect and accent which it displays. Secondly, lectal and varietal range have unique features. The former refers to the way each LFE has its own characteristic range among acrolect, mesolect, and basilect with regard to the role in society played by a speaker. The latter range includes the following exponents: (a) register is concerned with the variety of English according to subject matter in phonological, grammatical, lexical, and rhetorical forms; (b) formality-familiarity involves the degree of formality of a situation between the participants jointly affecting the choice of language used; and (c) the appropriateness of slang, swearing, and endearments should be acceptable and used by different groups of people. Thirdly, discourse rules are related to the pragmatics of English discourse across cultures appearing in illocutionary force, rules for conversation, techniques for persuasion, etc. Fourthly, existence of standard and non-standard forms falls into the following three features: (a) English is spoken with an accent of an acrolectal or educated variety and is influenced by a minimal level of a vernacular accent; (b) English faces only trivial variation of grammar and lexis; and (c) English is almost universally accepted by native speakers as a suitable model for teaching their own learners and
foreigners, so this English dialect is considered Standard English. Fifthly, *primary and secondary forms* involve the status of English as a first language (L1) and a second language (L2) for the individual user, respectively. Finally, *foreign-language (FL) and second-language (L2) forms* refer to the status of English as a foreign language or a second language for the overall administration of the country. LFEs occur in a situation in which English is a second language rather than a foreign language.

The differentiating parameters are meant to characterise various LFEs. They include four segments. Firstly, English has different status and uses in a certain community. English for instance, is a communicative tool in a multi-cultural community in Nairobi while it symbolises the English domination within French-speaking Canadians in Quebec. Secondly, English is utilised in public education, public administration, science and technology, the mass media, and new literature. Thirdly, the attitudes of the local intellectual and educational community affect a considerable extent to the nature of a LFE. Lastly, the socio-cultural affinities and aversions concern the extent a LFE in a L2 using community is based on its preference and repugnance toward the British or American form of English.

LFEs are divided into two types. First of all, international forms of English or *LFEs of inter-type* refer to the use of English by the limited number of the individual user for contact with the external world, for access to science-technology, etc. This type is present in Japan and Brazil, etc. Moreover, it is based on dependent norms of the native English model, so English speakers of this form seek to be native-speaker-like. Meanwhile, intranational forms of English or *LFEs of intra-type* concern the use of English by large populations within the community for intranational communication such as in India and Singapore. This type has an independent norm (Strevens, 1982).
Currently, an LFE has its indicative features. Firstly, the term ‘South Asian English’ indicates that an LFE occurs in a multilingual society. Secondly, LFEs change with time. Singapore English and Malaysian English are now different due to the different history of the status and English teaching since the two countries separated. Thirdly, new LFEs can emerge such as the increasing body of new English literature as a source of LFEs. Lastly, a LFE is in an Educated European English used by business administrators from France, Germany, and Italy who communicate with one another in English with common cultural features, but with different accents (Strevens, 1987a: 59).

(2) The World Map of English

Nowadays many LFEs have been emerging, but every LFE aligns two main branches - British English and American English - which constitute the global family of English constructed as “The World Map of English” (1980) in the following figure:

![Figure 3.1: Strevens’s World Map of English (Strevens, 1980: 86)](image)

Figure 3.1 represents the oldest approach to World Englishes that describes the sizable, historical, and geographical spread of English in particular contexts; it illustrates where English speakers are located around the world. The two main branches
of English, the two native varieties or British and American English, are presented through the map. The British English branch relates to the other two native-English countries, Australian and New Zealand, and to many non-native English countries such as in Africa (West-East-South), South Asia (India-Pakistan), and Far-East (Malay-Chinese). Meanwhile, the American English branch is found in Canada, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and American Samoa. Overall, the two branches are rooted only in their former colonies with English in the L1 and L2 contexts (Strevens, 1987a: 58-59).

In conclusion, LFEs originate when English was implanted in non-Anglo communities by the parent variety. Then, eventually they have developed due to a large number of users for international and intranational communication purposes. Besides, the salient traits of LFEs are structured via their defining and differentiating parameters. Moreover, they have been occurring in many linguistic, cultural, literary, and pedagogical forms around the world. The emerging LFEs are partially similar to any British or American English forms although they now mirror the mother forms.

(3) Cultural Presuppositions

Strevens (1987b: 174-177) claims that when the cultural presuppositions of a society are transmitted through language (i.e. at the textual level), they concern a cultural expression on the following six domains which contribute to a degree of cultural loading between native and non-native English speakers.

First, religion and philosophy involve the following four issues (i) animism and theism or faiths in ‘no god’ and in ‘God or many gods’, both respectively are embedded in different groups of people’s points of view, identity, habitual and behavioural features, and daily speech patterns; (ii) the relation of man to God, of man to man, of
man to nature involves the beliefs that regulate one’s response to other people of the same or different beliefs; (iii) views on life and death, peace and war, and an after-life are grounded in language and cultural expressions; and (iv) ethics and morals appear in ideas of right or wrongdoing and the balance of goodness and evil in personal behaviour, etc.

Second, concepts of nature indicate that each society has its own views on a condition of a human being with regard to culture (e.g. different attitudes toward animals in different religions). Moreover, an occurrence of a supernatural force is undoubtedly accepted by non-native English speakers while native-English speakers seek scientific factors affecting such force.

Third, notions of governments influence one’s beliefs, values, and communication. For example, whether the social control is judged with heredity, kingship, caste and class, democracy, and even whether the government needs to be efficient, emerge in expressions in language and personal behaviour.

Fourth, concepts of science in the Western and non-Western worlds are different. The Western science is highly standard and conscious while the non-Western one appears in different kinds of science. This distinction results in each society’s construction of its own concepts of Mathematics, Agriculture and Architecture. Hence, the cultural contrast affects learning science. Hence, these concepts of the two cultures embedded in textual presuppositions often shock non-native English learners.

Fifth, literature in Anglo and non-Anglo cultures is dissimilar. Native English literature has a culture-specific concept. Universally literature of all societies is a
language-based art form, but its nature varies. Some non-native English societies ignore written literature but mark an oral tradition of literature such as drumming and dancing for young learners. Furthermore, literature is closely tied to religion. Thus, Jewish and Christian doctrines in Anglophone English literature are somewhat an obstacle for non-native English learners. For instance, Thai students may find it difficult to interpret such doctrines embedded in such literature; however, they perhaps can easily understand Thai English literature in which themes are related to Buddhism. Hence, the notion of literature as a domain of cultural presuppositions is directly relevant to this study.

Last, the society's 'ultimate myths', based on Sir James Frazer’s *The Golden Bough* (1922), are that all societies have similar myths relating to mankind via explanations for natural and supernatural phenomena, and the origins of men and women, etc. However, such myths are culturally different, especially regarding beliefs in the magical properties of effects of plants, animals, or special individual, human beings. Indeed, Anglo culture has ultimate myths according to certain concepts such as *Aristotle’s rhetoric, Judeo-Christianity, and the scientific and industrial revolutions*. These concepts in English texts may cause cultural barriers to non-native learners.

Overall, these presuppositions differ across cultures and mirror the discourse of people from various cultures even though they speak English fluently.

**(3) Debates on Strevens’s Approach**

A number of scholars have criticised Strevens’s world map of English and localised forms of English. In terms of strengths, McArthur (1998: 98) agrees that the world map of English is only one of the late twentieth-century models in which genetic directionality remains - a tree diagram on a map of the world is imposed. This model
thus stands out while other models have circle patterns. Further, Olagboyega (2007: 39) claims that this model is unique in that it portrays the derivational relations between the major regional varieties world-wide in an inverted family tree of English added. Thereby, this map is conceptualised with both synchronic and diachronic implications of English. Likewise, Ozvalda (2008) states that with the geographical tree diagram, this model takes organic changes into account of English diffusions around the world. Similarly, Moody (2007: 50) supports this model because it represents the parent variety of English as the powerful norm behind Asian Englishes. It can also be considered a model of international varieties of English as the two oldest varieties have a degree of influence over the use of World Englishes. From these views, this model is distinct since its physical structure as a family tree covers major regions of the world in which English is implanted by such two norm providers. Besides, those views agree that this model is contemporary and useful though it was designed for three decades ago.

However, this world map has some weaknesses. According to Ozvalda (2008), this model is likely to be hierarchical. Native English is considered as the most abstract variety of English located on the top of the map because the statement that “up is good” is emphasised in this model. This means the British and American English branches show their superiority to other sub-branches of both native (e.g. Australia) and non-native speaking countries. Moreover, Crystal (2003, as cited in Lauder, 2008) claims that this model does not present English in the FL as it was not transplanted by any of BE/AE branches. Furthermore, Moody (1997) comments that this model does not stress linguistic features of World Englishes developed with regard to a taxonomy of BE/AE branches. Evidently, Hawaiians thought that British visitors are Australian because of their familiarity with Australian accent that is also the BE branch. This example can be applied to all varieties under the BE branch; in Hawaiians’ views, a speaker of
Singapore English (SE) or Indian English (IE) would be thought to be either Australian or British because SE and IE are also the BE branch (Strevens, 1992, as cited in Moody, 1997). Additionally, Moody (1997) found that this model does not explain how the nativisation of English makes non-native varieties diverge from their parent. Overall, the shortcomings of this model are inequality of other English varieties, ignorance of non-British/American post-colonies, and the inapplicable notion of affinities and aversions of British and American English to their branches.

There are also criticisms relative to LFEs. Acar (2006) disagrees with LFEs for pedagogy. He follows only the core grammar and vocabulary of the educated native English varieties as the best models for teaching English as an international language since such varieties are more appropriate in some geographical areas than other varieties. Similarly, Johnson (1988: 1-2) disagrees with an existence of LFEs of intra-type which are suitable for limited purposes. He accepts only LFEs of inter-type which exist as the definable and teachable form to international students. Moreover, the statement that “intranational varieties are used by populations while English for international purposes is used by individuals” makes the concept of international English unreal. Likewise, this form had been unaccepted while being established. Clifford Prator (1968) strongly argues that the LFE is inferior to the native English form since it is not an effect of a process of high efficiency of teaching-learning and it is not accepted as a pedagogical norm that leads to loss of intelligibility. Hence, a LFE must be considered by the British heresy before it is accepted (Strevens, 1980: 92). These three scholars do not accept all functions of a LFE due to the infringement of the purity of English. Personally, LFEs are considered the distinctiveness of the world map of English, nevertheless. They are justified with a solid postulation of defining and differentiating parameters as well as types and emerging features of English around the
world. Such parameters are somewhat the framework for analysing linguistic, literary, pedagogical, and professional features of LFEs in both ESL and EFL societies. Though LFEs are characterised as linguistic features of only ESL countries posted in the map, their updated traits in other EFL countries are also highlighted such as the notions of English as a Lingua Franca and International English.

Unlike the world map of English and localised forms of English, the cultural presuppositions paradigm embodies a few comments. Velautham (2000) found this framework useful when it is used for reinterpreting nativisation of rhetorical strategies in Malaysian English short stories by K.S. Maniam, which are analysed with the Kachruvian framework (1986). Four of six domains of cultural presuppositions – ‘philosophy and religion’, ‘notions of government’, ‘literature’, and society’s ultimate reality’ – influence such nativisation of the stories. This paradigm proves that particular linguistic and literary elements in such Malaysian English writings are structured with the basis of non-Anglo cultural presuppositions. Personally, it is surprising that a few scholars/researchers have criticised and utilised this paradigm though it is valuable for analysing New Englishes in the light of texts and pedagogy. Different angles under the six domains are designed to represent a model of the world views between Anglo and non-Anglo cultures that are embedded in texts. This can be applied to a study of different English varieties in a comparative method, for example.

Strevens’s approach is not severely criticised, thus it gives a merit for its research application. This approach is classical and significant for analysing World Englishes, linguistics and literature. Moreover, it is worthwhile for studying English in Thailand though it is not a branch of British/American English. Indeed, the two varieties also play major roles in the cultural and linguistic contact and have been considered the
norm of English for most domains in the country. Besides, the concept of a LFE is applicable as it emerges in several functions of English in either a second or foreign language context. That is, a LFE’s defining and differentiating parameters represent salient concepts for interpreting ‘outstanding’ linguistic, pedagogical, and professional features of non-native Englishes. In addition, the cultural presuppositions framework distinguishes Anglo perspectives on humanities-social sciences from non-Anglo ones, resulting in a useful paradigm for World Englishes texts, so it can guide an analysis of Thai English literary discourse. Therefore, the two concepts proposed in Strevens’s approach - localised forms of English and cultural presuppositions – are chosen for the conceptual framework of the study. Meanwhile, the world map of English is taken for interpreting an existence of Thai English as another variety (See Chapter 8).

3.1.2 Kachru’s Approach to World Englishes

Kachru’s seven paradigms to World Englishes highlight the approach of this study. Each one is described below.

(1) Models of Non-Native Englishes

According to Kachru (1983a), as English users and degree of English uses are rising, non-native English varieties emerge. Models of non-native Englishes are proposed through the framework of types, development, and functions.

There are two types of non-native Englishes according to their range of use. Firstly, the performance varieties include non-native varieties in which English is used as a foreign, non-transplanted, instrumental, and international language, so their functional range is restricted to tourism, commerce, and transactions. Secondly,
institutionalised varieties, however, include those in which English is used as a second, transplanted, integrative and instrumental, and intranational and international language. This type has an extended register and style range, a process of nativisation of the registers and styles in formal and contextual terms, and a body of new English literature. Indeed, the institutionalised variety has developed before the performance variety because of the following reasons: (i) the length of time in use; (ii) the extension of use; (iii) the emotional attachment of L2 users with the variety; (iv) the functional importance; and (v) sociolinguistic status.

Non-native varieties of English have developed through three phases. First, Non-Recognition phase shows that some imported native variety is higher-up and considered a pedagogical model. Local speakers of English strive to speak the exonormative variety while insulting those who speak only the local variety. Second, Co-existence of Local and Imported Varieties phase relates to the wider expansion of bilingualism in English but a slow development of different varieties due to the local speakers’ reluctance such as the notion of ‘Indianised English’. Last, Recognition phase indicates that the local variety is more accepted as the norm and pedagogical model. When the local variety is recognised, local people who continue to speak the imported variety are seen as outsiders (Kachru, 1983a: 39-40; Kirkpatrick, 2007: 31).

Kachru (1983a: 40-42) displays the sociolinguistic profile of English in English-using communities via the following four functions: (i) the instrumental function refers to the use of English as an instructional medium at various educational levels of the country; (ii) the regulative function concerns the extent of English to the legal system and governmental administration; (iii) the interpersonal function relates to a vernacular in a multilingual community and a lingua franca among speakers of different L1
background for the mutual intelligibility and a code that symbolises modernisation and elitism in a society; and (iv) the imaginative or innovative function involves the use of English as a medium of linguistic creativity in new literatures. These functional uses extend to range and depth. The functional range means the extension of English into socio-cultural, educational, and economical contexts. The wider range of a local variety results in the greater variety of English uses. Moreover, the functional depth depends on the penetration of English-knowing bilingualism to several societal levels, only beyond the urban upper and middle classes as well as on implications of these four functions for a model. Besides, such range and depth involve the degree of nativisation. With more functions and the longer period of English use, the local variety is more nativised.

(2) Contextualisation and Lexical Innovation

Kachru (1983b: 99-127) proposes contextualisation and lexical innovation as a framework for analysing New Englishes. The term ‘contextualisation’ adopted from ‘Firthian framework of linguistic science’ (1957) involves the final product of linguistic analysis regarding the context of situation of a text as language is both a process that parallels culture and an integral part of it. This concept was used to analyse the contextualisation of Indian English (IE) from creative writing, regarding four types of lexico-grammatical transfer. Indeed, transfer concerns context as certain elements in native language and culture (L1 and C1) are transferred into L2 (English). Such types are lexical transfer (loans), translation (established equivalent items of L1-L2), shift (an adaptation of items in L1 into L2), and calques (rank-bound translation). Other types of transfer are collocations and speech functions. Hence, Indian English collocations possess four features distinct from British English (BE) collocations - deviation with grammatical compounding, loan shifts, Indian collocations, and contextual units.
regarding Indian culture. For IE speech functions, four types are seen in literary contexts: (i) text of attitudes contains modes of addressing and referencing, cursing, and blessing; (ii) text of status and social position entails superiority, inferiority, and caste; (iii) text of social roles is of rituals and ceremonies; and (iv) text of individual habits, which is not socially determined yet.

For lexical innovation, only its two types from South Asian (SA) Englishes are mentioned (Kachru, 1983b: 152-162) – single items (shifts and loan translation) and hybrid items. The latter type is highlighted as the major representative of a lexical innovation. Two sets of hybridisation are found – open and closed sets. The open set named ‘classification of hybrid formations’ follows two structures – SA item as head and SA item as modifier. The closed set titled ‘hybridisation and derivative suffixes’ is grouped into three categories – non-English head and English derivational suffix, English head and non-English derivational suffix, and non-English head and English prefix of negation. Evidently, this paradigm could be a model for analysing contextualisation and lexical innovation of any other Englishes.

(3) Three Concentric Circles of English

To theoretically frame all Englishes around the world, Kachru (1985, 1992a) proposes the three concentric circles to present the spread, types, acquisition patterns, and functions of English in the world below.
Referring to Figure 3.2, the three circles are oval, and the Expanding Circle is located at the top. They illustrate the diffusion of English from the native countries to non-native English ones throughout a portion of the population. The Inner Circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The English language travelled from the Great Britain to the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. English in these countries is called the native varieties of English. The populations of these countries mainly possess the Judeo-Christian Western traditions of Anglophones though other minority natives like American Indians, Aborigines, and Maoris are also present. This circle is called norm-provider. Traditionally, the British variety was accepted as the oldest model. Then, the American model becomes an alternative model. These two models provide native norms to Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand English. The Outer Circle involves the earlier phases of the spread of English and its recognition in non-native contexts, so it is called the institutionalised varieties of English in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the South Pacific that have passed via extended period of colonisation. The major features of this circle are that (i) English is only one of two or
more codes in the linguistic repertoire of bilinguals or multilinguals, and (ii) English has acquired the vital status in the language policies of most of those multilinguals. This circle deserves the term ‘norm-developing’ as the regional norms based on the exonormative and endonormative norms are constructed. Their regional norms have been developing since being implanted by the British or American English models in the colonial period. The Expanding Circle involves the regions where the performance varieties are used. English here lacks the official status, so it is used as an international language. However, English users in this circle appear in the larger number than in other circles such as those in China, Russia, and Indonesia. This circle yields the term ‘norm-dependent’ since English users here strongly rely on the native English models as their local norms have not yet emerged (Kachru, 1985; Jenkins, 2003).

English in the Outer Circle has been mostly debated. Native norms are evident in pronunciation (RP and GA) as well as lexis and grammar in dictionaries and grammar books which have been used in countries of norm-dependent varieties. However, they are not the only two norms for countries with norm-developing varieties. The minority of ESL speakers speak Standard British/American English; the majority use local English varieties. Hence, Kachru (1986: 83-91) explains that the educated variety is normative such as Standard Singaporean English. However, this norm has not been accepted among native varieties.

The effects of non-native norms are “mistakes and deviations” which violate the native-English speaker’s norm. A mistake cannot be justified with regard to the result of the productive processes used in an institutionalised variety of English. Nevertheless, deviation differs from the norm as it is an effect of English used in the new non-Anglo society. Moreover, it is the result of a productive process which highlights the typical
variety-specific features, and it is systemic within a variety, and not error. An innovation is an allowable deviation from the native norms. Examples of innovations are provided as follows: (i) contextually determined collocations in South Asian (SA) English ‘Himalayan blunder’; (ii) hybrid in South-East Asian English ‘Englandreturned’; (iii) idioms in African Englishes ‘like a bushfire in the harmattan like’; and (iv) comparative construction in SA English “as honest as an elephant”. These examples lead to the development of innovation typology. For type A, the sociolinguistic context of language use determines such innovations and language change. For type B, the productive linguistic processes used for such innovations are shared with other such varieties although the lexical realisation in each variety may be different. This type is evident in hybridisation, context-dependent modes of reference and address, and degrees of politeness, etc. Hence, innovation represents linguistic distinctiveness expressed by the Outer Circle English users. Kachru (1983b) exhibits meaningful and innovative features of deviations in contact literature.

(4) Bilinguals’ Creativity and Contact Literature

The framework on bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature (Kachru, 1986; 1987) carry four features of the linguistic and literary creativity of a bilingual writer. Firstly, the processes used in this creativity result from local, cultural, and stylistic strategies that cannot be judged with one norm from one literary and cultural tradition. Secondly, the process of nativisation and acculturation of texts requires an altered context of situation for the language. Thirdly, the bilinguals’ creativity emerges as two or more linguistic codes are shaped. The new code must be contextualised in the light of the novelty language use. Finally, this creativity appears in a distinct context of situation, as seen in a formal mixture of different underlying language designs, and in a creation of cultural, aesthetic, societal, and literary canons.
This framework is the pioneer approach to discovering contact literature. This literary text has a distinguishing feature; the altered meaning system resulted from many linguistic processes highlights the characteristics of such literary text. Such linguistic processes comprise three aspects of nativisation. *Nativisation of context* concerns historical and cultural presupposition, narrative technique, and collocation relationship of the literary texts. *Nativisation of cohesion and cohesiveness* involve collocation extension, the use and frequency of grammatical forms, lexical shift, hybridisation, and loan translation. *Nativisation of rhetorical strategies* contains three main components. Firstly, this literary text makes choices of styles referring to the stylistic norms appropriate to the concept of high and popular culture. Secondly, it provides authenticity or linguistic distinctiveness to the discourse type such as *Africanness* and *Singaporeaness*. Lastly, it realises the following styles: (i) the use of native similes and metaphors in collocation deviation, (ii) the transfer of rhetorical devices for ‘personalising’ speech interaction, (iii) the translation or transcreation of proverbs and idioms, (iv) the use of culturally dependent speech styles, and (v) the use of syntactic devices. Overall, these three perspectives of nativisation represent the lexical, syntactic, and discourse levels of linguistic creativity in contact literature.

Under this framework, *linguistic realisation of thought patterns* is proposed to manifest the bilingual’s creativity on discourse styles as seen in a paragraph organisation in English written by South Asian writers in a spiral-like structure which disappears in Anglo writing convention. Indeed, the structure of Marathi is considered ‘circular’ from a native-English speaker’s views, so it crosses over the authors’ English writing. This aspect brings contrastive discourse/stylistics to contact literature; whether other non-native writers create their English literatures with styles in divergence to native English styles is to be justified with thought patterns in L1 (Kachru, 1987).
(5) Cultural Contact and Literary Creativity in a Multilingual Society

Contact literature in a multilingual community is outstanding in that its main components are of an integration of linguistic and cultural contact. Kachru (1992b: 150-154) provides ‘the trimodal approach to diversity’ in which three areas – linguistics, sociolinguistics, and literatures - are interrelated. Linguistic area contains (i) register development; (ii) resource for ‘mixing’, ‘switching’, and formal innovations at each linguistic level; and (iii) discourse strategies, and discourse structure in the light of units like paragraphing and punctuations. Sociolinguistic area consists of (i) conventions in the use of speech acts as well as modes of references and address; (ii) strategies in persuasion, apology and anger; and (iii) expansion of style range marking levels of modernisation, education, and mobility. Literary area comprises (i) new literary genres; (ii) expansion within genre like sonnet and blank verse; (iii) expansion of the thematic range; (iv) resource for ideological shift such as the progressive writers’ movement; and (v) mathetic function. All these elements are found in Indian English literature and local literature in Indian languages with Englishisation. In this regard, code-mixing is highlighted to serve as the notions of convergence and creativity in a contact area like India. Indian English writings provide the interface between English and Indian languages such as the mixing of Hindi and Punjabi loans in English sentences. This makes English a part of the local repertoire of literatures and cultures; English and other vernaculars are similarly structured in literary creativity. The notions of identity and cultural awareness emerge in this framework. Contact literature like a historical novel conveys the use of English as a medium to express identity and cultural awakening via heritages, glory, and civilisation of non-Anglo nations to westernisation. Additionally, four terms that are paradigms of contact and multilingual societies are hidden in contact literature – (i) codes as a repertoire (languages, varieties, and styles); (ii) the repertoire of religious identities in styles; (iii) identity manipulation (style shifts for non-native
identity); and (iv) code dynamics (ethnic, caste, and social roles of languages and varieties).

(6) Transcultural Creativity in World Englishes and Literary Canons

The nativisation of rhetorical strategies in the bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature is extended to an analysis of ‘transcultural creativity’ (Kachru, 1995) as representing the process of translation, transfer, and transcreation as the powerful stylistic tools. In this paradigm, the transcreational process plays the significant role in literary creativity in the ‘mother tongue’ (national literature translated in English) and in the ‘other tongue’ (World literature written in English).

Kachru theorises transcultural creativity with three types of crossover in relation to their key concepts adopted from Smith’s (1992) work. Firstly, the crossover within a speech fellowship refers to the members of a speech fellowship who have shared underlying socio-cultural resources. The linguistic resources of such members may be different although they show the mutual intelligibility. For example, Punjabi, Hindi, and Kashmiri speakers of India have shared “regional dialects of English and educated English”. This type suits the concept of ‘intelligibility’ that concerns surface decoding of a linguistic utterance. In varieties of English, a number of lexical items are not problematic in decoding the denotative meaning, but one still needs to comprehend the extended meaning which involves the crossover in literary texts. Secondly, the crossover within speech communities sharing identical literary, cultural, and religious canons is found in the case between the Dravidian south and the Indo-Aryan north in India in which languages are divergent but underlying cultural identity is convergent. This is evident in the processes of Sanskritisation, Persianisation, and Englishisation in this region via literary and religious discourse. This type meets the term
‘comprehensibility’ or a comprehension of a text of a variety of English within the situational context of another variety. One needs to comprehend the connotative meaning of certain English expressions. This concept focuses more on cultural and religious meanings of non-native English items. Lastly, the crossover within speech communities which are culturally, sociolinguistically, and linguistically divergent refers to non-native English speakers with distinctive cultural, linguistic and literary canons. This type yields the notion of ‘interpretability’. One is required to interpret contextualisation of the text in which source language is structured. This appears in a new interpretation or an addition of commentaries to translations of sacred texts such as the Bible and the Bhagawad Gita, etc. To achieve the interpretability, one must establish the relationship of a text within an appropriate context-language as a component of culture. In World Englishes literature, this stage means reincarnating English into the local culture.

Hence, all types of crossovers grounded in the translation, transfer and transcreation processes of multilingual writers. Firstly, the Nigerian novelist Amos Tutuola and Indian Novelists Raja Rao and Mulk Raj Anand have used ‘translation equivalence’ to keep the English text close to Yoruba and Panjabi-Hindustani respectively. Raja Rao’s The Serpent and the Rope conveys the Sanskritisation of English. Secondly, Raja Rao’s writing displays transfer of the diglossic situation in L1 into English. This instance shows the bilingual writer wants to remain close to the mother tongue style specifically the formal pattern of English. Lastly, transcreation is exhibited when Tutuola established an ancestral link between Nigerian English creativity and the oral past tradition. All strategies serve as transcultural creativity for linguistic and cultural convergence and contact in World Englishes literature.
(7) Nativisation of Mantra as Identity Construction in Anglophone Englishes

In literary studies, the notion of ‘mantra’ concerns messages and mythology. Nativising mantra in World Englishes indicates distinctiveness in linguistic, literary, and ideological creativity of a bilingual writer. Anglophone Englishes refers to varieties of English in the Anglophone region of Asia. Speakers of Anglophone Englishes are of three groups – L1 users (Australia and New Zealand), L2 users (India and Singapore), and FL users (Korea and China). Asia now becomes the largest region of English users, so the term ‘Anglophone Englishes’ is more appropriate than ‘Asian Englishes’.

The nativisation of mantra requires three linguistic processes for identity construction – (i) locating the bilingual’s creativity within the contexts of linguistic and cultural pluralism that feature such speech communities; (ii) treating the linguistic construction as a cohesive text representing structural, discourse and cultural hybridity; and (iii) distinguishing the bilingual’s competence in the light of a linguistic repertoire bearing certain relations to textual structure. An example of the third process appears in Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* (1938), in which Indian language repertoire structured for intellectual and emotional make-up is mixed in English texts, serving as the mythology of the sacred cows of linguistic purity.

Mantra can be referred to as ‘medium’. It covers political and social constructions of language. Evidently postcolonial literary writers nativise messages to respond to the coloniser’s linguistic medium; ideology of English by non-native writers is constructed. Moreover, a mantra includes philosophical and spiritual constructions. This nativisation appears in the use of Sanskritised or Arabic English sentence patterns in sacred texts in contact literature in order to bridge linguistic and cultural boundaries between English and vernaculars. This also helps organise identity of non-native writers.
In brief, nativisation of mantra is a new paradigm to study the way a non-native English writer constructs his/her ideology in order to empower linguistic, literary, and cultural creativity in Anglophone Englishes.

(8) Debates on Kachru’s Approach

Kachru’s approach to World Englishes has been debatable. The concentric circles of English attract many researchers for many reasons. Bolton (2003a: 198) agrees that the three circles challenge the ‘native speaker idealisation’ myth, the ‘native vs. non-native speaker interaction’ myth, and the ‘culture identity (or monoculture)’ myth. This implies a change of the belief that English is no longer a language of the white-native speakers. Moreover, Park and Wee (2009) agree with the strategic marketing of the circles. English in the Inner Circle is promoted as the Standard English for the language policy. Next, different shapes of the model may be adapted or adopted by speakers to use English for their purposes. Hence, the circles are marketed as the patterns of status, model and functions of English of native and non-native users. Further, Rajadurai (2005: 112) found that the three circles help promote new varieties of English via aspects of creativity, communicative potential and relative prestige. Their processes of codification result in the acceptance of new literature and pedagogical models and materials. Consequently, the strength of this model is the focus on pluralism and linguistic diversity of English world-wide. Similarly, Cane (2008) views that the circles point out the rise of major cross-linguistic and cross-cultural attributes, which lead to the changed profile of English as a pluricentric language that is demographic, cultural, linguistic, and literary reincarnations of the English language.

Nonetheless, many drawbacks of this model have been raised. This present study exhibits only three main parts of such limitations. The first falls into a
McArthur (1992: 19-20) states that the circles are constituted as adjoining ovals, not circular or concentric despite its name. Likewise, Tripathi (1998: 56) views that this model is named ‘circle’ but represented as ‘oval’ in order to yield the tripartite scheme of ENL, ESL, and EFL. Moreover, the Inner Circle is not expanding in terms of its population. Besides, the Outer Circle is unaccountably located in the middle. This view implies that the bottom-located Inner Circle is less important than the middle-located Outer Circle. Similarly, Yoneoka (2001) reveals that the circles lack fluidity and have limited overlapping space of the circles; this model is not dynamic for changes in names and population of certain countries in each circle.

In the light of the number of countries and their population in each circle, Mesthrie (2008) disagrees that the USA is firstly put into the Inner Circle due to the largest number of native-English speakers, and not the history of English as a criterion (UK). However, this is unparallel to the Inner and Expanding Circles in which the countries are alphabetically ordered. India should be the largest number of speakers in the Outer Circle, but Kachru started with Bangladesh because of the alphabetical order. Likewise, Kachru began the Expanding Circle with China given its position in the list in the alphabet order (although it has the largest number of speakers in this circle). This displays inconsistency of criteria for arranging countries in the circles. Similarly, Crystal (2003: 60-65) claims that this model cannot show all countries in which English belongs to the Outer Circle. He suggests Kachru to explore more countries in this circle, by comparing the use of ENL and ESL via the updated numbers of language users.

The last discussion along this line concerns the implication of the model. Jenkins (2003: 17) states that this model is reflected in geographical and genetic perspectives of English users rather than the way speakers identify with and use of
English. Some English users in the Outer Circle, such as Singapore, use English as a first language. Meanwhile, an increasing number of speakers in the Expanding Circle use English for many purposes including social, economic and family functions. Furthermore, some countries are in transition from EFL to ESL status, including Belgium, Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland. Thus, the changing functions of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries cause this model to be unclear. This yields the view of Mesthrie (2008) that this model was published in the 20th century (1980s) but it has the blurred circles in the 21st century as the use of English has been changing in ESL and EFL countries. At present, English in some ESL countries is probably regressing in terms of usage due to the altered language policy, while the use of English in an EFL country is perhaps becoming more progressive. This implies that the changing status of English in the circles is a drawback of this model because there appears to be more functional native users of English in both ESL and EFL countries. Hence, the established circles may become useless. Unlike the actual language in question, the model has ceased to be productive and does not necessarily match with current realities. Moreover, Burt (2005), Kim (2006), and Saracani (2008) similarly accept that this model is more centred on the features of English in the Outer Circle than the Expanding Circle; the former circle is compared to the Inner Circle.

The above information shows that the concentric circles model has been controversial. Meanwhile, other paradigms embody a neutral degree of criticism. Apart of such circles, ‘Bilinguals’ Creativity and Contact Literature’ is another prominent framework that has been discussed. Bolton (2003a) accepts the success of this framework, the result of the three circles. This paradigm shifted the dominance of the Anglo-centric literary canon to the manifestation of new literatures or contact literature in English by African, Asian, and Caribbean bilingual writers who have undergone
nativisation. This linguistic paradigm is valuable for reincarnating English in non-Anglo literatures and cultures. Indeed, this framework is a part of the theme ‘Bilingual’s creativity’ of World Englishes which extends to linguistics, literature and pedagogy. The first two areas are included in this present framework. In this regard, Jones (2010: 470) supports the major focus of Bilinguals’ creativity on discourse analysis, especially regarding the stylistic production of texts in which linguistic adjustments are made for psychological, sociological, and attitudinal reasons. He also supports the way Kachru designs the Bilinguals’ creativity to meet contact literature with a sociolinguistic approach in difference from other stylistic approaches. Hence, discourses of non-native Englishes are also grounded in contact literature.

The framework of the Bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature centres on the interface between the two terms ‘contact literature’ and ‘contact language’. However, some scholars disagree with these terms. O’Grady and Archibald (2000: 620, as cited in Joseph, 2005: 132) state that contact language conveys inevitable linguistic change through an interaction between speakers of a language and those of another language, thus contact literature does not immediately lead to a parallel system of literary change. This is because creativity and aesthetic of literary imagination probably act as alien elements that cause simplified language in the literary process, resulting in the linguistic imperfection. Moreover, writers are perhaps burdened by convention, society, and ideology of literatures in other languages. Besides, this literature partially removes the nature of contact language. In this view, this framework does not imply its unfruitfulness but it assumes some risky segments that do not make convergence between language contact and literature contact. Moreover, Thumboo (1992) does not directly reject this framework, but he generally disagrees with the terms ‘new literatures in English’ and ‘contact literature’ as they imply only temporary labels and a historical
start. He insists on using the notions of ‘Indian literature in English’ and ‘Singapore literature in English’, for example. Writers of these literatures have twin views – English as the language of creativity as well as vernacular and national literature. This looks similar to two features of contact literature by Kachru’s (1986;1987) – national identity (mother tongue literature) and linguistic distinctiveness (second language ‘English’ creativity). Indeed, Thumboo understands that many critics have considered these literatures as a criterion for an intellectual purpose, not emotional, and they question non-native writers’ being instinctive bilinguals. This is because of their English use. Additionally, he is not confident with the conviction that English used by Indian writers is regarded as distinctive as that used by Irish and American writers. Overall, this criticism of the present framework is that non-native English writers adopt native practices in writing but their hidden local backgrounds in linguistics, literatures and cultures appear to be distinctive. Hence, Thamboo’s (1992) comment is beyond the framework’s intention which does not compare English ability between native and non-native English writers.

The term ‘contact literature’ also indicates a cultural/innovative function of non-native Englishes. This domain and the other threes – regulative, instrumental, and personal – are incorporated into the paradigm titled ‘a sociolinguistic profile of English’ (Kachru, 1983a). In this way, this paradigm has been favoured by certain researchers. Petzold (1994: 13) claims that this profile is very useful as it provides the overall sketch of the spread of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries. That is, the profile depicts the following aspects of the background information of English in a society: role and status, users and uses, norms, non-native speakers’ attitudes toward native speakers, motivation of learning, intelligibility degree, historical development, language policy and planning, as well as linguistic features of a variety. These aspects imply that
the profile addresses the fundamental sociolinguistic enquiries of English – who uses this language with whom, where, for what purposes, and why. Hence, this value is applied to Petzold’s (1994) study on the sociolinguistic profile of English in Hungary. Furthermore, Beery (2004: 6) reveals that all functions of Englishes suit only the Inner and Outer circles, but some functions cannot be found in the Expanding Circle country. However, she still uses this profile to examine English in Mongolia. In contrast, Friedrich (2001: 145) claims that this profile does not imply Kachru’s marginalisation of the Expanding Circle English as in many comments once it is used to analyse English in Brazil. Instead, this profile is dynamic toward the spread of English in non-Anglo societies. Not only these studies, but others in this circle also mark this paradigm such as English in ‘Turkey’ (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998); ‘Germany’ (Hilgendörf, 2001); ‘China’ (Zhang, 2003); and ‘Uzbekistan’ (Hasanova, 2007), etc.

The above views indicate the effectiveness of the sociolinguistic profile and functional uses frameworks. On the contrary, a literary function of Englishes under the ‘contextualisation’ paradigm (Kachru, 1983b) has been criticised. As this paradigm is based on Kachru’s study on Indian English literature, certain criticisms entail the phenomenon of Indian English. Dasgupta (1993: 125-129) claims that this paradigm does not provide an explicit dichotomy between mistakes and innovations. There are no clues to what type of influence from the Indian context is considered a mistake and what influence results in a productive deviation. Moreover, this paradigm does not point out the notion of Indianisation of English, so she suggests a clearer account of contextualisation of Indian English with ‘a naturalism approach’. That is, contextualisation is a method of associating linguistic items of mistakes and deviations with Indian cultural items. Successfully describing the contextualisation requires scholars to link the founding linguistic items of Indian English to the linguistic and
cultural context. Moreover, whether an example Kachru gives – ‘flower bed’ – is a mistake or a deviation is unsure. Kachru labels this item as register confusion and recommends that it is avoidable. This shows that Kachru does not apply the mistake-deviation distinction in describing this study. Besides, some examples are insufficiently discussed in the way of contextualisation; the item ‘the forbidden meat’ carries no information about what kinds of meat an Indian reader may assume. This means Kachru’s contextualisation does not represent a solid sociolinguistic analysis as details of linguistic terms for special audiences are inadequate. All these problems display that Kachru’s contextualisation becomes more an anecdote of item-by-item than a grounded and systematic analysis. Furthermore, Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998: 32) disagree that Kachru (1983b) treats examples of Indianism from creative writing as the accepted ‘Indian English’ by referring to Raja Rao’s expression – “English is the intellectual make-up of Indians”. Indeed, Kachru may state such items of Indianisms should be considered a part of the creative strategies used by Indian English writers to create an Indian milieu in their writing. Moreover, creative English by the intelligentsia is insufficiently proved as the notion of Indian English. Both claims are similar; Kachru’s linguistic analysis is not solidly interpreted with the very concepts of contextualisation and Indian English. However, the former’s comment is more radical; the contextualisation paradigm is leaking. Indeed, this paradigm is not an original but an adaptation from the Firthian framework (1957). Such comments are probably right as this paradigm is the earliest linguistic analysis of new English literature. Kachru later theorises the notions of mistakes, deviation, and innovation under the three concentric circles (1985) and bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature (1986, 1987) – to uphold varieties of English in World literature.
Although the contextualisation paradigm shows a strong debate, it has no empirical evidence of other Englishes. This is similar to other paradigms of World Englishes literature that are less popular than the bilinguals’ creativity and contact literature. Evidently, only the transcultural creativity in World Englishes is modified and examined by Bamiro (2011). Without any comments, Bamiro elaborates on the definition of transcultural creativity according to ‘translation equivalence’, ‘transcreation’, and ‘translingualism’. Indeed, the first two are grounded in this paradigm while the last based on Scott (1990: 75) is “the purposive and artful reproduction within one language of features from another language”. Bamiro merely adapts this concept by Kachru to his own lexico-semantic category of ‘translation equivalents’ (1991) in order to analyse the bilinguals’ transcultural creativity in Nigerian English literatures. That is, he does not fully utilise the three types of intercultural crossover – intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability – for this analysis. However, all aspects of the findings seem to parallel those mentioned in two types though Bamiro does not directly convey – modes of address (type 1), prayers-invectives-ritual communication (type 2), and idiomatic expressions (type 2). In short, this study indicates that only the partial conception of this paradigm is applied, enough to interest a scholar. Meanwhile, cultural contact and literary creativity in a multilingual society and nativisation of mantra as identity construction in Anglophone Englishes have no proof of their comments and examination though they are not very new paradigms. Hence, the researcher’s own criticism is a must. Both concepts assist a systematic analysis of World Englishes literature in which many linguistic processes are interwoven. Moreover, both emphasise decoding a stylistic and pragmatic layer of literary discourse. Nativisation of mantra is limited to Asian English literatures if the Englishisation process of classical languages is required for interpreting identity construction. Nonetheless, social and political construction, another aspect of this
notion, can also be applied to more English varieties regardless of the sacredness of such classical languages. For cultural contact and literary creativity, the trimodal approach is very accessible to the linguistic and cultural core of contact literature in a multilingual society in which as at least three codes of repertoire are grounded; however, it has no note for a literary study of a bilingual community to adapt.

It is noteworthy that Kachru’s concentric circles model is the most controversial but applicable framework as it approaches the very non-native basis of Englishes. The circles were chosen in this study as their theoretical concepts are used for discussing the existence of a Thai variety of English (See Chapter 8). Further, certain terms from types and norms of non-native Englishes are usually mentioned in the introduction to the study (See Chapter 1). Moreover, Kachru’s functional uses of non-native Englishes are utilised as a main criterion for describing functions of English in Thailand (See Chapter 2). These three perspectives of Kachru’s approach are not incorporated into the conceptual framework but they are significant to be reviewed here. English in Thailand is positioned in the circles model, so it is possible to be examined by the set of functions, norms and linguistic creativity.

Some of Kachru’s literary frameworks which are adapted into an integrated approach have not been reviewed by other scholars, but all contribute much to making the discipline of World Englishes literature more institutionalised and theorised. The most crucial one falls into the Bilinguals’ Creativity and Contact Literature, the foremost theoretical framework of World Englishes literature, and its supporting paradigms – Cultural Contact and Literary Creativity in a Multilingual Society, Transcultural Creativity in a World Englishes and Literary Canon, and Nativisation of Mantra as Identity Construction in Anglophone Englishes - which provide very unique
and enduring concepts for analysing lexical and stylistic features in literary texts, as well as support a non-native identity in English. Additionally, other frameworks - contextualisation and lexical innovation as well as innovation typology – are selected because they function as substantial devices to form the framework that emphasises the linguistic distinctiveness in new literatures in English. This set of World Englishes stylistics approach is recognised mainly by Kachru.

3.1.3 Schneider’s Approach to World Englishes

Schneider’s *Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial English* (2007) that is developed from the ‘*Dynamic Model of the Evolution of New Englishes*’ (2003) investigates cyclical processes of English development in former British/American colonies. Indeed, this model is designed with consideration of Thomason’s (2001) language contact and Mufwene’s (2001) ecology of language evolution. This approach is constituted with two main features. Firstly, five subsequent stages refer to *foundation*, *exonormative stabilisation*, *nativisation*, *endonormative stabilisation*, and *differentiation* with four parameters, namely *socio-political background*, *identity constructions*, *sociolinguistic conditions*, and *linguistic effects*. Secondly, the two communicative perspectives as experienced by the major parties of agents in such processes refer to the coloniser or settler or ‘STL strand’ and the colonised or indigenous people or ‘IDG strand’. Each phase is described below.

(1) Five Phases of Postcolonial English

Phase 1: Foundation

*a. Socio-political background*: English is brought to a new territory or non-English community by an STL group for military forts and trading outposts. Relationships between STL and IDG strands may be from friendly to hostile.
b. *Identity constructions*: The STL population regard themselves as full members and representatives of the source society (Britain) while the IDG people see themselves the only rightful residents of the territory.

c. *Sociolinguistic conditions*: With the STL stream, migration speakers from different regions in Britain have dialect contact. Moreover, the marginal contact between the STL and IDG strands results in few cross-cultural communications, except for only utilitarian purposes.

d. *Linguistic effects*: Three processes emerge: (i) *koineisation* is a middle-of-the-road variety; (ii) *incipient pidginisation* concerns English as a lingua franca in trading; and (iii) *toponymic borrowing* refers to the loan of indigenous language as the place names in the colony.

**Phase 2: Exonormative stabilisation**

a. *Socio-political background*: English is now regularly spoken in a new environment, and it formally becomes the language of administration, education, and the legal system in the colony. Thus, the contact between the STL and IDG strands is increasing.

b. *Identity constructions*: The STL people carry their British-cum-local identity while the identity of the English-knowing locals is being constructed.

c. *Sociolinguistic conditions*: English is spread to the IDG group via education and increased contact with the STL strand. Besides, written and spoken British English is the linguistic norm.

d. *Linguistic effects*: An English lexical segment of local communities containing loans and new coinages develops such as the suffix ‘-isms’ (i.e. Americanisms). The STL people classify English spoken by the IDG group as ‘good’ or ‘broken’.
Phase 3: Nativisation

a. Socio-political background: It is the most important phase. Many colonies are independent, so the offspring starts their own ways politically and linguistically.

b. Identity constructions: The sociolinguistic gap between STL and IDG people is reduced; both parties consider themselves permanent residents of the same territory. The identities like ‘us’ and ‘others’ are also gradually diminished.

c. Sociolinguistic conditions: The degree of linguistic acculturation and assimilation varies. Such degree in North America, Australia, and New Zealand is slow and reluctant due to a site of struggle, but the STL group becomes the permanent residents of the country. In South and Southeast Asia, the STL strands returned to Britain, but English is still important for the nation’s building. For norms, innovation in English is rejected by the conservative STL strand.

d. Linguistic effects: Innovation widely emerges due to the nativisation of English. For example, IDG people show a marked local accent in English and express hybridisation, localised collocations, and varying prepositional usage.

Phase 4: Endonormative stabilisation

a. Socio-political background: With political independence, a local norm in English is formally accepted such as the birth of new varieties in Australia and New Zealand. Shifting from a self-association with Britain to the new country, the STL group carries truly independent identity.

b. Identity constructions: The STL and IDG people share the new identity construction in the new former colony. Both groups consider ethnicity a parameter of identity negotiation to reach the nation building.

c. Sociolinguistic conditions: The gradual acceptance of localised English forms as a new norm is extended to the formal written domains and instruction. Moreover,
the new term is given here: English in the context or the X English as ‘English in the Singapore context’ or ‘Singapore English’. Besides, the degree of cultural and linguistic independence leads to literary creativity in new English literatures.

d. *Linguistic effects*: The process of nativisation has produced a new variety of English different from the STL dialect, as found in grammar books and dictionaries such as Macquarie Dictionary (Australia) that contains lexicon collected from a written and spoken interaction between the STL and IDG in English in the society.

**Phase 5: Differentiation**

*a. Socio-political background*: A new nation has no certain external dominant source of power and orientation, so the emergence of a new variety of English has no controversy. However, some internal differences are a prominent factor of the socio-economic stability of the nation.

*b. Identity constructions*: For the national identity, ‘group identification and social categorisation’ are more vital than ‘the collective identity’ of the previous stage.

*c. Sociolinguistic conditions*: The patterns of dense interaction and mutual identification lead to group-internal linguistic accommodation such as the selection of certain linguistic forms as markers of group membership.

*d. Linguistic effects*: An acceptance of new varieties of English, in divergence from the parent varieties, leads to new English dialect birth and the “sociolinguistically meaningful internal diversification” of the language.

These five phases are used by Schneider to analyse the emergence of English in some former colonies. For example, English in Malaysia and the Philippines reflects ‘fossilised development’ as it stopped at phase 3 during the post-colonisation due to the promotion of national language. However, English in Singapore arrives at phase 4.
English in Australia and New Zealand is under phase 5 as it is the full native variety different from the British and American English. This approach is very dynamic; English used in former colonial countries can evolve in relation to the five phases.

(2) Linguistic Aspects of Nativisation

Nativisation becomes the most prominent stage in Schneider’s model as it shifts from a dependence on a parent variety to an initiation of a non-native variety. Schneider (2007: 71-90) thus features linguistic aspects of nativisation at phonological, lexical and grammatical levels. The first and last levels which are irrelevant to this study are not described. Lexically, postcolonial English (PE) vocabulary requires four processes of structural nativisation as follows: (i) lexical borrowing from indigenous languages in terms of toponyms, fauna and flora, and culturally distinctive customs; (ii) hybrid compounding; (iii) coinages; and (iv) semantic shifts. Overall, these lexical and processes of nativisation indicate evolution of English in postcolonial countries.

(3) Debates on Schneider’s Approach

While many have lauded Schneider’s work, it has also been criticised. James (2009: 81) states this approach is constructed as the ‘localist’ model that pays a special attention to the development of postcolonial Englishes around the world. Likewise, Mufwene (2009) views that this model sufficiently explains the various ways in which post-colonial Englishes both differ from and resemble each other with regard to the evolution of particular regional varieties’ structural peculiarities. Both views are similar in that this model details different cyclic stages of development of local varieties of English from early colonial period to post-colonisation. This relates to the view of Lim and Gisborne (2009: 124) that this model describes settlement and transmission types, especially for the early two phases of colony better than other phases.
This model not only tackles the phases of English development, but it can also be commended for the emergence of new terms. According to Mall (2007: 13-14), this model builds up the new notion of STL and IDG strands to bridge the gap between the terms ‘ENL’ and ‘ESL’. The context of ENL or Inner Circle countries - the US, Australia, and New Zealand – neglects the situation, experiences, and language varieties of minorities like Native and Hispanic Americans, Aboriginals, and Maoris. Similarly, the context of ESL or Outer Circle countries (e.g. Nigeria and Singapore) ignores the small but influential minorities whose English is used as mother tongue. In other words, this model has the advantage of describing the existence of both language minorities as well as the linguistic situation of multilingual countries where status of English concerns the intranational diversity.

In addition, this approach is indirectly advantageous to the EFL context. The model extends its implication to the emergence of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in Europe, the so-called EFL region. The sharing feature of postcolonial English is the contact setting in which STL and IDG have intercultural encounters in English. Different types of language contact situations are caused by historical circumstances of the colony. This is parallel to the language contact in Europe. Sociolinguistically, ELF in Europe differs from native English dialects and postcolonial English; however, several types of European English are characterised by multilingualism which requires contact between vernaculars and lingua-cultures (Breiteneder, 2009: 262-263).

In contrast, this model carries some limitations. This model fails to discuss language maturity. It neither implies the similar growth of English and vernaculars as living organs, nor the resemblance of language evolution and the life cycle of living organs. These questions are not answered in this model, but clarified by Kachru (1992a)
that new English varieties are compared to infants who have been nurtured by their parents (variety). Thus, the growth of New Englishes is vaguely described in this model. Another obscure aspect is a case study of this model. A description of New Englishes in Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore has condensed phases 1-2 into one stage by briefing ‘background’, which inevitably means that the distinctive features of each phase are not fully described. This model can fully delineate the early phases (1-2) in a separate section of evolution of Inner Circle varieties of English. However, it fails to detail the early phase of evolution of Outer Circle varieties as Schneider claims that the periodisation (the course of time) and correlated parameters here that are also used for analysis in the Inner Circle varieties are uncertain (Evans, 2009: 280). The term ‘the Inner and Outer Circle varieties’ is not used in this model, but it indirectly appears, especially through different ways of analysing a case study. Likewise, the imprecision of periodisation in this model is agreed by Lim and Gisborne (2009: 124). This model seems to be rather blurred with time in the increasing complexity in the development of society. The statement ‘through the course of time’ frequently emerges in parallel with the development of new English varieties. This implies that the model fails to identify the number of years when new varieties develop because the exact period of time for such development appears in a range of the societal change. The weaknesses of the model per se are not irreparable, but can easily be remedied by Schneider by simple adjustment in the model.

This model can become stronger after empirical analyses of different varieties of English through the cyclic phases. First of all, Evans (2009) claims that Schneider (2007) puts Hong Kong English into phase III. However, his textual and statistical study from a historical corpus of English in different documents, using this approach, appears to be divergent to Schneider’s case study. He questions the nativisation of this variety as
the results show ‘the declining standards’ of Hong Kong English users due to a decade of vernacular education, so this variety probably returns to Phase II. Likewise, Low (2010) disagrees with Schneider’s postulation in which Malaysian English (MalE) and Singapore English (SgE) have reached Phases III and IV, respectively. Hence, she explores similarities and differences between the two English varieties in terms of historical development and linguistic features. Based on this model, the results reflect a degree of convergence and divergence that does not conform to Schneider’s description. She assumes that SgE should go beyond Phase IV due to its greater linguistic homogeneity. Meanwhile, Phase III for MalE is likely to be uncertain due to the reversion of Bahasa Malaysia as an instructional medium in Science and Mathematics in 2012. With this factor, MalE will be more different from SgE. Similarly, Rooy and Terblanche (2010) prove that South African English (SAE), which relies on Phase IV with regard to Schneider (2007), also embodies a degree of Phase III. It is a study of a lexical corpus from the SAE community newspaper *Vaal Weekly*. The results reveal that SAE lexical innovation belongs to Phase IV but its morphologically complex forms are still based on Phase III because their features yield the notion of linguistic nativisation rather than linguistic homogeneity. These three studies imply that Schneider’s case study for some New Englishes is probably unreliable and invalid.

On the whole, it can be construed that there is more disagreement than agreement on this model by many scholars. However, this does not imply that the model provides leaking theoretical underpinnings for studying World Englishes. In fact, several debates after empirical studies using the model mean that various scholars and researchers pay special attention to the significance of the model’s scholarship of World Englishes. This approach is chosen due to two reasons. Firstly, the Dynamic Model is constructed for describing the development of English in a post-colony but it challenges
an analysis of English evolution in a non-colonial country like Thailand (See Chapter 2). The statement “linguistic and cultural contact situations between English and vernaculars forced by the British/American colonial power in a certain community” is the crucial factor of this model taken for this adaptation. Such colonial force and language interaction in the neighbours (the British Malaya and British Burma) as well as a strategy of modernising and avoiding colonialism of Thailand also affect the emergence of English in the country. Another merit of this model lies in the phases in parallel to narrating a story of English birth, growth, usage, and further evolution that leads to a variety. Such phases are dynamic as whether English in a country can be progressive or regressive can be examined within its current sociolinguistic features. This hopes to occur in English in the Thai society. Lastly, Schneider’s linguistic aspects of nativisation have no emphasis of discourse. However, the morphological framework is fruitful for this study. Particular categories of lexical innovations mentioned here taken from spoken and written texts parallel those in review of studies (See Chapter 4). They are likely to be a helpful guide for the analysis in Thai English literature.

3.1.4 Similarities and Distinctiveness among the Three Approaches

The three approaches share similar strengths which lead to their being adapted in this study. Firstly, the spread of English is clearly designed by Kachru and Strevens. Kachru marks all types of English-using communities via the diagram, but Strevens reveals the parent variety’s branches in only ESL countries. Both, however, stress the diffusion of English in non-native countries rather than in native ones. Secondly, phrases of the English development are the most crucial feature of Schneider’s. His stages are more similar to Kachru’s than Strevens’. All three theorists display the way a non-native variety develops in divergence to the parent variety. However, Schneider and Kachru also provide certain effects and attitudes of this local variety development.
Thirdly, kinds of English expansion are similarly categorised by Strevens and Kachru. English-speaking countries (ENL) yield the Inner Circle. English-using countries (ESL) fit the Outer Circle. Moreover, non-English countries (EFL) parallel the Expanding Circle. Fourthly, the similar types of non-native norms are initiated by Strevens and Kachru. Strevens’s international and intranational types of a LFE suit Kachru’s performance and institutionalised varieties. Similarly, such a LFE types’ dependent and independent norms are close to Kachru’s norm-dependent and norm-developing types. Fifthly, functions of English are greatly shaped by Kachru due to the focus on depth and range of non-native English uses. Four types of such functions resemble Strevens’s five vehicles of English in differentiating parameters of a LFE. Sixthly, the notion of nativisation is somewhat a common feature between Kachru’s and Schneider’s approaches. Four types of literary nativisation are proposed by Kachru – cohesion and cohesiveness, context, rhetorical strategies, and mantra. Meanwhile, Schneider’s aspects of nativisation mark phonology, lexis, and syntax. Both also provide different categories for nativisation but at least they meet at lexical and syntactic creativity. This is because Kachru’s frameworks also cover the discourse level that is not apparent in Schneider’s. Finally, discourse strategies are similarly pointed out by Kachru and Strevens. Kachru’s contextual, rhetorical, and mantra nativisation yields Strevens’s six angles of cultural presuppositions due to the focus on discourse creativity that includes language styles, as well as political, philosophical, ideological and mythical patterns embedded in literary discourse.

The three approaches are distinctive because they embody unique concepts. Firstly, Strevens remarkably raises the two concepts: localisation and non-Anglo cultural loading of the English language. The former is featured as localised forms of English in which indigenous linguistic features of non-Anglo people are used. The latter
is a result from the cultural presupposition postulation; cultural patterns of non-native English speakers are transformed in literary texts. Kachru initiates many outstanding concepts – contextualisation, innovation, nativisation, multilingual code repertoire in literary and cultural contact, linguistic realisation of thought patterns, transcultural creativity, and identity construction in literary discourse. These concepts appear as their own framework. Lastly, Schneider creates five terms representing the phases of English evolution – foundation, exornormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation, and differentiation. His best noted for ‘structural nativisation’.

3.2 Other Approaches to World Englishes


Firstly, Trudgill and Hannah’ (1982) *Varieties of Standard English* conceptualises native varieties of Standard English that are based on the British and American types in the light of lexis, grammar, pronunciation, and orthography. English in Wales, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (the Whites) resembles English in England or ‘Eng Eng type’. Meanwhile, English in Northern-South Ireland, Scotland and Canada is similar to North American English or ‘NAmEng type’ because of language changes via the course of time and contact language processes. Moreover, this approach displays other countries with the strong influence of British and American English, especially Creole-based English such as Bermuda, Bahamas, and Caribbean Islands. Nevertheless, this approach carries some weaknesses. First, it considers native
varieties of English as ‘only Standard English’ meanwhile it marginalises other non-native forms as ‘non-Standard English varieties’. In fact, this approach also features L2 varieties of English, namely Indian English, Singapore English and Philippine English. However, such varieties are much different from the Standard EngEng and NamEng types due to the interlanguage process of non-native users. Second, this approach centres on the whiteness of native English speakers. This is unfair for South African English that is recognised as Standard English due to the existence of the British minority. Last, this approach seems to view that other non-Standard English varieties are not important to study because of the influence of local languages and cultures such as an ELF variety that contains many errors. If non-native varieties are more realised, the native Standard English will not be the vital pedagogical model. In this approach, Native English is thus the best model for other non-native countries as it means Standard English. These factors make this approach divergent to this present study.

Trudgill’s (2004) Deterministic Theory emphasises three processes of new dialect formation of colonial Englishes – levelling, generalisation, and koineisation – based on his work on dialects in contact (1986). The deterministic feature of an English variety is obvious without the force by social prestige, identity formation, identity conflict, and status once the nature of dialect input and the demographic strength of each process have sufficiently appeared. This can be observed by prediction-into-the past on the effect of colonial processes on English language of ex-British colonies through three stages. Firstly, levelling is the rudimentary reduction of the minority’s linguistic features. For instance, the mixture of the sounds /v/ and /w/ in words like ‘village’ as pronounced with /w/ is found in only the south of England. This stage provides inter-dialect development resulting in a compromise of certain linguistic forms which do not belong to the interrelating dialects of a speech community. Secondly,
generalisation is highlighted by a great level of variation of dialect formation but the ‘levelling’ stage still proceeds regardless of social prestige. Finally, koineisation is that only major forms would survive and reorganised into a new dialect formation. That is, ‘vowel and consonant variant’ emerges once minority-variant users accommodate to majority-variant users during the progress of koineisation. This appears in the h-retention in words like hair and /wh/ retention in words such as which in New Zealand English. Overall, this model covers Australian English, New Zealand English, South African English, American English, and Old and Medieval English (Leitner, 2010). This coverage is similar to Trudgill and Hannah’s (1982) Varieties of Standard English due to the priority given to Anglo speakers. Non-native English varieties developed in several former-British/American colonies in Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa (others than South Africa) are not recognised in this approach, thus its adaptation to study English in Thailand is very difficult. In addition, this model is restricted to only informal spoken English while it ignores written and formal English. Therefore, it does not suit this study which analyses both formal and informal styles of spoken English in written discourses (e.g. dialogues and narratives) of literary texts.

Secondly, McArthur’s (1987) Circle Model of World English marks the spread of English with respect to the World Standard English that contains eight types of main regional varieties. Each type carries varieties of English. This model explains very well the present diversification of the English languages around the world (Tam, 2004: 10). Nevertheless, it provides some drawbacks. Firstly, five regional varieties that include native and non-native Englishes are considered Standard English. This seems unclear, especially a criterion for categorising ‘Standard English’ and ‘Standardising English’. Caribbean English is classified into ‘Standard English’. However, South African and
Singaporean Englishes are ‘Standardising English’ although they play crucial roles as the official language in their countries rather than other vernaculars. Secondly, Japanese and Chinese Englishes are only the two varieties in the EFL context which are categorised into ‘East Asian Standardising English’ though they have not been accepted as the full non-native varieties. Lastly, the notion of Standard English is idealistic for a certain developing variety of English like Thai English which is not positioned in the model. This current study seeks only the existence of Thai English as another variety, so it is difficult to expressly delineate the notion of Standard Thai English.

Leitner’s (2004) Habitat Model is mainly designed for analysing and describing the linguistic phenomena of Australian English (in the book ‘Australia’s Many Voices’). The Habitat Model has a central theme on the intercourse among (i) a set of languages (including dialects) in a society in terms of status and functions, (ii) textual features of bi/multilingualism/dialectalism, and (iii) the nature of the linguistic systems of such involving languages. This relationship affects the development of English in a certain habitat. The model provides uniquely nine characteristics in its use to describe features of Australian English. It is believed that these characteristics can also be found in any other Englishes. They are described as follows:

(i) The overall languages habitat in a society is covered. This shows effects of languages on individual languages in a complex system of languages;

(ii) The language and dialect contact and interaction are grounded. This displays English development in different geo-political and geographical settings through different periods of time;

(iii) Many other external factors continuously affect contact between English and vernaculars;
(iv) Processes of language development are dynamic, recursive, cyclical, and stage-wise. This allows English evolution to be progressive, regressive, and interactive toward other languages;

(v) English development is interpreted by giving responses to a wide range of socio-political, economic, cultural and multi-national developments of the overall habitat through national, local, and international perspectives;

(vi) The path for English operates through ‘variety formation’ and ‘self-controlled development’ which are similar to Schneider’s (2003;2007) exonormative stabilisation and nativisation stages (phases II and III) and Trudgill’s (2004) generalisation and koineisation levels, respectively. Indeed, the ‘self-controlled development’ is complex as it requires (a) different levels of language development at different speeds, (b) conflicts between localisation and delocalisation of language, (c) more development of the variety as an epicenter with its own linguistic norms resulting in less localised forms but more conflicts, and (d) epicenter’s response to global demands;

(vii) Issues of language planning for acquisition at several levels of demands from a dynamic and developmental aspect are pointed out;

(viii) Issues of conflicts as intrinsic for language development are raised; and

(ix) Societal functional concepts of English in the world (like ENL, ESL, EFL or Three Circles) are emphasised for interpreting English development.

Overall, this approach covers and balances different factors affecting a phenomenon of English evolution in a bi/multilingual society (Leitner, 2010). Nonetheless, such features of the model based on those of Australian English are likely to be well applied to analyse certain varieties of English affected by more than one local language and culture. Further, they are perhaps inappropriate for the case of Thailand.
where the notion of multiculturalism is a possible factor influencing English but the concept of multilingualism is quite vague as the majority of Thais are monolingual.

### 3.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for analysing linguistic creativity features in Thai English fiction and interpreting a Thai variety of English is adopted and adapted from the similarities and distinctiveness of the selected three approaches. It is called ‘an integrated approach’ as particular terms and concepts in linguistic characteristics of World Englishes literature by the three scholars are selected and utilised for guiding the analysis of this study. It is illustrated below.

1. ‘Lexical creativity in Thai English fiction’ and ‘indicative features of Thai English lexicon’ (Objectives 1.1 and 2: Chapters 6 and 8)

Ten lexical categories adapted from the related studies – *lexical borrowing, modes of addressing and referencing, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, clipping, and ellipsis* – are analysed and interpreted with consideration of the following distinctive concepts in order to identify the indicators for Thai English words. First of all, Kachru’s contextualisation and lexical innovation (1983b), innovation typology (1985) and nativisation of cohesion and cohesiveness (1986;1987) provide salient concepts of certain overlapping (sub)categories of lexical creativity in contact literature that contribute towards a non-native variety of English – *loanwords, loan translation, collocations, modes of addressing and referencing* and *hybridisation*. In this regard, the concepts of nativisation in the light of lexicon by Kachru (1986;1987) and Schneider (2007) whose four lexical processes of postcolonial English are of *lexical borrowing, coinages, semantic shifts* and *hybridisation* are to be
comparatively investigated. Moreover, Kachru’s transcultural creativity (1995) in which the first and second types of cultural crossover named ‘intelligibility’ and ‘comprehensibility’ present denotative and connotative meanings respectively of lexical units used in World Englishes literature is considered due to its manifestation of the powerful literary discourse of non-Anglo identity in English. Whether the findings from the above categories of lexical creativity meet the concepts of such two types of transcultural creativity is to be examined. Additionally, Strevens’s local forms of English (1980;1982) is also pointed out. His particular defining and differentiating parameters of local words in English are used for discussing whether they fit into any (sub)categories of lexical creativity in Thai English fiction. As a whole, these three scholars’ concepts are intended to prove the existence of Thai English vocabulary.

(2) ‘Discourse creativity in Thai English fiction’ and ‘indicative features of Thai English literary discourse’ (Objectives 1.2 and 2: Chapters 7 and 8)

Six discourse categories adapted from the previous studies - nativisation of context, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, code-mixing and code-switching, colloquial variety of English, and discourse styles – are analysed and discussed with the main use of the Kachruvian framework (1986;1987) on contextual and rhetorical nativisation as well as linguistic realisation of thought patterns. The first and second categories are indeed adopted from this framework because they are used by a number of previous researchers. Although the sixth category is adopted from Chutisilp (1984)’s study, it also yields the concept of linguistic realisation of thought patterns. Moreover, the third category is intentionally adapted from the framework ‘nativising mantra’ (Kachru, 2003). It is challenging for this adaptation for studying religious and magical discourses in World Englishes literature because of its novelty. Hence, the remaining categories are actually named by the researcher with consideration of
literature reviews. In this way, the fourth category provides a range of concepts that parallel to what Kachru (1992b) highlights in his *multilingual code-repertoire in literary and cultural contact* framework (1992b), that is, code-mixing brings the interface between convergence and creativity in contact literature. This theory will be examined. In addition, Kachru’s *transcultural creativity* (1995) is considered for investigating whether the second and third types of intercultural crossover in the textual level named ‘comprehensibility’ and ‘interpretability’ with ritualistic discourses and sacred texts of Buddhism respectively are embedded in the findings from the above categories. Besides, Strevens’s local forms of English (1980;1982) is also important. His defining and differentiating parameters for local literary styles in English are used to examine the findings of discourse creativity. Apart from this, six domains projected in his cultural presuppositions (1987b) are used to reinterpret the findings analysed with Kachru’s three aspects of nativisation in order to reveal the way in which Thai culture is loaded into English language or vice versa. As a result, only the above concepts by Kachru and Strevens are employed for justifying the existence of Thai English literary discourse.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of Strevens’, Kachru’s, and Schneider’s approaches to World Englishes. All the adopted and adapted concepts theorised by the three scholars are very crucial to fulfil the integrated approach in analysing a Thai variety of English in Thai English fiction. Although Trudgill and Hannah’, McArthur’s, and Leitner’s approaches are not applied to this study, their remarkable works are nonetheless recognised by many other researchers.
CHAPTER 4
REVIEW OF STUDIES ON LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY AND THAI ENGLISH

4.0 Overview

This chapter provides a review of relevant studies on linguistic creativity in contact literature and on Thai English. This review presents fertile grounds for interpreting the extent to which features of linguistic and literary innovations in Thai English fiction lean towards a Thai variety of English.

4.1 Studies on Linguistic Creativity in Contact Literature

Studies on linguistic creativity focusing on lexis and discourse in contact literature, in both the Outer and Expanding Circles, are reviewed in relation to their implication towards the development of new varieties of English.

4.1.1 Studies on Lexical Creativity

Non-native writers create various kinds of lexical creativity in their English literatures: lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan translation, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, clipping, and ellipsis. This creation is intended for certain effects which lead to the shaping of lexicon in World Englishes.
A. Lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing is the loan of non-English words. It has been widely used when the English equivalent term of a native lexicon is not found. In some cases, although such a term is found, the borrowed items are still used to serve more emotional and cultural meanings in non-native contexts than certain English lexis (Cesarano, 2000: 30). For example, borrowing from Malay and Chinese appears in the highest amount of nativised lexical items in seven volumes of Singapore English fiction published between 1978 and 1987. This is obvious in the following extract from Robert Yeo’s The Adventures of Holden Heng (1986): “The waiter came to tell them that the table outside had been laid and the satay was ready” (p.77) and “Would you like some fried kuay teow also...” (p.61). The word ‘satay’ has no English equivalent, so it deserves a loanword in this text. Though the word ‘kuay teow’ generally means noodle, its English equivalent is not used as this writer wants to present its Hokkien origin of culinary culture that refers to flat white rice noodle which may be served fried or boiled with soup. Thus, the use of these two loanwords results in the local readers’ realisation of their national identity in Singapore English words (Wong, 1992: 114-115).

Likewise, Azirah (2007: 35-39) reveals that loanwords in Malaysian English short stories mirror a Malaysian identity in English. In Karim Raslan’s A New Year’s Day Lunch in Kia Peng, Malay and Arabic words are evident in the following example: “...He winced to think of his daughter’s conversion to Islam – ‘all sembahyang, sembahyang - banging your head on the floor’” and “Allah, don’t look at me like that...it’s very bad to have silver and gold which you never use - haram, you know?” If the writer replaces the word ‘sembahyang’ with its English equivalent term, ‘praying’, the identity of the Malaysian characters in this story will not be manifested. In reality, Malays use the word ‘sembahyang’ rather than the word ‘praying’ in both spoken and
written discourses in English as it indicates more Islamic foundation in their perspectives. This is related to the use of the consecutive Arabic words. The words ‘Allah’ and ‘haram’ are not translated into ‘God’ and ‘not permitted’ respectively because Malaysians’ Islamic belief influencing their daily use of Arabic loanwords is pointed out. This phenomenon similarly appears in Shirley Geok-lin Lim’s *In Shame*, in which some Chinese words are loaned as in the following: “*Samfoo* sleeves were rolled up high... It was a small stall with bottles of *chincaloh*...” and “*Aiyah*, Uncle Muti, apa buat? You come for business or just for visit?” The words ‘*samfoo*’ and ‘*chincaloh*’ are a Chinese attire and a type of frying pan used by the Chinese respectively. Meanwhile, ‘*Aiyah*’ refers to a Chinese exclamation commonly used by Chinese Malaysians. These three items are borrowed as a reflection of the way Chinese Malaysian characters use important indigenous words when interacting in English.

Another story by Karim Raslan, namely *Heroes and Other Stories* (1996), marks a Malaysian English lexicon in the following extract: “I looked about again and saw that Omar was standing almost alone now...fending off what seemed to be a crowd of Chinese men and women from the nearby *kampung*” (p.45). The word ‘*kampung*’ is used because of its semantic and pragmatic effect on local users of English. The word ‘village’ merely means a collection of houses and other buildings, so the readers are not provided with a culturally specific meaning of where the village is located in. Nevertheless, the word ‘*kampung*’ refers to a rural place with wooden houses built on stilts where the facilities available are not as developed as in the urban areas. This gives the readers an insight into its underlying meaning, namely the local setting and lifestyle. Moreover, this indigenous word is commonly recognised by Malaysians in both verbal and written communication in English, so its existence in this text contributes to its
status as a Malaysian English word which is shaped via a sociological and geographical context (Govendan, 2001: 69, 117).

Malaysian English words are based on not only Malay, Arabic, and Chinese languages, but they are also derived from Tamil. For instance, the word ‘thali’ is found in K.S. Maniam’s The Return - “...Handling every object gently, she took out a statue of Nataraja, the cosmic dance ringed by a circle of flame, a copper tray, a hand-woven silver-and-gold sari, bangles and a thali...” This word does not have any English equivalent. Its general meaning, ‘the sacred thread of Hinduism’ when used per se is just too long and will not capture its real meaning in the Tamil culture. The writer thus incorporates this local item in this literary text as it has been used by Indian (Tamil) Malaysian speakers of English (Lowenberg, 1992: 253).

The above examples show the way Singaporean and Malaysian writers employ their local words to support their variety of English. Likewise, a Philippine English writer N.V.M Gonzalez presents some Tagalog words in Children of the Ash-Covered Loam and Other Stories as seen in the following: “He got back his bolo from Nanay, slipped it into its sheath and hurried down the path to the kaingin. Tarang could see the tall dead trees of the clearing beyond the hinagdong tree and the second growth” (p.8). The words ‘bolo’ (a large single edged knife used for general cutting of wood), ‘kaingin’ (a traditional practice of slash and burn to clear lands before planting), and ‘hinagdog’ (a type of tree endemic to the Philippines) have no equivalent terms in English, thus they are imported into this literary text. Moreover, their English translation is not provided here because the writer attempts to nativise these Filipino words in English (Platt et al., 1984: 180-181).
Moreover, varieties of Indian English represented as loanwords from Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani are found in Salman Rushdie’s novels. The words of the colonial period are “tiffin (lunch), dabbawalla (lunch-porter), and jawan (a private soldier)”. Meanwhile, the words of the post-colonial period are of sweets and delicacies - samosas, nan, and jalebis. This is shown in the following excerpt from The Satanic Verses: “... apart from a fat lady buying a box of pista barfi and jelabis,...when it was the Jews...,who sat all day in a corner with two vegetable samosas,...” (p.184). These words from two periods have been currently used by Indians although the word ‘tiffin’ is outdated in British English. This implies that such Indian English literatures reflect the genuine Indian English vocabulary (Langeland, 1996: 16-17).

Similar to the Outer Circle, the Expanding Circle writing like a Thai English novel Until the Karma Ends: A Plot to Destroy Burma (1996) by Pongpol Adireksan contains nativisation of Thai words in English - ‘pasin’ (a Thai sarong), and ‘Muay Thai’ (a Thai kick-boxing style) as in the following extracts: “The woman wore a white short-sleeve blouse and a dark blue cotton pasin” (p.261) and “He then kicked Leskov, in the Muay Thai, hoping to hit the Russian left temple” (p.65) (Watthaolarm, 2005: 154). An English translation of these words is neither widely used in other media texts in Thailand, nor present in their very cultural meaning, so this writer needs to borrow such indigenous words to mirror Thai English (Watthaolarm, 2005: 154).

From the studies, creative writers employ loanwords to serve as their specific terms of non-Anglophone cultures which are based on different domains – ethnicity, religion, food, sports, clothing, and geography – in order to enrich the remarkableness of non-native English lexicons.
B. The modes of address and reference

The modes of addressing and referencing refer to particular terms one uses to communicate with and refer to another in a society in relation to his or her social ranking and status such as titles and kinship terms. In contact literature, writers need to use such terms for presenting an interaction between characters according to communication norms of a culture. For instance, the use of title ‘khun’ before addressing or referring to someone in the Thai society shows politeness and respect. If characters in Thai English literature use this term, it is a strategy to shape a Thai English word. Basically, writers use addressing and referencing modes in vernacular rather than in English to reflect the realities of daily communications. This is evident in new English literatures.

First of all, Philippine English novel Bamboo in the Wind (1990) by Azucena Uranza embodies Spanish addressing terms as in the following: “...But the most beautiful was still the Senorita. She looked like an artista, a movie star, and no wonder, Senorito Larry wanted to marry her...” (p.133). The terms ‘Senorita’ (young miss) and ‘Senorito’ (young master) are present because they have been used by Filipino people for conveying class referents and the servile status of the speaker. That is, the English version of these terms is not a marker of Philippine identity (Tope, 2009: 270). Likewise, Platt et al. (1984: 180-181) also reveal the use of common Spanish kinship terms, namely ‘Tio’ (uncle) and ‘Tia’ (aunt) in Children of the Ash-Covered Loam and Other Stories – “Presently Lupo arrived with his father and mother – Lupo and his father Tio Longinos in a neat write camisa de chinos, and Tia Pulin in a dark starched-stiff cotton skirt...” (p. 43). The use of these terms affects the local readers’ sensitivity towards the significance of their regional words in this literature. Hence, in these two
writings, those Spanish addressing and kinship terms represent an Anglophone legacy of Philippine English, but they are part of everyday language use of the local people.

Furthermore, an Egyptian English novel *The Map of Love* (1999) by Ahdaf Soueif contains many honorific Arabic and Turkish titles such as ‘Umdah’ (village chief, especially the richest man); and the formal ‘Fadilatukum’ (a respectful title for high-ranking religious clerics). Other honorific terms are kin titles - ‘ām’ (parental uncle) and ‘Abeih’ (the oldest brother). These titles are indicative of the social hierarchy of colonial Egypt, respectfulness towards relatives, and the seniority and prominent persons of Islam in the Egyptian culture. This indicator is embedded in the characters’ interaction. This writer encourages the Arab readers who are familiar with these items to realise the importance of their ideology hidden in this literature because the items are key substances formed as Egyptian English words (Albakry and Hancok, 2008).

Moreover, an Indian English novel *A Train to Pakistan* by Khushwan Singh, provides the following addressing modes used in the Indian society: (i) kinship terms – *chacha* and *beybey*; (ii) occupational title (with or without honorific) – *bairah* and *lambardara* (iii) religious title – *sardara*; and (vi) honorific titles – *babu sahib* and *huzoor*. These terms add a natural Indian flavour to the speech in English by the Indian characters and give the local reader a glimpse of a whole system of addressing modes that operate in India. This foregrounds Indian English lexis (Mehrotra, 1989: 428-429).

Additionally, prominent addressing and referencing terms in Malaysian English literature came about. Yap (1976: 68) found that Han Suyin’s *And the Rain My Drink* addresses an honorific title in Malay Malaysian English ‘tuan’ (sir) via the following statement: “Mat was mystified ‘Tuan?’ he questioned, in reproach…” (p.226). Indeed,
this term has an English equivalent, but the latter was not used again, to indicate nuances in the Malaysian culture. In the same manner, Azirah (2007: 37) presents another prestige and recognition title in Malaysia for both men and women, namely ‘Datuk’, in the story A New Year Day Lunch in Kia Peng - “...People often referred to him as Datuk Mahani’s brother...” This term is employed as it has no English equivalent and it is an authentic lexicon in Malaysia.

The above creative writings provide several addressing and referencing terms in indigenous languages. On the other hand, the following literatures carry those in English and its mixture of local languages. This is obvious in a Chinese English novella In the Pond by Ha Jin. The protagonist ‘Shao Bin’ is referred to differently like ‘Comrade Young Shao’ and ‘Brother Shao’. The former term is “used condescendingly by party officials, and indicates the lowly rank of Bin” while the latter “is used by an admiring co-worker, showing comradeship and solidarity” (Zhang, 2002: 308). These terms exhibit the status of interlocutors in China. They are not verbally used by Chinese speakers but they are taken from media texts during the Cultural Revolution in 1960s. Though they are outdated terms, they are not common in other varieties of English. This is somewhat considered a reflection of Chinese English. Similarly, Dissanayake and Nichter (1987: 114-115) state that Punyakate Wijenaike uses the respectful addressing forms in Sri Lankan English that are translated from Singhalese such as the one in my house (spoken by a husband of his wife) and the father of the children (by a wife of her husband) in novels The Waiting Earth (1966) and The Rebel (1979). The writer forms these terms which are common in Sri Lankan English as an indirect speech in order to leave the readers with appropriate contextual meaning and cultural understanding.
Referring to the studies above, writers of New Englishes utilise addressing and referencing terms in their vernacular because of a direct way of pinpointing a regional identity of the characters with everyday lexical items.

C. Loan translation

Loan translation refers to a word-by-word translation of the writer’s L1 items into English. It occurs when some collocations from non-native English cultures are translated into English. The first example appears in K.S Maniam’s *The Third Child* (1981), in which the collocation ‘fear-haunted nights’ is used instead of ‘nights of fear’, an evidence of transference of Tamil into Malaysian English. That is, the latter item is commonly found in a native variety of English (Velautham, 2000: 101). Another instance of Malaysian English collocation is ‘idol hall’ (an altar where deities are placed for worship) in Lee Kok Liang’s *Five Fingers* (1977). This word which disappears in other varieties of English is reflected in the writer’s conveyance of feeling and thinking peculiar to his cultural milieu in a Malaysian context (Seong, 1985: 69-70). Likewise, Wong (1992: 116-118) found a Chinese collocation translated into English ‘offer tea’ in Catherine Lim’s *Little Ironies: Stories of Singapore* (1978) – “…We will go to the temple and the temple elder will give us a proper blessing. Then I shall offer tea to your Second Aunt and Fourth Uncle...” (p. 36). This word means to serve tea to the elders and be accepted into the family. The effect of using this collocation is on the local and international readers’ awareness of a salient Chinese tradition. Its appearance in this text reinforces an emphasis of the *Chineseness* in Singapore English words. This phenomenon also happens in the Expanding Circle, especially in a Chinese English novella *In the Pond*. Some collocations of uniquely social and political Chinese are translated into English - “hot-water ticket, haircut fee, self-criticism, and propaganda work”. These collocations are, however, outdated due to their use during the Cultural
Revolution era in China (1960s-1970s) (Zhang, 2002:309). These words were apparent in English media texts in China rather than in the Chinese people’s daily use. However, these are through and through, Chinese English words as they are nowhere to be found in other varieties of English.

Apart from collocation, local words with denotative meanings of particular culture are directly translated into English due to the absence of their English equivalents in Standard English. This appears in the words ‘fighting fish’ (fish-biting), ‘fighting crickets’ (cricket-biting), and ‘subordinate mistresses’ (minor wives) in a Thai English autobiography My Boyhood in Siam, in which some vernaculars are literally translated into English. This is evident in the following extracts: “When Father was young, he must have been a mischievous lad, for he told us how he kept fighting fish, fighting cocks, and fighting crickets” (p.10) and “But she was a kind-hearted woman who never beat the subordinate mistresses. As a custom in the old time, a well-to-do Thai man had more than one wife...” (p.14). Although these words are used in more vernacular than in English in the present Thai society, they are unique to Thailand. This writer’s translated word enriches the ideology in a Thai English word (Watkhaolarm, 2005: 149). Likewise, Fernando (1989: 125) reveals that a novel Dream Time River (1984) by James Goonewardene contains many Sri Lankan English words translated from Singhalese such as “laundryman and religious amulet”. The former word is to differ from a Standard English word ‘laundry’ which implies a different social system of the South Asian washerman or dhobi. In the meantime, the latter word functions as a vital Buddhism term for Sri Lankan people. Hence, social class and religion are the main factors used by this writer to shape the two Sri Lankan English words.
The third aspect of loan translation is curse words in a certain culture. Zhang (2002: 307-308) presents some Chinese cursing words translated in English in the novella *In the Pond*. For example, the phrases ‘son of a turtle’ and ‘son of a rabbit’ are equal to ‘son of a bitch’, as in the following: ‘...He couldn’t help cursing Lui to himself, ‘Son of a tortoise, you’ve had a good apartment already, but you took a larger one this time. You’ve abused your power. This is unfair, unfair!’” (p.5). The use of this swear word achieves a comic effect in relation to the Chinese culture, resulting in the distinctiveness of a Chinese English word. Similarly, Lowry (1992: 288-289) portrays some Indian English cursing in Mulk Raj Anand’s *Untouchable*: “Oh, lover of your mother, you illegally begotten, and cock-eyed son of a bowlegged scorpion”. These words are literally translated from Hindustani and they appear in both narratives and dialogues. Their effect on the reader is of two ways – jarring as well as routine and meaninglessness. Indeed, these cursing words are not common in a native variety of English, thus they shed light on Indian identity in English.

Overall, several writers of new literatures create loan translation in English by considering connotative and denotative meanings of indigenous words. However, the reviewed loan translation’s structure seems to be based on the former form rather than the latter – idiomatic and rude expressions.

**D. Coinage**

Coinage refers to the process of inventing a new word that cannot be described by any existing word. Words are coined as language users cannot establish any connection between these words and any existing words. This creation may be taken from the names of people and places, or of trademarks for products. For example, a Standard English word ‘Dolby’ (a digital audio coding technique that reduces the
amount of data for producing high quality sound) is named after its inventor, American
engineer Ray M. Dolby. Likewise, a Singapore English word ‘Colgate’ is a trade name
for any toothpaste (Low and Brown, 2005: 71). Further, coinage can involve coining of
new words from vernaculars or in translation. For instance, the Nigerian English
coinages are ‘barb’ (barber) and ‘invitee’ (invite) (Bamgbose, 1983, as cited in Bamiro,
1991: 12).

In creative writing, Collins (1974: 169) presents a coinage ‘barbs’ from Amos
Tutuala’s My Life in the Bush of Ghosts – “The wanderer barbs the short ghosts on
barbing day...” This coinage is common to the local reader, so it is definitely a marker
of a Nigerian English word. Moreover, Wong (1992: 118-119) mentions a Singapore
English (SE) coinage ‘bungalow’ in the novel The Adventures of Holden. This word, a
borrowing from Indian origins into British English, refers to a single-story detached
house, usually in a holiday resort, but in SE it means any brick house (single or double-
story). Other examples are ‘kiasuism’ and ‘itchified’, which have been commonly used
by Singaporean people and writers. The first word surfaced during the colonial power
while the last two words emerged in the postcolonial period. These three words are
coined by the local people for everyday communication, so their effect on this literary
text goes beyond rhetoric, that is, a manifestation of Singapore English lexis.

Likewise, in a Pakistani English novel The Murder of Aziz Khan (1967) by
Zulfikar Ghose, the lexicon ‘sootability’ is coined from ‘suitability’. This writer
interests the local readers by pointing towards such a lexical deviant as a distinctive
literary device for the characterisation. Moreover, this coinage is also a reflection of
Pakistani people’s vowel mispronunciation, namely /u:/ . Thus, this coinage is part of
Pakistani English word (Rahman, 1990: 7). Similarly, a Philippine English coinage
'jolibee’ or a famous Filipino brand of fast food that is misspelled from the English word ‘Jollibee’ is seen in a Philippine English poem *DH Sunday, Hong Kong* (2001) by Isabela Banzon Mooney. This is illustrated in the following (Tope, 2009: 273-274):

“[...]  
I fix pinoy foods, hot like bachoy,  
very near to jolibee...  
Why I shame to be pinoy?  
[...]” (p.66)

The effect of this word is lending an interesting intertextuality to the poetic lines. In fact, this word is coined by Filipinos for differentiating from its Standard English form, so it contributes to the development of Philippine English. This coining strategy also occurs in a Hong Kong English novel *Nobel House* by James Clavell - “Joss! The round-eye barbarians are back”. The word ‘Joss’ was previously used as an exclamation in Hong Kong but it is not currently in common use. Indeed, this word is based on the local people’ mispronunciation of the Portuguese lexis ‘Deus’. This fiction was written in the early 1980s, thus such a coinage is now outdated. However, this coinage is considered a Hong Kong English word as it is formed by the mixture of English and Portuguese words (Vittachi, 2000: 410-411).

All the studies indicate that coinages in non-literary texts are based on Standard English words used for branding and advertising. Meanwhile, those in new literatures are of morphological changes of local and English languages. Both types of coinages are evident that they contribute to an emergence of non-native English lexicons.

**E. Semantic shift**

While coinage deals with new words that are based on either their existing segmental parts or indigenous linguistic elements, semantic shift concerns an extension of meaning in existing words in English according to non-native English cultures. In
Achebe’s *Anthills of the Savannah*, the following expression presents a semantic shift in African English: “But since my wife here is troubled, let us agree with her and do as she says” (p.29). The word ‘my wife’ in the Nigerian culture refers to not only the wife, but her extended family, and her village as well. This word is common among African English users. This implies that the kinship and community system helps to shape this Nigerian English lexis (Bamiro, 2006: 320). Another example emerges in Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* - “Drinkard explains that the spoiled beauty enamoured of the complete gentleman had refused totally to marry the suitor her father chose”. The word ‘totally’ is shifted from a sense of quantity to the feeling of the completeness and irreversibility of a decision. This achieves a rhetorical and pragmatic effect; this lexical novelty is created to differ from its Standard English form with the underlying meaning in an African context (Collins, 1974: 166). Likewise, in Es’ka Mphahlele’s *The Wanderers* (1971), the meaning of the word ‘mountains’ is extended to ‘mounted police’ regarding the South African culture as in the following (Kasanga, 2002: 190):

“It’s not possible to run away?” I asked.
“You couldn’t get far. You run into another farm or the dogs get you or if you try the main road they’re there to meet you. The mountains. They can get you anywhere.”
“The mountains? There are no mountains near here.”
“I mean the police on horses.” (p.109)

This writer realises that some South African English speakers like to use shortened forms of noun-noun or adjective-noun, thus the word ‘mountains’ is semantically changed because of a reduction of its full form, namely ‘mounted police’ (adjective-noun). Hence, this semantic extension is affected by a morphological process. In Malaysian English, semantic shifts are popular in the basilectal speech. An example from K.S. Maniam’s *In A Far Country* is “When I was older, I heard the estate clerk say… the salary was delayed because the Do had not okeyed they pay-out order” (p.75). This expression narrated by a less educated character indicates a morphological and semantic shift of the word ‘okayed’. It is changed from an adjective to a past
participle verb, and its meaning is altered into ‘satisfied’ (Cesarano, 2000: 50). This semantic shift is rhetorically invented because the local people have no practical use for such word. However, this semantic extension is not common in other varieties of English, thus it should be taken as part of Malaysian English words. In total, those African and Malaysian writers of English seem to reflect the way in which the local speakers (the characters) make new meanings for existing English words in relation to their underlying socio-cultural context.

F. Hybridisation

Hybridisation or compound formation refers to a lexical item which comprises two or more elements having at least one item from a local language and the other from English (Chutisilp, 1984: 141). Some instances of Thai English hybrid items in the autobiography My Boyhood in Siam are revealed such as pong grass, yang tree, bo tree, bamboo krang, koy tree, jampa flowers, sarika birds, black kawao (bird), and takraw ball (sport). This shows that items in Thai language can be incorporated into those in English. Such items are not actually used in Thais’ daily interaction, but they are identical to Thai culture. Meanwhile, a hybrid item in the following expression from the novel Until the Karma Ends: A Plot to Destroy Burma – “He, Sansak, and one of Sansak’s men have been following a farang couple around since last night” (p.100) – reflects its authentic use in the Thai society. The word ‘farang’ combined with an English item ‘couple’ has an effect on the local and foreign readers’ recognition of a very common Thai English lexicon (Watkhaoalarm, 2005: 150, 155).

Different from Thai English literature, Malaysian English literature provides hybridisation that attests to the local people’s use. Cesarano (2000: 43) reveals a hybrid item in ‘lalang-fringed path’ in The Return. Similarly, this novel also entails other
interesting hybridised items as found by Govendan (2001: 108) - ‘angsana tree’. Other examples emerge in Che Husna’s short stories such as ‘langsat yellow’ and ‘songket-fitting sessions’ from Pak De Samad’s Cinema, ‘send-a-a-Salam job’ and ‘pre-kaak times’ from Bunga Telur and Bally Shoes, and ‘biji-saga-red’ from Rambutan Orchard (Fadillah, 2000: 118). These Malay-English compounds are merged in the interaction of the Malaysian characters. Majority of these items are genuinely used by Malaysians in English, resulting in their attribution to Malaysian English.

Similarly, the following literatures contain hybridisation which mirrors New Englishes. In Nigerian English, Bamiro (2006: 318) analyses a compound in Achebe’s Anthills of the Savannah, that is, ‘jollof rice’ or a local delicacy in Nigeria. This particular word usage gives the reader a glimpse of the politics of class governing the Nigerian society. This word is a marker of high-class society as it is too expensive for commoners to buy. Further, the writer wants to present the way political and culinary factors affect the shaping of a Nigerian English word. Moreover, Rushdie’s The Satanic Verses provides hybrid words in Indian English – ‘mummyji’ and ‘lift-wallahs’ (Langeland, 1996: 20). Likewise, Khushwant Singh and Manohar Malgonkar create hybrid items in A Train to Pakistan and A Bend in the Gangs respectively. In the former, such words are “string charpoy and punkah breeze”. Meanwhile, the latter carries “tandoori chicken and chiraita juice” (Batra, 2000: 14). All these Indian-English hybridised items are culturally alien to non-Indian readers, but they are unique to the local readership. They appear in both spoken and written texts in English, so they reinforce the Indian identity in English.

All the studies indicate that Thai, Malaysian, Nigerian and Indian literary writers structure hybridisation with two types of modifiers – vernacular and English items – in
order to depict the way an indigenous linguistic unit is blended into English.

G. Reduplication

Reduplication represents some extra-meaning to the word or parts of words being repeated. In Standard English, this lexical strategy is used for imitating sound, ‘tick-tock of a clock’, for disparage by suggesting instability and vacillation, ‘goody-goody, dilly-dally’, and for intensifying, ‘tip-top’, for instance. However, in Singapore English, reduplication refers to repetition without any change in the vowels or consonant and follows roles in the sense of generalisation. Moreover, non-English words can be reduplicated such as the Malay word ‘agak agak’ (estimate) and the Cantonese word ‘tsip tsip’ (fold) (Low and Brown, 2005: 77-78).

In a Singapore English play Beauty World (1994) by Michael Chiang, instances of reduplications in English are found: ‘talk-talk-talk’ and ‘Okay, okay. Go, go, go!’ (Low and Brown, 2005: 191). Reduplicating such words calls the audiences’ attention to daily language patterns in Singapore English. This strategy also arises in the following Indian English poem Forward March (1999) by Sri Sri (Gargesh, 2006: 364):

Another another another world…
Yonder yonder yonder (p.16)

This reduplication intensifies the interest of the hearer in the Indian society.

Another instance of this strategy in Indian English is seen in Balraj Khanna’s novel Nation of Fools (1985) in which more adjectives than nouns are repeated as follows:

“Paro, they came. Tall, tall Musalmans on high high horses. They had sharp, sharp swords and long long lances. They laid down big big trees across the line and stopped the train and hacked everybody to pieces – three thousand men, women and children…blood, blood, blood” (p.127).

Reduplicating those monosyllabic adjectives provides the narration with a rhythm which in turn does not allow the hearer’s attention to slacken. This is indeed a
characteristic of spoken Indian English (Patil, 1994: 113). Hence, those two examples above imply that repetition of nouns, verbs and adjectives present the underlying structure of the Indian languages. This affects the way Indians use English words in parallel with their mother tongue’s speech style.

Likewise, a Thai English novel *Little Thing* (1973) by Prajuab Thirabutana exemplifies reduplication in English verbs and adjectives (Chutisilp, 1984: 144) below.

> “And to his surprise, he *ate and ate and ate* but he could not eat all the rice in that tiny basket…” (p.59)
> “I started to dream about walking in the street with *many, many* buildings on both sides, seeing myself in a *big, big* school…” (p.78).

Such repetition emphasises the continuation of an action and a feeling performed by the Thai characters. This lexical strategy is actually part of Thai language speech style, so this example comes across this Thai English writer’s thinking process.

Similarly, Gabriel Okara illustrates reduplication in his Nigerian English novel *The Voice* (1964) – “*with smile, smile* in his mouth, Okolo looked…(p.46)” (Nelson, 1988: 178). This is to interest the reader with a strategy the Nigerian character repeats an English verb to realise that the Nigerian people use this lexical style in their daily life.

Reduplication is common in both native and non-native English. However, the above instances are evident that reduplication in non-native English culture and literatures is distinctive in that local language speech patterns influence the creation of reduplicating words in English.
H. Acronyms

Acronyms are formed by taking the initial letter of each word to form a set. This lexical strategy serves as a convenient mode of spoken and written communication such as ‘TV’ (television) and ‘CD’ (compact disc). In World Englishes, acronyms in both vernacular and English are reinvented with reference to meaning in non-Anglo contexts. In Malaysian English ‘KIV’ is abbreviated from ‘Keep in view’ that is held for further consideration and ‘MC’ stands for ‘medical certificate’ used for sick leave (Tan and Azirah, 2007: 49). In Pakistani English newspapers, ‘CCI’ is initialised from ‘Chamber of Commerce and Industry’ (Morning News, 13 January 1991: 8/7); moreover, the term ‘d/o’ refers to ‘daughter of’ (Dawn, Lahore, 2 June 1990: 4/7) (Baumgardner, 1998: 225-226). In Hong Kong English, common acronyms are ‘SAR’ (Special Administrative Region), ‘ABC’ (an Australian/American-born Chinese), ‘BBC’ (a British-born Chinese) and ‘PLA’ (the People’s Liberation Army). The last one refers to the military of the Mainland China, which includes navy and air force (Cummings, 2007: 27-28; Bolton, 2002: 45-46). For non-English abbreviations, Japanese English is the unique representative. The word ‘NHK’ stands for *Nippon-Hoso Kyokai* or the national public television of Japan (Stanlaw, 1992: 186-187). Moreover, common Urdu abbreviations in Pakistani English newspapers also include Arabic expressions such as ‘SAW(S)’ (*Salalaho alehe wasalam* ‘Peace be upon him’) (the Nation, 25 May 1990: 4/6) (Baumgardner, 1998: 226). These examples are taken from non-literary texts. These acronyms are commonly heard in Malaysian, Pakistani and Hong Kong Englishes. Meanwhile, Japanese people rarely use spoken English in daily life but such an acronym from Japan spontaneously emerges in the interaction of Asian people in both English and mother tongue. This is because an Englishisation strategy contributes to the development of this Japanese English word.
In contrast, acronyms in contact literature are rarely found. Two items from a Ghanaian English novel *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1969) by Ayi Kwei Armah are ‘C.S.C.’ (Civil Service Commission) and ‘G.N.T.C.’ (Ghana National Trading Company). They are considered typical Ghanaian English abbreviations as they have been used by the local people. Hence, they are linguistic tools in this fiction used to depict the authentic words that enrich Ghanaian identity in English (Bamiro, 1997a: 108).

It is worth mentioning that acronyms in Asian Englishes are based more on English than indigenous items. It is difficult for the latter to be distinctively acronymic as the case of Japanese English due to the process of world media.

### I. Clipping

Clipping is a strategy of shortening a long word which contains one or more syllables for simple and informal communication. English lexicons provide three kinds of clipping. Firstly, *fore-clipping*, which is commonly used, involving words in which front segment is reduced - ‘photo’ (photograph). Secondly, *back-clipping* concerns words in which back segments are shortened - ‘phone’ (telephone). Thirdly, ‘mid-clipping’, a very rare strategy where the beginning and ending syllables of a word is omitted such as ‘flu’ (influenza) (Bauer, 1983: 233; Bamiro, 1997b: 102). In World Englishes, clipping of non-English words is also included once they are Englishised.

In contact literature, the first and second types of clipped words are found. In Singapore novel *The Adventures of Holden Heng*, only the former kind is given as follows (Wong, 1992: 141): (i) “…let us go to my bedroom. Got air-con there” (air-conditioner) (p.34); and (ii) “No, someone who was an old friend, adviser, therapist and
provider would not sabotage him…” (sabotage: means ‘to create trouble for someone’) (p. 121). The word ‘spekshen’ from ‘inspection’ is seen in *Harvest of Thorns* (1989) by Shimmer Chinodya - “‘Spekshen!’ a gruff voice barked” (p. 55). Although it shows misspelling, it is regarded as ‘clipping with phonological and lexical variation’ (Bamiro, 1997b: 103). Interestingly, clipped words in Trinbagonian English novels are marked by apostrophes such as the word ‘mas’ from ‘masquerade’ in *The Dragon Can’t Dance* (1979) by Earl Lovelace - “You don’t get tired playing the same mas’ every year?” (p.47). Similarly, the word ‘neighb’ (neighbour) is seen in *Crick Crack, Monkey* (1970) by Merle Hodge – “…we were to run over to Neighb’ Ramlaal-Wife…” (p.10) (Bamiro, 1997b: 185-186). This strategy also arises in a Malaysian English novel *Green is the Colour* (1993) by Lloyd Fernando. A Malay word ‘dik’ (adik) or younger sister (and brother) is found in the expression “…You don’t have to tell me, ’dik. I know…” (p. 156) (Puthucheary, 2009: 171). This strategy resembles code-mixing but it clips indigenous words. All instances of clipping are genuinely taken from common words in informal speech of Singapore English, Zimbabwean English, Trinbagonian English, and Malaysian English respectively.

New Englishes writers point towards clipping due to its pragmatic effect – readers are encouraged to explore the way interlocutors (the characters) in dialogues are assumed to understand reduced words that are unique to a non-Anglo culture. Referring to those studies, these authors seem to clip English words rather than their local ones in order to present their divergence from clipping in British/American English words.

**J. Ellipsis**

Similar to clipping, ellipsis is created to shorten a long word. The back segment of a word is omitted; the front part is left. However, it is distinct that it is used for a
compound word or a long string of phrases. Indeed, ellipsis is a strategy of linguistic cohesion that reduces output by deleting a material in which the speaker assumes the hearer can understand from the linguistic or interaction context. In African English, ellipsis sometimes concerns the omission of the compulsory headword in the nominal group structure while the modifiers remain as the focus of the sentence. Some instances from Nigerian English are ‘environmental’ (environmental sanitation day), ‘video’ (video cassette recorder), and ‘luxurious’ (luxurious bus) (Bamiro, 1994: 14). In literary texts, clipping emerges in a Zimbabwean English novel ‘Nervous Conditions’ (1989) – “I hear she is keeping it up there in the secondary” (p. 100) (secondary school) (Bamiro, 1997b: 102-103). Likewise, Trinbagonian English novels also contain ellipsis. In V.S. Naipaul’s A House for Mr. Biswas (1961), the word ‘galvanize’ is elliptical from ‘galvanized iron roof’ – “Ma…barricaded into the darkened house with the rain drumming on the galvanize” (p.259). Furthermore, in Sam Selvon’s The Lonely Londoners (1956), the word ‘railway’ is an ellipsis of ‘railway station’ – “…the employment exchange send Cap to a railway to get a storekeeping work for seven pounds” (p. 51) (Bamiro, 1997b: 185-186). It is noticeable that these elliptical words are not fictional but authentic in African and Caribbean Englishes. They are presented to the local readers in order to pay special attention to the way their lexical innovation in English supports their locality. As a whole, compared to other lexical strategies, ellipsis appears in the least studies in World Englishes.

4.1.2 Studies on Discourse Creativity

Non-native English writers highlight six types of discourse creativity in contact literature - nativisation of context, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, code-mixing and code-switching, the colloquial variety of English, and
discourse styles. These linguistic devices are used for supporting an emergence of discourse patterns in World Englishes.

**A. Nativisation of context**

Contextual nativisation refers to the presupposition of the historical and cultural background of Asian and African traditions located in contact literary texts in divergence from the tradition of native English literatures which are Jewish-Christian based (Kachru, 1987: 131-132). This firstly appears in Malaysian English literature in which historical and cultural presuppositions can be based on not only Malay, Chinese, and Indian traditions but also the other ethnics like Eurasians, Dayaks, Ibans, etc. Evidently, a novel *Scorpion Orchid* (1976) by Fernando Llyod presents Hikayat Abdullah and Pelayaran Abdullah as the historical background in English as follows (Fadillah, 2000: 114-116):

“The migrations of Hang Mahmud, his wife and the child Hang Tuah from bentan, the importance of trade and commerce even in those early days, the association of Malay chiefs with Chinese Kapitans, the physical dangers of life then, etc.”

The nativisation of such myth differentiates Malaysian English writing from British/American writings. That is, the contexts of ethnicity and history contribute to the development of literary discourses in Malaysian English. Likewise, particular events and characters in Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* (1963) are presupposed by the context of the Sanskrit literature *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* as in the following excerpt (Kachru, 1992c: 236-237):

“It today”, he says, “it will be the story of Siva and Parvati.” And Parvati in penance becomes the country and Siva becomes heaven knows what! “Siva is the three-eyed,” he says,…Never had we hear Harikathas like this…”

The nativisation of such classical literary context enhances the non-native literary tradition of Indian English writing. Indeed, Sanskrit language and literature are used to foreground the shaping of Indian English discourse patterns. Similarly, the
characterisation and settings in a novel *The Map of Love* are presupposed by the colonial and historical contexts of the Egyptian and Arab cultures. For instance, two characters, *Abuzeid* and *Antar*, are depicted with unusual heroics in popular Arabic folklore. Other allusions appear in modern history on the Palestine and Arab-Israeli conflict as well as political and economic events regarding the British Colonisation (Albakry and Hancock, 2008: 227-228). Such background lively portrays the non-Anglo convention of this Egyptian English writing; literary discourses in Egyptian English are developed via the contexts of the Arab culture and the British dominance. All three studies show that the English language is shaped by the presuppositions of Asian and African socio-cultural, historical, literary, and folkloric backgrounds for inventing new contexts in contact literature.

**B. Nativisation of rhetorical strategies**

The nativisation of rhetorical strategies refers to linguistic devices bilingual writers use in their writing in difference from native English writers’ strategies. This notion involves the following five aspects of literary styles (Kachru, 1987: 132-133):

First, *the use of native similes and metaphors* concerns translation of the writer’s local similes and metaphors into English sentences. In a Sri Lankan English personal memoir *Relative Merits* by James Goonewardene, a Singhalese simile on the *somana* (ceremonial cloth word by officials in early times) is translated in the English sentence “…like the intricately printed ceremonial somana body-cloth of some ancestor that lay folded behind glass in a calamander-wood cabinet in the drawing room, they were not for everyday use” (p.1). This simile is derived from Sri Lankans’ folklore, namely the notion of ‘somana’ as an art treasure, and it is elaborated with a literary imagination to interest the reader. Hence, this rhetorical nativisation embellishes the
distinctiveness of Sri Lankan English discourse patterns (Fernando, 1989: 128). Likewise, Nelson (1988: 175-176) exemplifies nativised African similes in Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* (1958) – “…the drums beat and flutes sang and the spectators held their breath. Amalinze was a wily craftsman, but **Okokwo was a slippery as a fish in water**” (p.7). Here, the wrestler is compared to ‘a fish in water’. This simile is translated from its Igbo expression. Fish is crucial to an African way of life, so it is used as an element for characterising an African. This is embedded in this African English figurative language. In terms of metaphor, an example from a Thai English short story *Father* from *Tales from Thailand* (1996) by Pira Sudham is “I make money from fools”. It is an ontological metaphor; ‘father’ does not produce or print money. ‘Making money’ means here ‘earning money’ (Dingemanse, 2002: 46). The phrase ‘make money’ is used more than ‘earn money’ by Thais in both English and vernacular. This writer utilises this expression matched with a Thai metaphor to portray the protagonist’ sensitivity. This metaphor can be attributed to a Thai English rhetorical pattern. Moreover, another type of metaphor is ‘animalistic’, as found in the following Indian English novel *The Private Life of an Indian Prince* by Hari Shankar (Patil, 1994: 192).

> ‘I do not know about the right path, Highness,’ I said,...
> ‘Only asses slip!’ he said.
> ‘Han, of course, obstinate mules can negotiate their way through the khuds! I said ironically.
> ‘I am not a eunuch of a mule!’ he protested…
> ‘All right, Highness, you are a high-mettled horse!’

The Prince (the tenor of the metaphor) is described in an animalistic term (the vehicle of the metaphor) as he notices some likeliness between the tenor and the vehicle. This Prince is characterised as a mule that is compared to a high-mettled horse with regard to the Indian culture. This animalistic metaphor is common in Indian English.
Second, the transfer of rhetorical devices for ‘personalising’ speech interaction is evident in religious texts and epics that speak of gods and goddesses in which past and present events are linked to serve the non-Anglo cultural roots. Examples of godly speech patterns are “our people have a saying”, “as our people say”, and “it was our fathers who said”. This also enhances the sense of orality of the discourse. Moreover, this rhetorical device affects the mood of the text. For example, in a religious text, when gods and goddesses are referred to, the mood of the writing can be transformed to achieve a reverent tone (Kachru, 1986: 167, as cited in Velautham, 2000: 67-68). This strategy is seen in K.S. Maniam’s The Eagles (1976) - “The day the Old Man of the town died a steady rain washed the sky clean” (p.20). This Malaysian English godly expression links the past event with the death of a village elder that occurred some time ago. Here, the writer conveys philosophy and religion in particular death, to create a rhetorical device that personalises a speech interaction between members of the same community. This also shows a strong sense of tradition and orality to the Tamil Malaysian English discourse; this writing implies a death of an elder that is upheld and revered in an almost god-like fashion (Velautham, 2000: 86-87). Similarly, Raja Rao’s The Serpent and the Rope (1960) and The Cat and Shakespeare (1965) probe the nature of reality. The godly speech patterns are “I do not believe that death is”, “God after all is”, and “So, what is real ever is” (Parthasarathy, 1987: 164). This indicates philosophy and religion as devices to personalise the writer’s speech in order to culturally root in a specific culture (in this case, South Asia). Those expressions conform to the Hinduism and Indian culture, so they manifest Indian English.

Third, the transcreation of proverbs and idioms involves translation of the writer’s local proverbs and idioms into English. In a novel Little Thing, Thai proverbs are translated in English like “If you want to get rich, plant fruits. If you want to be in
trouble, guarantee people...” (p.75) (Chutisilp, 1984: 135-136). These proverbs imply a Buddhist way of life. Likewise, Urdu and Gujrati proverbs and idioms in Islam are translated in a Pakistani English novel The Crow Eaters (1980) by Babsi Sidhwa - “May God grant you son at His earliest convenience” and “The baby has fallen upon his father” (The baby has taken after his father or resembles his father) (Sidhwa, 1993: 218). These examples indicate that Thai English and Pakistani English proverbs and idioms are shaped by the religion of the dominant users.

Fourth, the use of culturally dependent speech styles refers to “naïve tall-tale style” in narrative with regard to the earthy folk style (Kachru, 1986: 168). This appears in the Nigerian literary convention. Achebe’s Arrow of God describes an Ibo atmosphere with superstitions and folk beliefs as in the following example (Adetugbo, 1971: 178):

“The night was very quiet. It was always quiet except on moonlight nights. Darkness held a vague for these people, even the bravest among them. Children were warned not to whistle at night for fear of evil spirits. Dangerous animals became even more sinister and uncanny in the dark...”

This folk style senses horror with regard to the African culture that disappears in the Anglo-culture. It thus represents a Nigerian English literary discourse. Another aspect of culturally dependent speech styles is ‘indirectness’, a means of hinting, paraphrasing, and representing a character’s hidden feelings in a cultural norm. The indirectness strategy is frequently found in Maniam’s In A Far Country that hints at interracial problems in colonial Malaya in the following example:
“The people who had come from India, cursing its poverty, now saw in their hunger-filled dreams a motherland flowing with milk and money… So they cursed this land (i.e. Malaya), its heat, its rains, its not giving them work to earn the money for their food. And the people who ruled the country too saw them as a burden that must be removed. And war was approaching in the white man’s land and the Japanese were also becoming war-like” (p.105).

The writer indirectly tells the readers who “the people who ruled the country” is and what “the white man’s land” is to avoid biases (Cesarano, 2000: 76-78). This is regarded as uniquely Malaysian English speech style. Besides, the indirectness strategy parallels the notion of politeness. Valentine (1992: 263-264) states that the term ‘culturally dependent speech style’ refers to thought patterns in a local language and culture influencing L2 discourse structure. The Western line of speech patterns is straightforward but the Eastern line is digressive or indirect. Thus, the native English speakers feel confused with the spoken discourse of Asian and African speakers which lacks unity. The Eastern way of speech acts is found in a dialogue of an African English novel Efuru (1966) by Flora Nwapa Valentine below.

‘Is that you, my friend?’ the woman asked from within.
‘Yes, Ugwunwa,’ she greeted her.
‘O o, and what is yours? I have forgotten it’
‘Yes, Omeifeaku. And how is everybody in your home?’
‘They are well, and yours?’… (pp.12-13).

In this discourse, the African norm of politeness is mirrored in the over-extended conventional greetings before a plain talk. This uniquely marks an African identity in English.

Last, the use of syntactic devices as an enhancement of the naïve tall-tale style appears in certain rhetorical questions and stereotypical sentences in non-Anglo literary tradition. This style is made for investigating the attention of the participants and for increasing an interest and liveliness of the story. In The Palm-Wine Drinker, certain sentences in African traditional tales use to arouse the readers’ suspicion are: “This
was how I got a wife”, “That was how we were saved from the long white creatures” (p.43), and “This was the end of the story of the bad which I carried from the bush to the ‘wrong town’” (p.95). These expressions of etiological tales and closing formulas are widely used in the West African oral literary convention. They embellish the African discourses in English (Lindfors, 1973: 54-55).

C. Nativisation of mantra

The notion of mantra refers to messages or mediums that represent socio-political as well as philosophical and spiritual identities constructed in literary works of non-native Englishes of Anglophone Asian region. In English narratives, mantra occurs in expressions of sacred texts in classical languages – Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian; these language patterns are nativised in English. This causes the textual hybridity between an indigenous culture and language as well as English, resulting in the linguistic distinctiveness of contact literature (Kachru, 2003). From this concept, instances of mantra are apparent in Asian literatures in English rather than other literatures of Englishes because this notion is constructed with reference to ‘Anglophone Asian countries’. Indian English writings outstandingly show this evidence. In Raja Rao’s the Serpent and the Rope, many Sanskrit quotations are from Sankaracharya’s advaitic hymns. Transliterated Sanskrit messages are also translated in English in this literary text. The following example shows the protagonist ‘Ramaswamy’ expressing Sanskrit for the sense of alienation from the world at the end of this novel (Narayan, 1983: 12):

\[\text{Kashwam koham kutha ayatha ka me janani ko me tatah?} \]
\[\text{Who are you and whose; whence have you come? (p.407)} \]

Another instance of this novel is raised by Parthasarathy (1987: 163-164), who quotes Sanskritised English from the classical poets \textit{Kalidas} (5\textsuperscript{th} century AD) and
Bahvabhuti (8th century AD) and from the devotional hymns of Sankara. This appears in the scene where Ramaswamy cannot freely tell his wife, Madeleine, his hopelessness, so he addresses the following expressions in Sanskrit that parallel Bhavhuti’s Uttararamacarita (Rama’s later history) to draw her attention:

“ekah sam prati nasitapriyatamastamadya ramah katham / papah pancavat im vilokayatuva gacchatvasambhavayava//”
(Alone, now, after being the cause of the loss of his dear (wife), how should Rama, sinful as he is, visit that very same Pancavati, or how pass on regardless of it, p.326).

These two studies are similar. Sanskritised expressions are translated in English for the readers without this language background. They are not ritualistic mantra but they present the hybridity of the Hindu culture and English language as well as the philosophical identity in Indian English literature which disappear in Anglo-English writings. Raja Rao wisely uses the expression of mantra in Sanskrit language as a marker of Indian English literary discourses. Both mantra and Sanskrit language are considered a paired legacy of the Indian culture, thus they reinforce the development of discourse patterns in Indian English.

D. Code-mixing and code-switching

Code-mixing (CM) and code-switching (CS) are a result of linguistic contact in which two or more languages are used in the same conversation. According to Bokamba (1989: 278, as cited in Ge, 2007: 10-11), CM occurs at the intra-sentential level. Several linguistic units - affixes, words, phrases, and clauses - are embedded from two different grammatical (sub-) systems within the same sentence and speech event. CS occurs at the inter-sentential level. CS requires an alteration from a language to another with the production of full clauses in each language (Bullock and Toribio, 2009: 3). This is found in the following excerpt of the novel The Map of Love, in which Arabic expressions are switched into English (Albakry and Hancok, 2008: 228):
“Again?, I say. ‘Again, ya Tahiyya?’ ‘By God, I never wanted to’, she protests” (pp.76-77).
“Ya akhi (no my brother), says Mahgoub. No. The pieties speak against killing and bombing. It all comes back to economics” (p.226).

This switching seems not to confuse the readers who do not share Arabic language and the Egyptian culture since self-translation in English is bracketed. On the one hand, Raja Rao’s The Chessmaster and His Moves does not incorporate translation into the code-switching of English and French, as in the following (Kachru, 1992c: 242-243):

“Ca va?” answers Jayalakshmi, adjusting her necklace.
“Est-ce qu’on va le trouver aujourd’hui? he continues,..”

This style is also seen in the code-mixing of Swahili in a Kenyan English novella Without Kiinua Mgongo (1989) by David Maillu below (Kurtz and Kurtz, 1998: 67):

“Mwangangi, being a Mkamba, mwana wa Kulatya, was in his forties. Mtu shortish, large-chested labda because of pondaring chakula kiruri…”

The above code-mixing seems to confuse the readers without Swahili background. However, Patke and Holden (2010: 38) found particular poetry in which mixed non-English items are translated to help the readers. In a Singapore English poem titled Ahmad (1950) by Wang Gungwa, translation is bracketed as in the following:

“Thoughts of Camford fading,          (portmanteau: Cambridge/Oxford)
Contentment creeping in;
Allah has been kind;
Orang puteh has been kind.          (Malay: white man)
Only yesterday his brother said,
Can get lagi satu wife, lah!”          (Malay: one more)  (p.13)

Similarly, a Philippine English poem What Shall We Do with Lily (2009) by Isabela Banzon incorporates clues into their code-mixing as in the following:

“but what shall we do with Lily?
X means kiss, secret is rahasia,
entah, I don’t know, mungkin, maybe
and you on the ferry heading back to the office.” (p.48)

Rhetorically, translation, clues, and non-translation are important strategies in code-mixing and code-switching that challenge writers and to attract the readers at the
same time. Pragmatically, all examples above are feasible and realistic. Some educated Egyptians may switch from Arabic into English in conversations. Due to the notion of multilingualism in India, the switching of more than two local languages among Indians is also obvious. This similarly occurs in Kenya, Singapore and the Philippines where indigenous languages are mixed by the people for spontaneous communications in English. Therefore, these extracts are reflected in the emerging African and Asian varieties of English.

E. Colloquial variety of English

Colloquial variety of English refers to expressions that are indicative of non-standard English or those used by uneducated people. This style has been used in new literatures as it reflects the reality of simplified English grammar structure of spoken discourse and of discourse particles by the characters. It is firstly seen in broken Singapore English uttered by the character ‘taxi driver’ in Catherine Lim’s *The Taximan’s Story* (1978) below (Wood, 1990: 278).

“Yes, madam, quite big family – eight children, six sons, two daughters. Big family! Ha! Ha! No good, madam. In these days, where got Family Planning in Singapore? People born many, many children, every year, one child…” (p.76)

This Singlish expression carries many ungrammatical forms, but it mirrors an easy strategy used by a lower-class English speaker in Singapore. Similarly, a South African Indian English play *The Lahnee’s Pleasure* by Ronnie Govender portrays the character’s broken-English speech as in the following (Mesthrie, 2005: 316-317):

“Mothie: ...Can’t see one girl with one eyes. That time boys must dance girls part…Everybody looking for us to start the wedding joll…” (Act1, p.7)

This use of English is reasonable as it conforms to the norms of working-class people in South Africa. The concept of ‘broken English’ as a colloquial variety can be supported by the use of discourse particles. Lowenberg (1992), Patke and Holden
(2010), and Azirah (2007) show similar results of analysing the use of common particles in Malaysian and Singaporean English conversation and literatures as follows:

“Also ah, if you go post office that clerk at the post office can see me. He’s a joker, so sure to tell my father I send love letters. But still try lah!”
(Sew Yue Killingley, “Everything’s arranged”. In Fernando (1968:195-205)

“…Ya-lah, the boy so big now, grown-up already,…. Yah, rascal-lah dia. All right, give me regards to your mother, eh,…” (Stella Kon’s play Emily of Emerald Hill, 1984)

“Daddy you’re too old-lah”
Come on-lah Meriam we can’t let them win!
I’m a grandmother-lah, you know?” (A New Year’s Day in Kia Peng, 1993)

The particles “lah, ah, ya-lah, yah, and eh” have been used informally among Malaysians and Singaporeans in English conversations. The most stereotypical features are ‘lah’ (assertive) and ‘ah’ (tentative) (Gupta, 2000: 9). These particles occur in parallel with both correct and incorrect English forms. However, the latter form seems to be more outstanding, especially its use in new English literature. Thus, the above particles stand out as they are linguistic devices used by many Singaporean and Malaysian writers as a reflection of the way local characters use English.

Those extracts simulate daily English uses by South African Indians, Malaysians and Singaporeans. Nevertheless, certain expressions of incorrect English and discourse particles are authentically used by those non-native English speakers, thus they indicate the way these African and Asian colloquial varieties of English are shaped.

F. Discourse styles

Discourse styles involve literary styles of a culture regarded as stylistic ornamentation in a writer’s national literature, but used as a discourse strategy in new English literature such as a long sentence, wordiness, and orthographic system.
The long sentence style concerns non-connected sentences which seem to lack coherence but contain a range of clausal and sentential modification (Chutisilp, 1984: 163). This is a deviation but it exhibits an extra-linguistic effect in this literature. This is found in the following excerpt from Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* (Mehrotra, 1989: 427):

“But he has disappeared into the bamboo bush; and Paria Siddayya, who has been in these estates for ten years and more, says never mind, and explains that cobras never harm anyone unless you poke your fuel chip at them; and seating himself on a fallen log, he tells you about the *dasara havu* that is so clever that he got into the Sahib’s drawer and lay there curled up, and how, the other day, when the Sahib goes to the bathrooms, a lamp in his hand, and opens the drawer to take out some soap, what does he see but our Maharaja nice and clean and shining with his eyes glittering in the lamplight, and the Sahib, he closes the drawer as calmly as a prince; but by the time he is back with his pistol, our Maharaja has given him the slip (Raja Rao, 1974: 69).”

This sentence carries ten occurrences of the conjunction ‘and’ and other linkers. Its embedded clauses are evidence of the Indians’ indigenous, thought patterns of quick thinking, talking, and moving on English writing. This style often happens in Indian English literature. In fact, Indians orally express in long and continual sentences in both vernacular and English, thus this instance rightly serves as a marker of Indian English discourse patterns.

Similarly, a Nigerian English novel *Bush of Ghosts* by Tutuala contains a long sentence as in the extract below (Kachru, 1983a: 41, as cited in Chutisilp, 1984: 165).

“When he tried all his power for several times and failed and again at the moment the smell of the gun-powder of the enemies’ guns which were shooting repeatedly was rushing to our noses by the breeze and this made us fear more, so my brother lifted me again very short distance, but when I saw that he was falling several times, then I told him to leave me on the road and run away for his life perhaps he might be safe so that he would be taking care of our mother as she had no other sons more than both of us and I told him that if God saves my life too then we should meet again, but if God does not save my life we should meet in Heaven’ (p.20).

This sentence is not linked by ‘and’ as many as in Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* since other linkers are also used. It is more coherently organised than the previous one, but it shows the writer’s Yoruba English writing style which breaks the Western norm of punctuation and prose rhythm. Overall, those long sentences are due to the use of
various discourse devices for the characters’ thought connections.

Wordiness or redundancy is accepted as an elegant style in Thai English as it provides a writer with a chance to extravagantly use words for elaborating on a certain topic before describing it. An example from the novel Little Things is given below (Chutislip, 1984: 173-174).

“If Mr. J.C. Nield had not kept on steadily stirring me up like the villagers kept stirring their torches to keep them alight, by now what you have in your hands now would be in the waste basket long time ago.” (p.8)

This excerpt is wordy. The writer uses a simile, repetition, and metaphor via many extravagant words before getting into the main point. Note that the central topic should be “If Mr. J.C had not been stirring me, you would not have thrown something in the waste basket”. Nevertheless, this modified expression sounds Standard English, thus it does not mark a cognitive process of the Thai people in English. Therefore, the remaining expression in the extract presents more the Thai English discourse patterns.

Likewise, Goonetilleke (1990: 337-338) analyses wordiness in a Sri Lankan English poem Nallur (1982) by Jean Arasanayagam as in the following excerpt:

“It’s there
beneath the fallen fronds dry       crackling
pile of broken twigs, abandoned wells of brackish
water lonely dunes
It’s there
the shadows of long bodies shrunk in death
the leeching sun has drunk their blood and
bloated swells among the piling clouds
It’s there
death,
smell in the air
Its odour rank with sun and thickening blood
mingling with fragrance from the frothy toddy
pots swinging like lolling heads from
blackened gibbets.”

This poem embodies wordiness. The expressions like ‘It’s there’, ‘death’, and ‘blood’ are repeated. The poet also uses many words about ‘scary situations’ to describe
‘death’. This style stresses a thematic creativity - a civil war in northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. The sentence ‘It’s there’ represents the location of the war while the words ‘death’ and ‘blood’ are an effect. These poetic expressions are thus formed in Standard English but have a voice that articulates Sri Lankan identity and sensitivity.

Furthermore, Wylie (1991: 49) reveals that a Zimbabwean English writer Chenjaerai Hoves utilises a wordy style in a novella ‘Bones’ (1988) as shown below.

“I keep my mouth closed. Nothing beats a closed mouth, nothing. A closed mouth is a cave in which to hide. So I hide there so Manyepo does not see too much in my mouth. Many people have killed themselves because they are loud-mouthed. A loud mouth is a big trap. It can even kill lions. It burns forests. Did our people not say the tongue is a little flame which burns forests?” (35-36).

This text displays the writer’s local literary style of the Shona-ness. The reason why ‘I keep my mouth closed’, a topic sentence, is detailed with many repeated expressions of idiomatic metaphor and noun phrases that imply the words ‘mouth’ and ‘speaking’. Using wordiness is acceptable in Shona, a vernacular of Zimbabweans, so this influences such written discourse in English by this Zimbabwean writer. That is, wordiness manifests Zimbabwean English discourse patterns.

In brief, figurative language - similes and metaphor - becomes an important lubricant for wordiness in Thai, Sri Lankan, and Zimbabwean English writings.

The orthographic system of non-native English literature is utilised as a discourse style as it represents the writer’s indigenous linguistic realisation of thought patterns influencing English paragraph structure and writing convention. The first example is derived from the Palm-Wine Drankard, in which conventional orthography in Yoruba is grounded (Afolayan, 1971: 52).
“When we completed the period of three months there for treatment my wife was very well, but as I was roaming about in that bush in search of animals, there I discovered an old cutlass which had had its wooden handle eaten off by insects, then I took it and coiled it round with the string of a palm-tree, then I sharpened it on a hard ground, because there was no stone, and cut a strong and slender stick and then bent it in form of a bow and sharpened many small sticks as arrows, so I was defending ourselves with it” (p. 64).

In this Nigerian English literary text, several sentences are connected into a single orthographic structure. This also exhibits the way the writer keeps English language close to writing convention in Yoruba. Likewise, a Malaysian poet Salleh Ben Joned adapts Malay verse form of the ‘pantun’ into an English poem ‘Adam’s Dream’ (2007). This poetic convention is an oral form based on abab verse, in which the two couples relate to one another in complementary fashion, with the poem varying in length from four to twelve lines. An example is given below.

What makes the parrot a very queer bird?
Its talent to mimic and its hooked bill.
What makes the shrill patriot a cringing turd?
Because he has the brain of a mandrill.
[...] (p.105)

This poem conveys a controversial case of the imprisonment in 1999 of Anwar Ibrahim, the then deputy prime minister of Malaysia, but its form stands out as English is adjusted to suit the Malay literary tradition (Patke and Holden, 2010: 178).

The above instances of the African and Malaysian English literary convention stand out in that they present novel discourse patterns in World Englishes. All studies mentioned imply a large research gap between the Outer and Expanding Circles. Research studies analysing linguistic creativity in contact literature in the Outer Circle have a higher proportion to the Expanding Circle. In the Outer Circle, contact literatures are of several contexts: Singaporean, Malaysian, Indian, Sri Lankan, Philippine, Hong Kong, Pakistani, South African, Nigerian, Kenyan, Zimbabwean, Ghanaian, and Trinbagonian. Meanwhile, those in the Expanding Circle are based on the Thai,
Chinese, and Egyptian contexts. In this circle, three of five belong to Thai English literature. Nevertheless, most studies in the two circles shed light on the shaping of New Englishes lexicons and discourses. Overall, many aspects of lexical and stylistic innovations found in those new English writings will be useful for an insight into those that will be examined in the Thai context in this study.

4.2 Studies in Thai English

Former studies in Thai English with respect to six perspectives – spoken discourse, written discourse, lexis, grammar, Tinglish as well as model and standard – are reviewed as a depiction for linguistic characteristics of this new variety.

Research on spoken discourse includes oral communication and phonological features. Firstly, Sukwiwat (1983) shows that a Thai variety of English is still not well defined, but some utterances can be viewed as the cultural uniqueness of Thai English. Her study reveals that twelve Thais in Honolulu, Hawaii and two Thais in Bangkok adapt similar Thai cultural elements when speaking English with foreigners. For instance, their offer of a suggestion to their supervisors shows consideration as in “I would like to present you the best publications for our library”. Senawong (1999: 24) has a similar view on consideration via the following selected utterances:

A: You didn’t go, didn’t you?
B: Yes, I didn’t go. (literally)

The underlined expression violates the English semantic rules. However, Thais usually respond to all question types with ‘yes’ as they feel they are being rude if the addressee’s offers are rejected. Hence, the notion of consideration from the above expression also implies a range of politeness. Similarly, certain interrogatives - Would
you…?, Could you…?, and Why don’t you …? – are often uttered by Thais when speaking with foreigners to show consideration. These two studies show that the notion of consideration in the Thai culture affects the grammatical and semantic structure of spoken communications in English.

Lekwilai (2006) found that Thai grammar affects a story narrated by Thai university students majoring in English, as compared to native British and American English speakers. The Thai students provide three distinctive features – (i) the frequent use of the past tense in narratives; (ii) the interchangeable use of the present and past tenses; and (iii) the higher amount of time phrases and the temporal conjunctions than those of the native speakers. Indeed, the notion of tense and time is absent in Thai grammar, so the students cannot link it to their structure of oral English discourses. When verbally expressing in English, they somewhat worry about the correct use of tense and time in English for past situations in narratives. Nevertheless, those three characteristics are considered indicators for a Thai English spoken discourse.

Thais speaking English with incorrect grammar but with the understandable content can also reflect Thai English. Mayuree Sukwiwat, a pioneer researcher of Thai English who was interviewed by Sawangwaroros and Sanguanruang (1984: 100), claims that Thais speaking without strong English grammar should not be considered a controversy if their Thai English utterances are understood by their interlocutors. This also parallels Rattanapruek’s view (1984: 23) that English by Thai speakers may become either near-native or identify with a Thai variety of English if it is comprehended by their listeners.
With reference to studies by Sukwiwat (1983), Sawangwaroros and Sanguanruang (1984), and Lekwilai (2006), a sociolinguistic influence of Thai structure seems to be the main factor foreigners need to interpret a Thai variety of English. This will lead to the distinctive term ‘Thai English’. However, the above views of Senawong (1999) and Rattanapruek (1984) are not clear enough to identify this variety. From the overall studies, it could be said that oral communication patterns in Thai English involve the notions of politeness, grammaticality and understandable content.

In the same token, particular studies agree that the phonological features of Thai English are based on L1 interference. Smalley (1994: 19) states that Thai English speakers change most syllable-final English consonants to ones which are similarly expressed in Thai, so that Standard English [s] often becomes [t] at the end of a syllable. Moreover, Standard English final consonant clusters are reduced to a single consonant, so that Standard English washed [waːt] becomes [wát]. Stress is also added to many English weak-stressed syllables, and English intonation is eliminated, so that the rhythm of the sentence is Thai. Further, Tsukada (2008) found that 15 native Thai speakers living in Australia for 3.2 years and six native Australian speakers similarly produced their vowel quality for four English monophthongs, namely /i, æ, u, ɑ/. However, the Thai speakers pronounce two diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ in divergence to the Australian English speakers. That is, the production of English diphthongs by the Thai speakers resembles that of Southeast Asian speakers of English. It is noticeable that Thai monophthongs influence their articulation of English monophthongs; the two English diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ are produced with the long vowels /eː/ and /oː/ in their mother tongue. This feature is considered a uniqueness of Thai English phonology. Likewise, Sarmah et al. (2009) reveal that a group of 12 Thai English speakers currently living in
the United States have Thai English stress distinct from American and British English speakers; the Thai speakers merged the two vowels /i:/ and /i/. Moreover, these Thai speakers produce the front vowels similar to their Thai vowels but different from Singapore and Hong Kong English speakers who merge many of the diphthong vowels. Although the rhythm of Thai English far more closely resembles that of British English than does Singapore English, the vowel systems of Thai English are similar to Singapore and Hong Kong English due to the mother tongue influence. Different from Tsukada (2008) and Sarmah et al. (2009), Pillai and Salaemae (2012) investigated the production of English monophtong vowels of 15 pre-university Thai students who have never been overseas. It appears that Thai monophthongs influence these speakers’ production of the English monophthongs. In other words, Thai speakers maintain their length contrast between vowel pairs /i:/, /e/, /u:/, /ɔ:/ and /æ/, especially the vowels /e/ and /æ/ which are obvious due to their equivalent in Thai vowels. This is dissimilar to other Southeast Asian English speakers whose the pronunciation of such monophthongs is not distinguished. Hence, this feature contributes to an emergence of Thai English phonology. Unlike studies by Tsukada (2008), Sarmah et al. (2009), and Pillai and Salaemae (2012), Sripracha (2005) focuses on the way Thai students’ pronunciation of English consonants affects an intercultural communication. It was found that three phonetic features of Thai English by 10 Thai students at Chulalongkorn University caused the intelligibility failure of 10 Singaporean students at National University of Singapore. They are replacement of [w] for [v]; replacement of [tʃ] for [ʃ]; and dentalisation of [d] substituting for [ð]. However, these features are minimal factors of intelligibility; Thai English and Singaporean English speakers understand each other at the moderate level. Overall, these five studies manifest Thai English phonology.
Research on written discourse displays more agreements than bias toward Thai English. First of all, Chutisilp (1984) analyses features of Thai English in both literary and non-literary texts in Thai and English by Thai authors and translators. Only one novel written in English is used – ‘Little Things’. With the use of the Firthian framework of context of situation (1957) and her own approach ‘formal and functional characteristics of Thai English’, the findings are (i) transfer such as that of the notions of superiority and inferiority; (ii) translation, e.g. ‘meaty face’; (iii) shifts, e.g. ‘itching weeds’; (iv) lexical borrowings, e.g. ‘Mom Chao’ or ‘M.C.’ (the Highest Lord); (v) hybridisation such as ‘kutis’ monks’; and (vi) reduplication, e.g. “It was long, long, long after I had come to live at home”. Further, she discovers discourse styles in Thai English writings: long sentences; one-sentence paragraphs; lots of figurative description; the use of pretentious words; wordiness; modes of address; and culture and Thai discourse (e.g. social norms and values, social status and role relationship, and Thai’s perception of nature). Likewise, Watkhaolarm (2005) examines discourse strategies in two Thai English literatures, ‘My Boyhood in Siam’ and ‘Until the Karma Ends: A Plot to Destroy Burma’ with the Kachruvian framework (1987). It appears that the two writings provide the creation of styles that may be regarded as a Thai variety of English. Their literary strategies are based on the following six processes of nativisation: transfer of religious, cultural and social elements, shifts of old sayings, metaphors or fixed collocations, translation, lexical borrowing, reduplication and hybridisation. Although these strategies are of lexical and thematic creativity, not ‘grammatical and stylistic’, they also represent the development of Thai English literary discourse. In this regard, Khotphuwiang (2010) combines the Kachruvian framework (1987) and Watkhaolarm’s analysis (2005) to investigate rhetorical strategies in Pira Sudham’s Monsoon Country (1994), and utilises Dijk’s (1997) discourse as a social interaction to explore ideological messages in this novel. Rhetorically the writer
provides transfer, lexical borrowing, and coinages as linguistic devices as well as creates poignant human situation explanation, image, and symbol as stylistic techniques. Moreover, this writing provides ideological patterns of the Thai culture via social values, identity or membership, attitudes, and models. In brief, this study depicts only the writer’s literary creativity and a model for Thai English bilinguals, but it does not explicitly agree that the linguistic and literary features indicate a Thai variety of English. While Chutilsip (1984), Watkhaolarm (2005) and Khotphuwiang (2010) focus on linguistic creativity of Thai English literary textures, Buripakdi (2008) examined only attitudinal information from Thai English writers. In this regard, she clearly found negative views on Thai English when interviewing 20 Thai English writers of fiction and non-fiction, who rate their English as ‘Standard English’ or ‘instrumental English’ or ‘cosmopolitan English’ or ‘global English’ or ‘Thai English’. 19 persons conform to Standard English; they reject the existence of Thai English in World Englishes due to lower standard discourse. Only one writer agrees with his Thai English as it represents an act of resistance to dominant discourse and ideology. This study shows that the notion of Thai English does not exist as it is regarded as broken English.

For non-literary discourse, the following two studies accept an existence of Thai English. Pingkarawat (2002) reveals that ten documentary articles published in the Thai English newspaper Bangkok Post, during May 1-25, 2001 present the distinctive cohesive features, compared to those in the American English newspaper Herald Tribune, during the same period. Both papers which are analysed with consideration of the Hasan and Halliday model (1976) use the three types of cohesive devices: “grammatical ties, conjunctive ties, and lexical ties”. Moreover, the discourse structure of each newspaper stands for a particular variety of English: the American and Thai varieties of English. Further, distinctive features of a Thai variety of English were found
in a higher use of repetitions as well as demonstrative and characteristic preferences of lexical ties. Such features result from the process of acculturation when English is contextualised in the Thai setting. This is evidence that a variety in the Expanding Circle undergoes the process of acculturation as in varieties in the Outer Circle. Similarly, Kongsuwannakul (2005) also found certain indicators for Thai English in English acknowledgements in Bangkok universities’ theses written by Thai graduates during the academic years 1990-2003 as compared to those by American graduates. Thai English acknowledgements have three qualities in common: fixation on formality, specification, and modification. Further, they tend to use thanking patterns to specify their role and that of their thankees, to describe their thankees’ ranking, to intensify and formalise their feeling, and to intensify their thankees’ deeds. In addition, this study confirms the hypothesis that Thai and American English acknowledgements are different and thus can support the existence of a Thai variety of English. Nevertheless, Navarat (1989) accepts Thai English as influenced by British and American English varieties when analysing business journalism style between the Thai English newspaper ‘The Nation’ (NAT) and the American English newspaper ‘The Wall Street Journal’ (WSJ), from the October to November, 1986, with the use of the Pascal program and Dell Hymes’ (1962) ethnography of communication. For English varieties, NAT is influenced by both British and American English. While Thai English has adopted the spelling system of the British variety, its punctuation follows the American variety. However, many of the business terms in NAT are used by both native varieties. This study implies that Thai English is the influence of social and cultural norms governing Thais, especially in the types of articles printed in NAT and the use of addressing terms. Thai English also displays the British and American English influence, indicating political and economic relations with these two countries. In short, research on written discourse presents more agreement than disagreement toward Thai English.
In the light of lexis, previous studies agree that a Thai variety of English exists. Butler (1996; 1999a; and 1999b) explored a range of Thai English words in the Macquarie Dictionary Project from different written texts created by Thais and foreigners such as minor wife, hill tribe, farang, sanuk, wai, klong, long-tailed boat, sticky rice, tuk-tuk, longans, and rai. This lexical corpus encourages users of English in other regions to understand the concept of Asian Englishes. Similarly, Jantori (2007) investigated the lexical innovation and its usage in Thai English from 30 feature articles in the newspaper Bangkok Post from June 30 – August 11, 2006, with the Kachruvian framework (1986). In this study, lexical innovation items are based on four processes of linguistic distinctiveness: transfer; translation, hybridisation, and lexical borrowing.

First, the transfer of religious elements is seen in the word ‘Phra’ (monk) - Phra Pisarn Thammawathee. Moreover, the transfer of social and cultural elements is found in addressing term about kinship (e.g. Loong Ho or Uncle Ho and Pa Pae or Aunty Pae), occupation (e.g. Acharn Wilaiwan Krawiphat and Khru Kittisuk Yoosuk), and social status (e.g. Khun Sanitsuda and Khunying Dr. Mallika Wannakairiot). Second, translation is seen in the words ‘axe-pillow’ and ‘long-tail boat’. Third, hybridisation is of Thai and English words (e.g. Bodhi tree and tuk-tuk drivers) and an English and Thai compound (e.g. a floating raan ahaan). Last, lexical borrowing contains independent words (e.g. rai, wai, farang, and mae nam) and lexical borrowing with reduplication such as ubosot (ordination hall) and kwan (spirits of life). These Thai English words present ‘Thainess’. Similarly, Bolton (2003b) presents a number of Thai English lexicons from the Macquarie Dictionary database compiled in the Grolier International Dictionary. Typical words are displayed as follows: ‘ajarn,’ (teacher); ‘fighting fish’ (a highly-coloured, bony fish); ‘forest monk’ (a monk who lives a hermit-like existence in the forest); ‘kha’ and ‘khrap’ (an addressing form used by a female and male, respectively to show politeness and respect, and an expression used by a female to
indicate that you agree with someone or understand what has been said); ‘khun’ (a polite title used before the first name of a man or woman e.g. Khun Somsak and Khun Suzy); ‘khunying’ (a title of honour awarded to a Thai woman and which is used before her first name); ‘klong’ (canal); ‘lamiayi’ (a Thai fruit like a lychee); ‘merit-making’; ‘minor wife’; ‘nong’ (a younger brother or sister or an addressing form used by an older person to a younger person as a sign of friendliness or politeness); ‘phi’ (an older brother or sister or a politely addressing form of address from a younger to an older person, to show respect); and ‘phra’ (a title used before the name of a Buddhist monk, and that to a name to indicate holiness in any religion such as Phra Narai is the Hindu god Vishnu). All these studies accept an existence of Thai English lexicon.

Features of Thai English grammar appear rather explicitly in Trakulkasemsuk (2007)’s study. This research compares 28 feature articles in English by Thai writers taken from two Thai English magazines – Tropical Art Culture & Travel and Metro - with the same amount of those by native English writers taken from British English magazines Conde’ Nast Traveller and Hello. It is found that Thai English grammatical structures are described as “greater amount of noun modifier, higher preference for post-modifiers than pre-modifiers, lengthy and complicated noun modifiers, and indirect speech” than British English grammar. Similarly, Pingkarawat (2009) explores features and usage of relative clauses in Thai English in comparison with those in American English from 50 feature articles taken from the Nation, and 50 feature articles from USA Today, during January – May 2008. The findings show that Thai English has a significantly higher proportion of non-finite, restrictive relative clauses, and shared head-noun than American English does. These features reflect the process of nativisation in Thai English grammar. On the other hand, these two studies are not
parallel to Horey’s (2006) study which surveys the linguistic needs of tourist advertisements from the local English magazine *Angel City – Thailand* of the Vol.2, no. 19, 1 August 1988 edition. All pages of the advertisements appear to contain errors in parts of speech, spellings, tenses, and word order. These errors are regarded as Thai English which does not interest the advertiser, who prefers to double-check their language use with an educated native speaker.

The basilectal variety presents the way English is simplified by non-native users with their vernacular structures for convenient everyday communications without considering a grammatical correction. It can occur in different new varieties of English. For example, for Philippine English, the notion of ‘Taglish’ is the so-called local language as created by an interface between Tagalog and English; moreover, for Indonesian English, the term ‘Indoglish’ is an effect of the mixture of Bahasa Indonesia and English. Similarly, the emerging term ‘Tinglish’ is a result of Thai and English contact (Wattanaboon, 2002). Salient characteristics of Tinglish are described by a number of scholars. First of all, Martyn (2012) features Tinglish via the following examples: (i) the use of the adverb ‘already’ in present tense instead of past tense (e.g. Somchai goes to Bangkok already); (ii) an addition of Thai final particles namely ‘na’ and ‘la’ for giving a suggestion and ‘ja’ for giving informality to a conversation (e.g. “I won’t see you next week na”, “Good morning ja”, and “Why didn’t you study here la?”); (iii) an addition of extra vowels in pronouncing consecutive consonants (e.g. ‘Sprite’ pronounced ‘Sa-pa-rite’); and (iv) the pronunciation of the retroflex sound /r/ as the lateral sound /l/ (e.g. living loom and bedloom). Likewise, Tinglish users often simplify English sentences with Thai grammar to make a clearer understanding when they have conversations with foreigners. For instance, the sentence “I didn’t want to go yesterday” is likely to be said as “Yesterday I not want go”. Moreover, they double
particular English words – “same same” and “near near” – as they use in Thai (Into-Asia.com, 2012). Similarly, Tsow (2006: 25) provides examples of Tinglish expressed by a Thai girlfriend who mispronounces English words and phrases when speaking with her native-English boyfriend, that is, ‘Juttin Timberlay’ (Justin Timberlake), ‘Shot Put’ (George Bush), ‘hot peter’ (hospital), and ‘hot’ (horse). These instances, while funny will likely result in a misunderstanding with an interlocutor. However, Thai speakers exhibit certain consonants and vowels causing difficulty of pronunciation – ‘s’, ‘k’, ‘g’, ‘b’, ‘sh’, ‘al’, ‘or’, and ‘v’. In addition, Todd (2004) states that Tinglish is the art of selecting English language to suit the Thai people’s thought patterns. Tinglish seems to be useful for oral communications as it helps Thais to get straight to the point with simpler English. However, Tinglish for written communication in which English sentences are influenced by the sequence of Thai sentence should be edited. Examples of Tinglish in unedited news are “He said the panel will pass on its report to the UN” and “That is, they will run shy of study and homework as usual, making such new curricula, however good they may be, a futile exercise”. These expressions infringe Standard English grammar, but they are easy for Thai readers to understand. These studies raise the phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse features of Tinglish.

The majority of the previous studies above indicate that the notion of Thai English exists. To strongly support this notion, the term ‘model and standardisation’ of Thai English is required. Thai English is considered as a new variety, so it is difficult to identify its unique features because the native variety of English is still regarded as the best norm for this variety. The following study displays the competing models of Thai English between native varieties and educated Thai English. Shaw (1983) reveals that most of 825 Singaporean, Indian, and Thai university students choose the unique variety presently spoken by educated speakers. Singaporean English and Indian English are
regarded as the future local models in the two nations. However, very few Thais accept Thai English for the future local models; its unique feature is not explicit because native varieties have been strongly modelled in the country. Likewise, Rattanapruek (1984: 20-22) states that a Thai variety of English depends on two variables: regional varieties of Thai language and American-British varieties of English. These variables result in an emergence of twelve sub-varieties of Thai English, one of American and British English in each of the six regions of Thailand such as ‘American English by northern Thais’ and ‘British English by southern Thais’. Such sub-varieties, using the native English norm, are useful for Thai learners and teachers of English in different regions whose mother tongue is different. They will develop their English via certain dialects of native English.

Shaw (1983) claims that the acrolectal variety of Thai English has not been widely accepted. Similarly, the suggested Thai English model by Rattanapreuk (1984) insufficiently shows the real identity of Thai English. However, Prasithrathsint (1999) supports the acrolectal variety of Thai English as Standard Thai English, which has never been accepted as it is difficult to match Thais’ English competence with native and ESL speakers. Nevertheless, she insists that there must be one Standard Thai English which is better than any other Thai English such as English used in English newspapers in Thailand and journals published by Thai academicians, and in English literatures by Thai writers. This view does not explicitly display Standard English but it visualises the growth of Thai English. Likewise, Smith (1988: 3-5) encourages Thais to discover the following three characteristics of their identity in English in order to support Standard Thai English: (i) a proper priority for spiritual values referring to Thais’ religious beliefs; (ii) features of the Thai concept of “self” can be seen in a sense
of humour in the famous American film *The King and I*; and (iii) a sense of relationship appears in ‘interdependence’ between people and nature, the human and the divine, students and teachers, parents and children, and between leaders and followers. These features can be presented to the world by Thais with effective English proficiency, for example, Dr. Surin Pitsuwan’s interaction with international government authorities and Pira Sudham’ original English novels. These instances should be accepted by the Thai government as good models of the Thai identity in English for Thai learners, teachers and users of English. Both Prasithrathsint (1999) and Smith (1988) clearly illustrate how Thai English can be standardised and become a local variety. The examples of the educated Thais with good English may lead to the shaping of a Thai variety of English.

The above studies and views lead to an establishment of how Thai English differs from Tinglish. Thai English can emerge through three lectal varieties – acrolect, mesolect and basilect. Overseas-educated Thais use spoken and written English with a near-native command, but they appropriately use Thai words, grammar, and styles for only pragmatic functions. These users construct Standard Thai English. Meanwhile, Thais with the moderate level of English slightly perform unintentional deviations in communications. On the other hand, lower-educated Thais usually express incorrect or simplified English in both daily conversations and written forms. Such expressions are the so-called Tinglish. However, the majority of Thai English users fall into the second and last groups, so they seem to orally make Thai English as a deficient variety. Indeed, Tinglish is often found spoken by Thai people rather than acrolectal and mesolectal Thai English which somewhat appears in written texts. Consequently, Tinglish is a sub-emerging variety of Thai English. There appears to be Thai English as a variety but this variety is still developing and has not yet reached a certain level of maturity as the influence of native English has been strongly buried in Thais’ perspectives. Therefore,
Thai English will take many more years and require more research to structure its autonomous non-native variety.

4.3 Conclusion

From the review of studies, contact literature provides more aspects and instances in lexical creativity than in discourse creativity; writers of New Englishes enjoy using lexical innovation rather than discourse innovation. In terms of Thai English, some studies like phonology and model and standardisation may be slightly relevant; nevertheless, they partially fulfil a resourceful contribution to the development of a Thai variety of English. With regard to approach, most of the studies mainly utilise *The Kachruvian framework* (1986; 1987) as the theoretical framework. Nonetheless, other approaches – Firth (1957), Dell Hymes (1962), Hassan and Halliday (1976), Flege (1995) and Dijk (1997) - are also employed. For methodology, textual analysis is the most popular while other methods like corpus analysis, interview, and questionnaire are also used. Hence, these two aspects of this literature review - textual analysis and the Kachruvian approach - become a very helpful conceptual and methodological support to interpret whether creative linguistic features of the selected Thai English fiction will indicate an existence of a Thai variety of English.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.0 Overview

In this chapter, data, their sources and the methodology of the study are described. A selection of five Thai English fiction books were chosen for this study, and the textual analysis of examples of linguistic creativity taken from the selected writings is explained.

5.1 Source of Data

Thai English fiction is the main source of data for this study. The method of selecting the five books is delineated in accordance with the profile of Thai English literature and its particular criteria. This leads to an account of background information regarding certain writers and their chosen work.

5.1.1 The Profile of Thai English Literature

The profile in Table 5.1 below, which is created by the researcher, represents a survey of Thai English literary writing derived from original copies in bookshops in Thailand, manuscripts in Thai, Malaysian and Singaporean university libraries, and the internet. This profile, which is alphabetically ordered according to the writer’s (first) name (Thai names are alphabetised by first name), is displayed along with the writer’s gender, the book titles, genre, the first year of publishing, and the publisher.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>The Writer’s Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>First Year of Publishing</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anan Okrish (1940-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Little Poems</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Prince of Songkla University, (Pattani, Thailand)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ananchanok Pahnichaputt, M.L. (1949-)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Dreams at Dawn</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Watermark (USA) and Chulalongkorn University Press (Bangkok)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Auroras: Collected Poems with Illustrations</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Amarin (Bangkok)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chammongsri Rutnin (Hanchanlash), Khunying (1939-)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>On the White Empty Page and More: A Selection of Poems and Tales</td>
<td>Poetry and Tales</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Siam Slip (Bangkok)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Cherry Cheva (Cherry Chevapravatdumrong)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>She’s So Money</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Harper Collins (NY, USA)</td>
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<td>Duplikate</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Harper Collins (NY, USA)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Ira Sukrungruang (1976-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The Gift, etc. (33 essays)</td>
<td>Creative non-fiction</td>
<td>1998-2011</td>
<td>Literary Magazines and Journals in USA</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wang Town, etc. (12 stories)</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2002-2011</td>
<td>Literary magazines and Journals in USA</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>When Peacocks Scream, etc. (29 poems)</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>2003-2011</td>
<td>Literary Magazines and Journals in USA</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Talk Thai: The Adventures of Buddhist Boy</td>
<td>Autobiography</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>University of Missouri Press (MO, USA)</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Kit Tiyapan (Kittisak Tiyapan)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>A British Lanna</td>
<td>Travel Writing</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Kittix Publishing (Bangkok)</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
<td>Book Title</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Kumut Chandruang (1912-70)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>My Boyhood in Siam</td>
<td>Auto-Biography</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Los Angeles Times (USA)</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Kuruvin Boon-Long</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The Dream</td>
<td>Short Story</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>International PEN (London, UK)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Likhit Dhiravegin (1941-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The Dawn of Siam</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Thammasat University Press (Bangkok)</td>
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<td>Life is a Long Journey: Braving the Treacherous Ups and Downs</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>MAC (Bangkok)</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Montri Umavijani (1941-2006)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The Intermittent Image</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Mongkol (Bangkok)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>In Lieu of Life</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Mongkol (Bangkok)</td>
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<td>In Lieu of Life with Prayers and Memories</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1970</td>
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<td>1979</td>
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<td>A Thai Divine Comedy</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Wizard Apprentice (Dragonflight)</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Athenaem Books (NY, USA)</td>
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<td>Vanitas: Escape from Vampire Junction</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Tom Doherty (NY, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Darker Angels</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Tor Books (NY, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Vampire’s Beautiful Daughter</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Athenaem Books (NY, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Lap Dance with the Lobster Lady</td>
<td>Novelette</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Shadowlands (VA, USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Opus 50</td>
<td>Essays, poems, and novelettes</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Diplodocus (CA, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Pavilion of Frozen Women</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Victor Gollancz (London, UK)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dragon’s Fin Soup: Eight Modern Siamese Fables</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Asia Books (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
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**Table 5.1, continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>The Writer’s Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>First Year of Publishing</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>S.P. Somtow</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tagging the Moon: Fairy Tales from L.A.</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Night Shade Books (CA, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Ultimate Mallworld</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Meisha Merlin (GA, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bluebeard’s Castle</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>iUniverse (NE, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Edens</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Diplodocus (CA, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Other City of Angels</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Diplodocus (CA, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mae Nak</td>
<td></td>
<td>(vocal score)</td>
<td>Play (Opera)</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Athenaeum Books (NY, USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Requiem: In Memoriam 9/11 (Vocal Score)</td>
<td>Play (Opera)</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Diplodocus (CA, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Songs Before Dawn (Vocal Score)</td>
<td>Play (Opera)</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Orpheus Music (Bangkok)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ayodhya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Play (Opera)</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Orpheus Music (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Supasiri Supunpaysaj</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>The Umbrella and Other Stories</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>First Printing (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tew Bunnag (1947-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Fragile Days: Tales from Bangkok</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>SNP Editions (Singapore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>After the Wave: Short stories of post Tsunami on the Thai Andaman coast</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>The Post Publishing (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Naga’s Journey</td>
<td>Novel</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Orchid Press (Bangkok)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cloud Hands: The Essence of T’ai Chi Ch’uan</td>
<td>Features</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Orchid Press (Bangkok)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Most Generous Uncle</td>
<td>Short story</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Asia Literary Review (v.15) (Hong Kong)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Thanapol (Lamduan) Chadchaidee (1959-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Thailand in My Youth</td>
<td>Autobiography</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Thanapol Vittayakarn (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Took Took Thongthiraj</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>A Message from Chiang Mai</td>
<td>Short Story</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>“Together” : A Literary magazine in USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Trirat Petchsingh (1944-)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The Third Encounter and Other Stories</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Editions Duang Kamol (Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From a preliminary survey of Table 5.1, the 34 Thai English writers published 220 creative literatures. There are more male writers than female ones; the ratio is 21 to 13. Ira Sukrungruang seems to have the greatest number of literary writings – 74 items in magazines and a book (See Appendix C). In terms of literary marketing, S.P. Somtow has the highest numbers of published books – 45. Indeed, more than 50 items were published if a number of anthology and magazines in the United States containing his other stories are included. Another prominent writer is Montri Umavijani, who is credited with 27 poetry books. In the light of literary genres, fiction appears to be the biggest number, 81. This is followed by poetry, 74, non-fiction (creative non-fiction, travel writing, features, and auto-biography), 51, and plays, 11. This excludes three books in which fiction, non-fiction, and poetry are incorporated. Hence, fiction can be considered the most outstanding genre; other types are not the main focus due to scope and limitation of this study (See Chapter 1). The largest fiction category carries novels that include novella and novelettes, weighing in at 31. Besides, 18 series, 15 collections of short stories, and 17 single-short stories enhance the richness of Thai English fiction.
Series are also not chosen due to many volumes of stories that would cause time-consuming analysis. Thus, this study only covers novels and short stories.

This table also presents literature development. Kumut Chandruang’s *My Boyhood in Siam* is the first Thai English literature, which was published in 1935. The literary development based on this profile is divided into two phases – before 1990 and from 1990 until present. In the first period, 1935-1989, there are 57 Thai English literary works. Since 1990, the number of such works has radically increased to 163. As expected, all of the Thai English writings were published overseas rather than in Thailand; the ratio is 135 to 76. This number excludes the following: (i) two books with anonymous publishers, which are believed to be locally published as they are available in a Thai university library; (ii) Pahnichaputt’s *Dreams at Dawn* was published in both Thailand and the United States; and (iii) Gomolvilas’s six plays, although not published but they were showed in the American theatres. For the last one, his play scripts are also counted as Thai English literature but only ‘The Theory of Everything’ was published. Hence, such amount also indicates a new phenomenon for English publications in Thailand although there are fewer local readers than foreign ones. In brief, the existing total number of Thai English writings published within 77 years shows an emergence of literary and linguistic creativity in World Englishes in this country within the Expanding Circle.

5.1.2 Criteria for the Selection

Particular criteria for selecting fiction books from the profile of Thai English literature are given as follows:
(1) Only five Thai English fiction books are chosen as the main data source. Indeed, the number of books for a qualitative analysis cannot be numerically judged. Prominently, these books must represent the whole Thai English fiction. Poetry and non-fiction are not considered as they appear in smaller numbers than fiction and their linguistic and literary features are different from fiction. Likewise, series and plays which are fictional need to be omitted as represented by two authors, S.P. Somtow and Prince Gomolvilas. Since 1990, fiction consists of a novella and two novelettes, 18 novels, and 12 collections of short stories. Such novella and novelettes are also excluded as they are represented by the same author again, S.P. Somtow. Hence, five of thirty fiction books seem to be reasonable for their data representation and sufficient linguistic innovation instances;

(2) The books must be written in original English, not translated from Thai into English. Only literature originally written in English by non-native users is mentioned in Kachru’s (1986; 1987) studies. Likewise, Strevens (1980; 1982) pinpoints only original English literature by non-native authors as a parameter of localised forms of English. Similarly, Schneider (2007) displays new literature in original English as evidence of literary and linguistic nativisation. Thus, a translation version needs to be left out as it represents a secondary data source; an English version implies a non-native writer’s authorship and authenticity in the other tongue rather than the mother tongue. From the profile, all the literatures are originally written in English, but only the play ‘Mea Nak’ by S.P. Somtow is an English adaptation of a famous Thai horror legend;

(3) The books must be the original work of the writers, not in collaboration with another author. At present many creative writings are written by native English authors in collaboration with Thai tellers, so this does not reflect the originality of English
creation. Thus, an original work indicates the linguistic property, literary authorship, as well as individuality and identity of the writer;

(4) The books must have been published since 1990s. Throughout this period of time, Thai English literature appears in considerably increasing numbers than in previous years. This time period is the age of the dynamic global society from the 20th century into the new millennium. Hence, the amount of Thai English fiction conveys various Thai local themes mirroring the transformation of the Thai society in the period of modernisation rather than before 1990s. Besides, the status of English education in Thailand from 1996 has greatly increased. The Thai Ministry of Education requires for public schools that learning English as a subject must start at the Grade 1 level, instead of in Grade 5. This has resulted in a newer awakening of acquisition and usage of English among younger Thai generations;

(5) The books may have been published by either local or international publishers so that their readers can be both Thais and foreigners. A higher number of the latter than the former does not mean the number of foreign readers is greater than that of Thai readers. Numerical statistics of readers are excluded in this criterion as readers of the chosen books are educated Thais and foreigners. However, both local and international publishers are vital means of literary marketing for Thai English writers as well as in disseminating a Thai variety of English to the global community;

(6) The writers of the selected books must have Thai identity. They may be citizens of both Thailand and other countries because most of them were born and/or educated in an English-speaking country. Moreover, they may have been living and working inside or outside the Kingdom of Thailand. Importantly, their Thai identity may appear as their
thought patterns, points of view, and awareness of Thai language and culture moulded by their Thai family and friends, for instance. This can be visualised in the writers’ creation of the characters, themes, and literary convention with reference to the Thai cultures. The Thai identity, thus, means more than the writers’ nationality and ethnicity; it represents the writers’ ‘Thainess’.

(7) The selected writers must be male and female so that gender bias is avoided. However, the notion of language and gender is not part of this study. Utilising the fiction books by both male and female writers as the data source reflects the equal status of Thai English writers. This study attempts to show that both Thai male and female writers have potential in creative literature in English;

(8) The popularity of the writers and fiction with regard to prizes awarded and/or fame must be taken into consideration. This parameter differentiates a selected book from many other books. Each of the chosen books must be written by an author with one of the following sub-criteria: (i) he or she must be well-known among either local or foreign readers, especially having been awarded any book prizes in English by recognised organisations inside or outside the Kingdom; or (ii) he or she may be a nominee for a prestigious literary award in English in Thailand or overseas; or (iii) he or she may be a famous writer of any other forms of either fiction or non-fiction in English inside or outside Thailand who has been well known by Thai or foreign readers. Indeed, this criterion displays the extent to which the writer’s works have social impact;

(9) The fiction books must be written with mainly Thai local themes, especially representing ideology and identity of Thai socio-cultural patterns embedded in the
writers’ points of view. Instances of such themes are traditional life style, rural wisdom, beliefs in soul-ghosts-karma, seniority and respect, loyalty to the Thai Royal family, and conflicts between modernisation and the Thai way of life, etc; and

(10) The chosen books must contain sufficient examples of lexical and discourse creativity. These instances are not quantitatively measured. Indeed, the books must provide adequate linguistic items according to the categories found in the review. All the five books were surveyed by the researcher himself to check if they contain linguistic innovations before they are selected. In fact, the use of lexical and discourse creativity is common among Thai English writers. Hence, each book must embody a range of good examples of the two levels of linguistic creativity.

5.1.3 Background Information of the Selected Writers and their Fiction

With regard to the criteria above, the chosen five books, which have their covers displayed in Appendix D, are detailed as follows:

(1) The three collections of short stories consist of the following books:

(1.1) “Dragon’s Fin Soup: Eight Modern Siamese Fables” (2002), by S.P. Somtow contains 208 pages with eight stories of local themes about someone crushed between the Scylla and Charybdis of conflicts between Thai and Western cultures. Those stories are: (i) Dragon’s Fin Soup; (ii) Lottery Night; (iii) The Steel American; (iv) Chui Chai; (v) The Bird Catcher; (vi) Diamonds Aren’t Forever; (vii) Fiddling for Water Buffaloes; and (viii) The Last Time I Died in Venice. This author is labelled by the International Herald Tribune as ‘the most expatriate Thai in the world’ because he produces a large amount of English novels and short stories with an Asian flavour, which are translated into various foreign languages. Moreover, his short story ‘The Dust’ received the
Edmund Hamilton Memorial Award in 1982. Furthermore, he has been nominated for many other awards. For example, ‘Resurrec Tech’, ‘Darker Angels’; and ‘Brimstone and Salt’ were the best novelette nominees for the Bram Stoker Award in 1988, 1994, and 1997, respectively, and ‘The Pavilion and Frozen Woman’ was the best collection of short stories in 1997. Likewise, ‘Dragon’s Fin Soup’ that is chosen for this study, was the best short story nominee for the World Fantasy Award in 1996 (Wands and Dickson, 2012). He is a Thai American writer, but he was born in and is now living in Thailand. Thus, his writings have been more disseminated to the Thai readers than others. Besides, his Thai identity moulded by his family appears as themes in many stories. In addition, this collection is distinct that all stories reflect Thainess via the characters, settings, and Buddhist values and beliefs;

(1.2) “Sightseeing” (2005), by Rattawut Lapcharoensap, contains 223 pages. It carries seven stories that present the clash between locality of the Thai ways and modernity of westernisation. Those stories are: (i) Farangs; (ii) At the Café’s Lovely; (iii) Draft Day; (iv) Sightseeing; (v) Priscilla the Cambodian; (vi) Don’t Let Me Die in This Place; and (vii) Cockfighter. In this regard, his first short story ‘Farangs’ was published in a well-known magazine in the United States, namely ‘Granta 84’. Aside from that, this collection won the Asian American Literary Award and was also shortlisted for the Guardian First Book Award. Moreover, he was awarded for the Avery Jules Hopwood Award and the Andrea Beauchamp Prize (Granta, 2011). Similar to Somtow, he has a reputation outside Thailand. However, the writer was educated both in Thailand and America. His Thai identity is also distinctive in that it presents Thai language and culture via the characterisation, background, and dialogues in his short stories; and
(1.3) “The Umbrella and Other Stories” (1998) by Supasiri Supunpaysaj contains 107 pages with eleven stories with local themes such as ghosts, family life, childhood and beliefs in karma. They are: (i) The Umbrella; (ii) The Philanderer; (iii) Jewels in the First Bath; (iv) A Book and a Needle; (v) My Brother and I; (vi) Sister Ondine; (vii) The Barber; (viii) The Happy Ne’er-Do-Well; (ix) Sisi; (x) The Tamarind Tree; and (xi) Iridescent Memory. The most distinguished story titled ‘The Umbrella’ was awarded the second prize in the UNESCO-PEN in 1993. Although this writer is a renowned columnist in Thai language newspapers and a non-fiction writer in Thai, this collection reflects her creation of original English writings. Furthermore, she was educated in both Thailand and America, so her strong knowledge of English writing style and her applicability of Thai language and culture lead to the success of such a story. Unlike the previous two books, this collection is not very lengthy.

(2) The two novels are the following:

(2.1) “Shadowed Country” (2004) by Pira Canning Sudham with 748 pages, is a compilation of two sequels, ‘Monsoon Country’ and ‘The Force of Karma’. This novel shows a suppressed life of north-eastern Thais in the 1960’s and 1970’s under despotic regimes, and a driving force under poverty and injustice in Thailand. This novel contains a total of 55 chapters. The former book “Monsoon Country” consists of 15 chapters without titles. Meanwhile, the latter named “The Force of Karma” carries 40 chapters with titles. This novel meets the criteria above. The first book was a nominee for the Nobel Prize in 1990. This was also the first time for a Thai English writer that was nominated for this award. Although the second book was not nominated for any award, it aims to complete the previous story via psychological and social effects on the main characters. Moreover, this writer is very famous in Thailand and Asia, and he is more of a Thai English author than a native English one though his English writing
presents his near-native competency. Although he studied in both Thailand and New Zealand, his Thai identity lent by his experiences in Thailand’s rural areas, makes his literatures attractive to the local and foreign readers; and

(2.2) “Chalida” (2002), by Salisa Pinkayan with 219 pages, has its theme of the Thai family drama affected by Thai political problems in 1969 through a woman’s perspective. This novel contains three parts of 18 chapters. Part I, chapters 1-5, portrays a childhood and adolescent life of the protagonist, Chalida, in a prestigious family in Bangkok, and it depicts a political issue of the country affecting this family, especially the mystery death of Chalida’s mother. Part II, chapters 6-12, displays Chalida’s life in the United States as well as her marriage in Thailand. In part III, chapters 13-18, mystery is cleared up via a flashback, meanwhile Chalida’s life is in a crisis. Compared to the other four books, this novel was neither nominated nor awarded any prizes inside or outside Thailand. Moreover, it is this writer’s first English literary book. However, this book is very remarkable as its updated theme on a life crisis of a High-Society family has been of interest to the Thai readers who like gossip and a controversial issue. Indeed, this theme can be local as it exhibits a Thai family’s system and the urbanised characters’ social values and attitudes influenced by the Westernisation. Moreover, the writer’s English writing ability is effective because she was born and educated in America. Nevertheless, she has been living in Thailand with her Thai family. Interestingly, the writer has been a renowned columnist for the Nation newspaper. Now she is also an editor of an English magazine, a publication by the Thai English newspaper The Bangkok Post.

In total, 3 of 14 short story collections and 2 of 16 novels are chosen. It may be unreliable that the former has a greater number than the latter. Indeed, there are three
novels if the book “Shadowed Country” is divided into two sequel novels. There are constraints involved in choosing just five books. The most crucial criterion, which is used to minimise the most relevant writers as well as short stories and novels, seems to be the reputation of the writer and book, especially literary nominees or award. Having said that, only five writers are chosen for this study – S.P Somtow, Pira Canning Sudham, Rattawut Lapcharoensap, Supasiri Supunpaysaj, Kuruvin Boon-Long, and Ira Sukrungruang. The last two writers were not selected. Boon Long was the winner of the International PEN in 1995, with his short story ‘The Dream’, but this story has not been published with other short stories in a collection for marketing as Supunpaysaj (1998) did. Only one story shows inadequate instances of linguistic creativity. Sukrungruang became the winner of the Just Desserts Short-Short Fiction Prize Hence by Passage North Magazine in 2008, and the prize-winner of, 1999 Atlantic Monthly Student Writing Competition in Non-Fiction in the United States (Department of English, University of South Florida, 2008). Nevertheless, his 12 stories are not published in a collection of short stories book, a requirement of this study. This leaves three males and one female writers for this study. For the other female writer, there were only Cheery Cheva and Salisa Pinkayan to choose from. The former has been working in the States and her novels have not been distributed in Thailand. Meanwhile, the latter has currently been in Thailand and her writing was locally published, so she probably has more local readers than the former. Consequently, Pinkayan was chosen as a promotion of Thai publishers of English writings also matters in this study.

As a whole, the chosen books are different in that they are written in various styles. Further, only the book by Somtow carries a glossary of Thai English lexicon for non-Thai readers. For similarities, the books share a common theme in conflicts between locality and modernity in the Thai society. They also provide literary styles of
both native English and Thai English. Moreover, the writers were educated in native-English speaking countries, so they write in English because of their first language, desire to present Thai stories and local lives to the global literary market, and in the process, encouraging other Thai readers to manifest their ideology through English language. It seems that there is more demand for Thai English fiction in the international market than the local market, as obviously, only educated Thais read Thai English literature. Importantly, each book contains a sufficient range of interesting instances of lexical and discourse creativity in relation to the notion of Thai English.

5.2 Method of Analysis: Textual Analysis

In social science, textual analysis is a way to understand members of different socio-cultural backgrounds who attempt to perceive the world, especially realising their identity, and to be aware of how human beings’ cultural circumstances are structured in the world. Comprehending human cultures requires an interpretation of spoken and written texts performed by a creator (e.g. films, television programmes, books, magazines, and advertisement, etc) (McKee, 2003: 1). This definition can be adapted to a sociolinguistic perspective. Textual analysis is a method researchers use to analyse the extent to which language users perform their verbal and written messages as meaningful communication for social interaction and reflections. Hence, this concept can imply a particular function of textual analysis with regard to World Englishes and stylistics. In this study, textual analysis functions as a method of getting insights into the extent to which Thai English writers convey the influence of Thai language and culture as ‘meaningful deviations’ in words and styles for textual effects to the local and international readers. It is also a way of interpreting such linguistic items with such deviations for a representation of the Thai identity in English.
Textual analysis is chosen as the main method of this study due to its direct relation to content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic method for analysing textual information which allows researchers to make inferences about such information. This method presents classifying several words in the text into much fewer content categories. Furthermore, not only the formal content of written materials is summarised but also the authors’ perspectives are portrayed (Weber, 1990: 9-12; Krippendorff, 1980: 21-27, as cited in Stemler, 2001). Based on the concept above, content analysis can serve as a significant method for studying linguistic structures of literary works. Texture of written discourse formation is synthesised, analysed, and interpreted so that certain embedded linguistic, psychological, philosophical, and socio-cultural segments of the text can be decoded and comprehended. Indeed, textual analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. It is used to quantify the content of texts like counting frequency of linguistic units that occur while it represents an in-depth analysis of textual meaning via an interpretation and discussion. However, this study will only cover qualitative analysis of the chosen texts.

5.2.1 Procedure of textual analysis

The procedure of textual analysis, which is adapted from Allison’s (2002), Creswell’s (2003), and Belsey’s (2005) studies, comprises three phases – text selection, text coding and categorising, as well as text analysis and interpretation.

(1) Text selection

The five chosen books are synthesised for the following processes of text selection:
(1.1) Suitable samples of texts that represent two parts – the characters’ speech and the language of the author or narrator - from each book are selected by the researcher. In this regard, the writers create the form via dialogues, with the latter in narratives. Certain items of lexis and discourse patterns presented in both parts of the textual data violating the semantic, lexical, morphological and stylistic rules of Standard English but involving linguistic creativity are marked out by underlining. In this regard, certain lexical variation items are checked by British and American English dictionaries - *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary 8th edition* (2010) (Hornby, 2010) and *Collins COBUILD Intermediate Dictionary of American English* (Sinclair, 2008); and

(1.2) These items with their contextual message are orderly recorded as excerpts in the researcher’s file, in hard copy. These recorded items are not to be marked out again though they appear in the subsequent pages because the frequency count of these items is not emphasised. If the five books contain the same items of lexical and discourse creativity with the same category, such items must be shown for comparison.

(2) **Text coding and categorising**

The selected items of linguistic creativity are broken down into smaller component units through the following processes:

(2.1) Each linguistic item (the excerpt) recorded in the researcher’s file or notes is coded with its source in the bracket at the bottom margin, which contains the abbreviation of the book title, the story title (for a collection of short stories only), the chapter title (for novels only) and the page number. In this respect, each book has its own abbreviated title assigned by the researcher with consideration of only three main alphabets of the title as follows: (i) The Umbrella and Other Stories (UOS); (ii)
Dragon’s Fin Soup: Eight Modern Siamese Fables (DFS); (iii) Sightseeing (STS); (iv) Chalida (CLD); and (v) Shadowed Country (SDC);

(2.2) A collection of the items is classified into different categories of lexical creativity and discourse creativity. The lexical category consists of the following subcategories: lexical borrowing, modes of addressing and referencing, loan translation, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, clipping and ellipsis. The discourse category contains particular subcategories, that is, nativisation of context, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, code-mixing and code-switching, the colloquial variety of English and discourse styles. These categories are developed by the researcher via studying the selected subcategories by many other researchers presented in the review of studies; and

(2.3) The categories and subcategories of marked linguistic items are also placed on the top margin of the researcher’s notes. The space for the researcher’s comments is also given for an analysis under the text reference coded. Hence, examples of the text coding and categorising in the researcher’s notes are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub-Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical Creativity</td>
<td>Hybridisation</td>
<td>Grandmother once told me that adults call people like Grandfather “Bo Tree”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(UOS, The Umbrella, p.5)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comments: ...........................................................................................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) **Text analysis and interpretation**

The raw data from the coded and categorised texts are analysed and interpreted by the following processes:

(3.1) A marked item with its excerpted contextual messages is analysed with the notions of linguistic creativity and Thai English in the comments spaced in the files. For instance, a hybrid item ‘farangs’ is analysed in terms of morpho-semantic variation via the blending of a Thai word ‘farang’ and an English suffix ‘-s’;

(3.2) The researcher’s hard copy files of all analysed items are copied for other new comments or interpretations;

(3.3) All analysed linguistic items in each fiction book are summarised and compared in tabulations and an in-depth interpretation. They are also presented as a description of the lexical and discourse creativity features;

(3.4) The processes from (3.1) to (3.3) represent the main mode of carrying out the findings of the first research question – “What are the features of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English fiction?”;
(3.5) The findings of the existing linguistic creativity features are interpreted with the following three types of information – (i) a description of the sociolinguistic background of English in Thailand (See Chapter 2), (ii) the conceptual framework (See Chapter 3), and (iii) a review of related studies (See Chapter 4); and

(3.6) The process in (3.5) results in a discussion on the extent to which of the linguistic creativity features in Thai English fiction are indicators for Thai English as another variety, with regard to the final research question – “To what extent do the features indicate an existence of a Thai variety of English?”

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter reveals certain qualitative methods used to select the five Thai English fiction books as well as the method of analysis adopted to analyse and interpret a range of textual formations from such books. This description provides an insight into the detailed processes of data treatment and analysis toward linguistic and literary creativity in a Thai variety of English.
CHAPTER 6
LEXICAL CREATIVITY IN THAI ENGLISH FICTION

6.0 Overview

This chapter presents ten processes of lexical creativity that the selected Thai writers use in their English fiction - lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan translation, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, clipping and ellipsis. These are tabulated and described with respect to particular excerpts. They subsequently are compared with findings presented in the literature review.

6.1 Lexical Borrowing

An analysis of lexical borrowing in this study is similarly revealed in Jantori’s study (2007) that is based on Kachru’s work (1986). A number of such loans appear and consist of two types - independent and reduplicating; in relation to lexico-semantic components and functional uses of Thai loanwords in English texts. Each is described and discussed below.

6.1.1 Independent Lexical Borrowing

Independent lexical borrowing refers to loanwords in which the form and meaning are borrowed; loanwords of Thai language independently occur in English sentences without the translation of meaning. This type is of several words. Only some prominent items are shown in the table while the remaining words and their meanings
are included in Appendix E. All the words and expressions are grouped according to particular domains.

The major domain, Buddhism, embodies many words. Some important words are shown in the following:

**Table 6.1: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Buddhist Terms)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>samadhi</td>
<td>I closed my eyes, trying to achieve a state of <em>samadhi</em> before setting out on this pilgrimage… <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.39)</em></td>
<td>Concentration in the Buddhist way of meditation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wat</td>
<td>To claim it a school would be only partially true because the old thatched sala was also used for the <em>Wat</em>, … <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.50)</em></td>
<td>Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>saisin</td>
<td>“Take this <em>saisin,</em>” he said. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.47)</em></td>
<td>A protective thread worn around the wrist for preventing evil influences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words are not given their English equivalents as the writers want to show their Thai origin in the Buddhist context. The word ‘Wat’ can be replaced by its English equivalent while the others have longer English definitions. In the event that the writer translates this word, the word’s appeal will diminish and would not result in a Thai identity in English. Other words of this type include “*Chedi, sangha, sathi, dekwat, gutti,* and *prapiksu.*”
Next, the food domain also stands out. Some prominent items are illustrated.

Table 6.2: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Culinary Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pad thai</td>
<td>The Italians like <em>pad thai</em>, its affinity with spaghetti. <em>(STS, Farangs, p.1)</em></td>
<td>Thai fried noodle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>somtam</td>
<td>They accosted everyone with their fried bananas, hot noodles, green mangos, purple mangosteens, grilled pork, sticky rice and somtam. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, pp.32-33)</em></td>
<td>Green papaya salad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those two words have long been a popular Thai food among Thais and foreigners alike. The item ‘*pad thai*’ is provided with a general clue, spaghetti, which is very different from its Thai version. This clue does not help the readers thoroughly understand the word ‘*pad thai*’ which has a specific definition of Thai culinary culture. Likewise, the item ‘*sometam*’ has no real clue given, except the phrase ‘sticky rice’ which is its side dish; not a lot of information though to help out the foreign readers comprehend the very meaning of ‘*sometam*’. Aside from these, there are also others of this domain found in this study: *luk chin, gaeng masman, khao man gai, and khaotom*.

We will later see that items of clothing also indicate the uniqueness of Thai words in English. Two items are discussed below.
Table 6.3: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Items of Clothing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>phathung</td>
<td>She’s wearing a <em>phathung</em> pulled over her breasts,… <em>(STS, Draft Day, p.55)</em></td>
<td>Thai cloth for ladies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sarong</td>
<td>…Boonliang tightened her <em>sarong</em> and came over to render justice. <em>(SDC, Chapter 1, p.32)</em></td>
<td>A garment worn by Thai women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A clear translation is not added to those two items in English texts. Non-Thai readers perhaps contextually know the two words with the two verbs ‘wearing’ and ‘tightened’. However, these verbs do not sufficiently help identify the Thai cultural meaning of the words ‘*phathung*’ and ‘*sarong*’. The former is limited to female users while the latter, a Malay loan in Thai language, can be extended to a male user. Nevertheless, Thai females usually use the word ‘*pathung*’ rather than ‘*sarong*’. In this way, other words found in this study that are similar to the two words are ‘*panung*’ and ‘*phakomah*’.

Further, the domain of human characteristics which refer to ethnicity, gender, and occupation consists of various words. Some popular words are discussed as follows:

Table 6.4: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Human Characteristics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>farang</td>
<td>Ma doesn’t want me bonking a <em>farang</em> because once, long ago… <em>(STS, Farangs, p.5)</em></td>
<td>Whites or Europeans /Westerners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kratoey</td>
<td>A <em>kratoey</em> with heavy makeup wearing a red blouse arrives at the front of the line. <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.60)</em></td>
<td>Transvestite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two words which often appear in many English texts have no translation attached. Nonetheless, the foreign readers who visit Thailand perhaps understand these
words without translation. Aside from these, other words under this domain are found - siew, manus tangdao, huana, mohfarang, sopheni, and taanaiyai.

Moreover, the domain of Thai house and its components is full of words such as “bannkhunluang, sala, moobaan, soi and klong.” The musical instrument domain on the other hand, comprises three words: kaen, pinai, and taphon. In addition, other domains carry a few words as follows: (i) money (baht and satang); (ii) greetings (namasakara and wai); (iii) sports (chok muay); (iv) countries and cities (patetfalang and muang); (v) transportations (tuk-tuk and samlor); (vi) feelings (sanuke and maen); (vii) actions (nang and khii laad); (viii) tabooed words (huakuai and rad); (ix) Chinese terms (heng); and (x) events (samana). The findings of these items are illustrated in Appendix E.

6.1.2 Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing

Reduplicating lexical borrowing concerns loanwords in which meanings are paraphrased and translated in the form of either brackets or appositives. Similar to independent loans, this type embodies the largest number of terms in Buddhism and superstition. Some key words are discussed in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>“He was crying and carrying on so, but I couldn’t spend him back; the dictates of Yama, the Death Lord, are irreversible.” <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.59)</em></td>
<td>The Death Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>krod</td>
<td>Having tightly tied the krod, a large umbrella equipped with an insect screen and a wooden pole that could be pitched and set up like a small round tent to protect him from dew and insects,… <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 10, p.360)</em></td>
<td>A large umbrella used by a wandering monk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These words are repeated by their meaning in appositives, brackets, and translations. All words have their clear definition in English, except the word ‘krod’ in which a specific user is not provided. This word is probably complicated for non-Thai readers. Although English equivalents are given to all words, they cannot replace these local items which reflect Thai culture more. Along this domain are several more words: wat, kot, Wan Phut, pangpueatlok, Vipasana, palangkam, ngaan wat, lakesith, khao song, phi tai hong, phi krasue, jaothi, saan-phraphum, Maehaeng, pipramae, kwan, piprapor, mohpifa, luke-pi, kokpipalok, and sukwan.

Likewise, the food domain carries a number of significant words as in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>tongyip, tongyod</td>
<td>Platters held orange balls and strands of tongyip and tongyod, sweet Thai desserts, their golden color symbolizing prosperity. (CLD, Chapter 12, p.147)</td>
<td>Sweet Thai desserts in golden colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gaeng kiow wan</td>
<td>In his apartment, a grizzled cook served up a screamingly piquant gaeng kiow wan, and I must confess that though I usually can’t stand Thai food, the heat of this sweet green curry blew me away. (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.14)</td>
<td>Sweet green curry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 6.6, the expression ‘sweet Thai desserts’ is reduplicated after the words ‘tongyip’ and ‘tongyod’. Moreover, the noun phrase ‘sweet green curry’ is an
English direct translation to the word ‘gaeng’ (curry) ‘kiow’ (green) ‘wan’ (sweet). Additionally, other Thai culinary items found are awsuan, kanom chan, kanom morkang, playang, kaokaibaikapraw, kao jaw, kao niaw, somtam, and pladaek.

Furthermore, the domain of human features comprises the following words:

**Table 6.7: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Human Characteristics)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>luk krueng</td>
<td>May was <em>luk krueng</em>, half Caucasian and half Thai. The <em>luk krueng</em>’s light skin and high-bridged nose defined the pinnacle of beauty in Thailand. <em>(CLD, Chapter 6, p.85)</em></td>
<td>Half-Caucasian and half Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pakwan</td>
<td>“I don’t believe you, a married man with two mistresses. It’s sweet-talking. You’re very <em>pakwan</em>.” <em>(SDC, Chapter 19, p.490)</em></td>
<td>Sweet-talking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Referring to Table 6.7, the word ‘half Caucasian and half Thai’ is repeated after the vernacular ‘*luk krueng*’, which is another popular Thai word found in English texts. Meanwhile, the expression ‘sweet-talking’ appears prior to its Thai adjective ‘*pakwan*’. This looks similar to code-switching, but it is also considered a reduplicating loan. In addition, this domain carries many other words: *dek khaya, chaolay, konsuan, miano*, *mialuang, naama, konbaannok, katoey, maebaan, deemak, lukepuchai, raengkin, pudi ungrit, keeka* and *mohfalang*. 
On the other hand, the animal domain provides a number of local words below.

### Table 6.8: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Animal Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>luke-gop</td>
<td>“Por, today, I read in my spelling book about a luke-gop, a tadpole, called Od. Let’s call him Luke-gop, all right, Por?” (SDC, Chapter 1, p.31)</td>
<td>Tadpole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>palaa</td>
<td>And I noticed that the place smelled strange—a scent I’d never encountered before—a bit rancid, like palaa fish left too long in the sun. (STS, At the Café Lovely, p.27)</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 6.8, the words ‘tadpole’ and ‘fish’ are reduplicated after the words ‘luke-gop’ and ‘palaa’, respectively. The use of these vernaculars is similar to the process of code-mixing; however, they are intentionally included as loans with their translation for other non-Thai readers and distinctive Thai English words. Other terms for animals are luke-naam, jung, maa, achaanay, and kapom.

Apart from these, the house items carry different words in unison in relation to ‘house/home’: “baan, hongsuam, baansomwang, banvimarnman, baansongsiam, and baanyai”. Moreover, words for equipment and machine domains are “tang, kiangbin, nalika, tuyen, and kiah pup-aakud.” Further, three words belong to Thai names – Prem, Nit and Lek. Similarly, the plant items are “phuttachat, yaplong, ton yang, kha, baimakood, and takai”. Likewise, the greeting function is made up of three items: sawatdee, wai, and khobkhun. Finally, the following domains encompass a few items: (i) cities (Kroong-thep, and changwat); (ii) clothes (sabai and kiah); (iii) music and song (ramwong and Sai Fon); (iv) taboo (Dawson); (v) marriage (sinsod); (vi) literature (Manora); and (vii) drug (yaabaa). These items are detailed in Appendix E.
From the two types of lexical borrowing presented, the words found are commonly used by the Thai people in different domains. However, the words “farang, katoey, klong, somtam, padthai, wai, wat, luk-krung, sawasdee, chock muay, satang, baht, tuk-tuk, sanuk, Krung-thep, and sarong” appear to be more popularly found in English texts in Thailand. Among these, the words “farang, wat, baht, satang, tuk-tuk, sarong, Krung-thep, and klong” are found in the latest edition of Oxford English Dictionary (2012). Although the word ‘sarong’ is not of Thai language, it is a popular loanword. In addition, the word ‘chock muay’ is another imported Thai word into this dictionary though it appears in its translated version, namely ‘Thai boxing’ (Oxforddictionaries.com, 2012). Hence, such words with Thai origins in this Standard English dictionary are regarded as Thai English words.

It is important to note that independent and reduplicating loanwords share certain features. The majority of them are based on Pali-Sanskrit meanwhile some items are from Chinese and a few items are Malay. These three main languages are borrowed into Thai language. Interestingly, an outstanding feature found in both types of loans is phonological creativity, especially with regard to the consonant sounds /r/ and /l/ and the diphthongs /iang/ and /eung/ in Thai. The words pratetfālang, baimakood, takai and mohfālang mirror Thais’ mispronunciation because of the difficulty in articulating the retroflex and consonant cluster sounds. Note that the correct words in accordance to Standard Thai should be pratetfarang, baimakrood, takrai, and mohfarang. Likewise, the words like kiangbin and kiangpub-aakud are reflective of North-eastern Thai accents; they are more familiar with pronouncing the diphthong /iang/ than /eung/. The proper words should be kreuungbin and kreuungprub-aakud.
Overall, those two sub-categories of lexical borrowing in the selected Thai English fiction parallel particular loans found in previous studies in Thai English and other Asian Englishes. The items found in this study - *farang, sanuke, wai, klong, tuktuk*, and *kwan* - become the unique Thai English words because they also appear in Butler’s (1996;1999a;and 1999b), Bolton’s (2003b), and Jantori’s (2007) studies. Likewise, three words of this study yield certain words used in a Thai English novel *Until the Karma Ends: A Plot to Destroy Burma* (Watkhoolam, 2005: 154). The word *chock muay* is an informal version of the word *Muay Thai* (a Thai kick-boxing style). Moreover, the items *pathung* and *panung* are synonymous to the item *pasin*, three terms used interchangeably to refer to a Thai lady’s sarong. In this regard, the word *sarong* in this study refers to men’s clothes. It is a distinctive Asian English word for both genders and appears as different terms in Malaysian English: *batik sarong, sarong* or *sarung* (Tan, 2009: 8). Furthermore, the word *pad thai* can refer to the Chinese-Hokkien word *kuay teaw* (noodle) in a Singapore English novel ‘The Adventures of Holden Heng’ (1986) by Robert Yeo (Wong, 1992: 114-115) since the word *kuay teaw pad thai* is used by some Thais. Besides, the word *saisin* parallels the word *thali* in Tamil Malaysian English from K.S Maniam’s The Return (Lowenberg, 1992: 253) as both convey sacred devices for a religious ritual. Moreover, the words *moobaan* and *Baan* are equal to the Malaysian English word *kampung* in A New Year’s Day Lunch in Kia Peng (Govendan, 2001: 117). In addition, the Thai word *tonyang* and the Philippine English *hinagdong* in Children of the Ash-Covered Loam and Other Stories (Platt et al., 1984: 180-181) represent loanwords of specific trees in Asian cultures. Finally, the words *tongyip, tongyod, kanomchan*, and *kanom morkang* are similar to the Indian English words *samosas, nan*, and *jalebis* in Rushdie’s writings (Langeland, 1996: 17) because they are traditional desserts. On the whole, the lexical borrowing items in this study have particular semantic features similar to those found in former research in Thai
English and other Englishes. In contrast, examples of lexico-phonological variation are found only in this study and not in the studies reviewed.

### 6.2 Modes of Address and Reference

The fiction analysed provides five aspects of modes of addressing and referencing used by the Thai characters as addressees and addressers – the royal family members, monks and learned men, kinship terms, commoners, and Chinese Thais.

#### 6.2.1 Modes of Addressing and Referencing for the Royal Family Members

Thailand is a monarchical country, so words describing the royal family members are present in the study. The following items for addressing and referencing to indicate the sacredness and superiority are described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Divine King Chulalong-Korn</td>
<td>I didn’t want a ride from my father because I had a secret errand or two to do on the way to the cemetery where Khun Chud Snit’s remains had lain since the time of the Divine King Chulalongkorn. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.40)</em></td>
<td>The fifth King of the Rattanakosin Period of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>His Divine Majesty Rama the Sixth</td>
<td>…and I remembered that she had once been the third minor wife of a provincial functionary of the government of His Divine Majesty Rama the Sixth. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 50)</em></td>
<td>The sixth King of the Rattanakosin Period</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word ‘Divine’ displays atheisms via the King of Thailand. Buddhism is atheist, so the King becomes godly or holy when being referred to by a commoner who uses the pronoun ‘I’ to refer to himself. The writer of the book ‘DFS’ thus takes this lexical strategy for granted to portray the Thai Kings via the Thais’ perception.
6.2.2 Modes of Addressing and Referencing for Monks and Learned Men

Titles and referencing terms for Buddhist priests and learned men as well as for non-Buddhist monks represent a selection of unique lexicon in English and Thai.

Table 6.10: Titles for Monks and Involving Persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pra</td>
<td>Pra Sungwian Suwanapumi, the monk, carefully paced the path; his eyes observed only… <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.101)</em></td>
<td>The title for monks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Naak</td>
<td>Naak Prem began chanting the pea in the Pali language – the official language of the Buddha… <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p. 297)</em></td>
<td>The title for a person about to be ordained as a Buddhist priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>the Pundit Piksu</td>
<td>Early in the morning Prem Surin <em>the Pundit Piksu</em>, one of the two monks residing at Wat Napo, went out for alms along the village lanes. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 7, p. 339)</em></td>
<td>A learned monk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monks are hierarchically superior to many others and key persons for Buddhism in the Thai society, so word choices for addressing and referencing must also reflect this hierarchy. The word *Pra* is a formal title put for particular given names of monks. Meanwhile, the title *Naak* displays a temporary title for a monk-to-be. It is changed to *Pra* when the monk is ordained. After the ordination, a monk-to-be who has become pra will be called *Pundit Piksu*. This title is for a newly graduated monk. However, the word *Luke-sith* is an informal title for a monk follower or disciple, particularly a temple boy who helps a monk’s food offerings (Dhammajak.net, 2003).
Table 6.11: Referencing Terms for Monks and Learned Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>luangphoh</td>
<td>However, as the luangphoh became ever more frantic, waving... <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.176)</em></td>
<td>Venerable monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atma</td>
<td>Sometimes he’d remember to refer to himself as atma, but at other times he’d speak like anyone off the street. He was saying, “But mother, atma is miserable, …” <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.177)</em></td>
<td>The pronouns ‘I’ and ‘me’ used by a monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Honourable Brother</td>
<td>“Yes, Honourable Brother, I’ll take and practice the Eight Silas,”… <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.114)</em></td>
<td>Elderly Buddhist priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>the Pundit Piksu</td>
<td>Early in the morning Prem Surin the Pundit Piksu, one of the two monks residing at Wat Napo, went out for alms along the village lanes. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 7, p.339)</em></td>
<td>A learned or graduated monk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 6.11, the word *luangphoh* is used by commoners to address a monk who is as old as their father. Likewise, the word ‘Honourable Brother’ or *luangpi* is addressed to a monk who has the same age with a commoner’s older brother. Meanwhile, the word *atma* is used as a monk’s first-person pronoun when he talks to commoners who are addressed as *yom* *(Kapongpaang, 2006)*.

Table 6.12: Modes of Addressing and Referencing for Non-Buddhist Priests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Phra Yesu</td>
<td><em>Phra Yesu</em>, the Christian god, who was an incarnation of the god Vishnu, … <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.72)</em></td>
<td>Jesus Christ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sacred title *Phra* is also attached to other religious prophets when being addressed by Thais. The word *Yesu* implies a Thai pronunciation of ‘Jesus’.
6.2.3 Modes of Addressing and Referencing for Kinship Terms

Thailand is a collective society, many kinship terms are thus those that are most likely to be nativised. This heading shows terms and their titles in the family setting as follows:

Table 6.13: Kinship Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Luk</td>
<td>…Remember, <em>luk</em>, we have an agreement. (STS, Farangs, p.3)</td>
<td>The pronoun for son or daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ma</td>
<td><em>Ma</em> says, ‘Pussy and elephants…’ (STS, Farangs, p.2)</td>
<td>Mother (Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nong</td>
<td>Then <em>Nong</em> and I am gonna dance. (STS, At the Café Lovely, p.42)</td>
<td>Younger brother or younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Mama</em></td>
<td>‘…<em>Mama</em> doesn’t like it.’ (STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p.100)</td>
<td>Mother (Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pa</td>
<td><em>Pa</em> had taken us the wax museum once, and I remember thinking that. (STS, At the Café Lovely, pp. 25-26)</td>
<td>Father (Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Pii</em></td>
<td>“<em>Pii</em> Setthi, everyone says you have fallen in love with Kanithee,…” (CLD, Chapter 1, p.8) …and I was completely convinced that some spirit or another had taken hold of <em>Pii</em> Lek, … (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 170)</td>
<td>The pronoun for addressing one’s husband Older brother (or older sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Por</td>
<td>“<em>Por</em>, today, I read in my spelling book about a luke-gop, a tadpole, called Od. Let’s call him Luke-gop, all right, <em>Por</em>?” (SDC, Chapter 1, p.31)</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Maeyai</td>
<td>After grandmother Tamee’s death Boonliang slipped into the role of <em>maeyai</em> (grandmother). (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 267)</td>
<td>Grandmother (North-eastern Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Elder Mother</td>
<td>“If you dare bring that bitch into our house,” Elder Mother was saying, … (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.163)</td>
<td>Major wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Younger Mother</td>
<td>“Well,” Younger Mother (my own) said, “I don’t mind as long as you make sure she’s a servant. But if you marry her…” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 163)</td>
<td>Minor wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The terms *luk*, *ma*, *nong*, *pa*, *pii*, and *por* above can be used as first, second, and third pronouns of addressers and addressees. However, the term *maeyai* is used for only second and third pronouns. These terms exhibit the status of a person and a close relationship in a Thai family (Na Thalang, 2007). In conversation, these kinship terms...
are thus used for the English pronouns “you, he, and she”, etc. Prominently, the two terms ‘Elder Mother’ and ‘Younger Mother’, translations from Mae Yai (big mother) and Mae Lek (little mother), imply third person pronouns in an extended family.

**Table 6.14: Titles and Kinship Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Taanpor</td>
<td>I know no one here except the man and woman whom I have to call Taanpor and Taanmae and to be referred to as Taanluke... (SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p.317)</td>
<td>Gracious father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Taanmae</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gracious mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Taanluke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gracious son or daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Khun Chuaad</td>
<td>I didn’t want a ride from my father because I had a secret errand or two to do on the way to the cemetery where Khun Chuaad Snit’s remains had lain since the time of the Divine King Chulalongkorn. (DFS, Lottery Night, p.40)</td>
<td>A respectful title for great-grand mother or father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Khun Por</td>
<td>“Oh, please, Khun Por!” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.38)</td>
<td>A respectful title for father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>khun mae</td>
<td>On the one hand there was this farang woman sitting on the floor, clumsily rolling rice balls with one hand and attempting to address my mother as khun mae, much to their discomfiture… (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.172)</td>
<td>A respectful title for mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>khun mae yai</td>
<td>“All right, khun mae yai, if that’s what you want.” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.169)</td>
<td>A respectful title for one’s mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Khun Pii</td>
<td>“Yes, Khun Pii, it was the most astonishing performance I’ve ever seen…” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.170)</td>
<td>A respectful title for older brother or sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those nine items represent the hierarchical sequence of respectful titles and kinship terms in a Thai family. This presents two main formal titles; ‘taan’ is more respectful than ‘khun’. These two titles portray a large gap between an addresser and an addressee if they are used in a non-family context. When these titles are added to certain kinship terms, the degree of such a gap will be minimised for only politeness.
6.2.4 Modes of Addressing and Referencing for Commoners

Lexical choices for addressing and referencing Thai commoners are varied in relation to classes, genders, occupations, and styles. This is evident in the following:

Table 6.15: Titles for Commoners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Khunying</td>
<td><em>Khunying</em> Jintana Luangboonmee was Auntie Jin’s full name, was recognized by any Thai who had ever picked up a newspaper or scanned a magazine’s society column. The title <em>khunying</em> was bestowed upon Auntie Jin by His Majesty the King for her devoted charity work over more than a decade. <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, pp.22-23)</em></td>
<td>Lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Does the <em>khunying</em> often lose her earrings?” I asked Rapi, who was now kneeling at the low table… <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.134)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khun</td>
<td>“<em>Khun</em> Khim, it’s time to get up,” Tiu coaxed, merciful in her daily act of torture. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p.29)</em></td>
<td>A respectful title for men and women in Thai society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kru Kroo</td>
<td><em>Kru</em> Noi came to the compound every Saturday and Sunday afternoon. <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.45)</em></td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Father’s name,” said <em>Kroo</em> Kumjai, eyes on the paper while his pen held… <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.51)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Krooyai</td>
<td><em>Krooyai</em> usually takes a nap after the school is over,” Anucha explained. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p. 570)</em></td>
<td>Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Khamnan</td>
<td><em>Khamnan</em> Tongdee Meesak coughed. <em>(SDC, Chapter 1, p.28)</em></td>
<td>Head of a sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ajarn</td>
<td>… and the lecturers <em>Ajarn</em> Chanticha Stayadhama and <em>Ajarn</em> Sawitri Somwang were invited to participate as if they had been born in Napo. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.438)</em></td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>puyaibaan</td>
<td>Our <em>puyaibaan</em> (the big man of the hamlet) had one… But then a gang of bandits came and took the radio thing, killing <em>puyaibaan</em> in the process. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.87)</em></td>
<td>Head of a village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Referring to Table 6.15, the word *khunying* is different from others in that it is a royal title for commoners. Meanwhile, the title *khun* is very general as all male and female Thais and foreigners in the country can be respectfully addressed. However, the
titles kru (kroo), krooyai, and ajarn are honorific for teacher positions. The words kru and krooyai are limited to teachers at primary and secondary levels while the word ajarn can be used for those at all levels, especially at the tertiary level. However, the title kru is more informal than the title ajarn. Likewise, the titles khamnan and puyaibaan parallel the titles kru and krooyai in the folk life. In fact, the title puyaibaan is often clipped as puyai when used by villagers.

Table 6.16: Referencing Terms for Commoners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taannaiyai</td>
<td>“I want to see taannaiyai’s bedroom, the son demanded reassuming an air of being tannainoi (junior master) and taanluek (gracious son) at the same time”.</td>
<td>Gracious Senior master Gracious Junior master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tannainoi</td>
<td>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p.321)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Taannai</td>
<td>Taannai Dhani smiled magnanimously, saying: “When it seems almost impossible to get something done, it may indicate that the machine is clogged and so it needs some lubrication…”</td>
<td>Gracious master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Taan</td>
<td>“Have you been re-appointed officially?” “Not yet, Taan” Kumjai said hoarsely. His parched throat would not yield.</td>
<td>Sir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>than mor phi</td>
<td>My mother said, “Does the than mor phi want a glass of water? Or would he prefer Coca-Cola?”</td>
<td>Gracious spirit doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Your Humble Younger Sibling</td>
<td>I said, “Yes, Khun Pii, it was the most astonishing performance I’ve ever seen. Indeed, a bit too astonishing, if you don’t mind your Humble Younger Sibling saying so. I mean, do you think they really appreciated it? If you ask me, you were just fiddling for water buffaloes.”</td>
<td>The polite reference to one’s younger brothers or sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mr No Problem</td>
<td>On that day, the Supreme Commander, supported by three armed forces, seized power from the Shatchai Shunwan government, … In fact, he had been saying that there was no problem so often that he has been named Mr No Problem. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, pp.701-702)</td>
<td>The title used by mass media for an ex-premier of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nay</td>
<td>“Nay, not a..a..afraid,” he managed to raise his voice against the sound of rain and thunder.</td>
<td>Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>porliang</td>
<td>They’d rather be hangers-on, always on the lookout for hosts, porliang (godfathers) or peeliang (big brothers) to provide for them in their every need.</td>
<td>Godfathers Big brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>peeliang</td>
<td>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, pp.418-419)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No(s)</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt(s)</td>
<td>Meaning(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Tatip Henkai sat upright, closing his eyes to channel an inner sight in the search. (SDC, Chapter 2, p.41) Since then there was not a woman who would marry Ta Sa, fearing that they might share the same fate… (SDC, Chapter 3, p.56)</td>
<td>Senior villager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ta Si</td>
<td>“Two of us, native sons, born in the same week, same month, and the same year, could reach a little higher than Ta Si, Ta Sa, Ta Mee or Tom, Dick and Harry to you, and yet none of our achievements is meant for our own people…” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 34, p.695)</td>
<td>Uneducated old people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ta Sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ta Mee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nong</td>
<td>“Nong Jan. Haven’t seen you for so long!” (CLD, Chapter 6, p.86)</td>
<td>Sister (unreal younger or older sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>phuan</td>
<td>‘You’re a mystery to me, phuan,’ Surachai says, climbing higher now into the branches. (STS, Farangs, p.20)</td>
<td>Friend, dude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ai</td>
<td>It took him a minute or two to recognize us, and then he said, “Well, well, Ai Noi! I gave the family quite a scare, didn’t I?” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 170) Dani invited Prawit, nicknamed Ewit in jolly circles. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.406)</td>
<td>Term of endearment between males For women/ Gays (intimacy) Ai for male pets E for female pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>“We can sell one or two buffaloes to raise the amount of money you want.” …Unfortunately, Kiang had planned to sell Ai tong and Edam to make three thousand baht to have a wife. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 127)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In accordance to Table 6.16, these items are arranged from formality to intimacy. The word ‘taan’ is the hierarchy of the honorific term for the higher status of Thai gentlemen and ladies. In this context, ‘taannaiyai’ and ‘taannainoi’ convey their more formal nature when compared to ‘taannai’, which is much more polite than the word ‘nai’ (nay). Hence, the word ‘taan morphii’ reflects the addresser’s admiration and respect towards a key person of superstitious rites in the Thai society. In this regard, the word ‘taan’ can be referred to all masters respectfully. Moreover, the word ‘Your Humble Younger Sibling’ presents a formal style of language used by a family member.
who points out politeness. Then, the word ‘Mr. No Problem’ is a special term addressed by Thai media personnel; this word is not so much in use at the present with the demise of this person. Meanwhile, the term ‘Nay’ indicates a gap between an addresser and addressee as it displays an authority. In fact, the word ‘Nay’ implies a stronger voice than the word ‘Taan’ although both have similar intentions of use. However, the terms ‘porliang’ and ‘peeliang’ seem to reduce such a gap. An informal style of words obviously appears in the terms ‘Ta’, ‘Mae’, and ‘Nong’, which are not related to kinship. The words ‘Ta’ and ‘Mae’ act for the status of male and female seniority respectively among other younger villagers. According to Thiengburanathum (1999: 524), the terms “Ta Si, Ta Sa, and Ta Mee”, however, indicate more patronising than respecting when referred to aged persons with lower education in all regions of the country. On the other hand, the word ‘Nong’ depicts a respect conveyed by older persons in the Thai society. The word ‘Little Mouse’ also shows adults’ adoration toward little children. Next, the word ‘phuan’ is a polite term for the intimacy; this word is more formal than the words ‘Ai’ and ‘E’. Among friends and siblings, if the terms ‘Ai’ and ‘Ei’ are added to certain (nick) names like ‘Ai Wit’ and ‘E Pim’, they may be rude but very intimate. When these terms are used with pets’ names, they address a close relationship with their owners.

6.2.5 Modes of Addressing and Referencing for Chinese Thais

The selected writers point out authentic terms for the Thai characters with Chinese origins.
Table 6.17: Referencing Terms for Chinese Thais

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>He was referred to by the Chinese as a <em>sia</em>, or an affluent businessman, ... <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p.15)</em></td>
<td>An affluent businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>thaokae</td>
<td>It was our job to sell them to the <em>thaokae</em> who owned the only souvenir shop in the town... <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.160 )</em></td>
<td>The owner of shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jek</td>
<td>“Hungry, you little Chink?” he says. “Little Chink. Little Jek.” <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.114)</em> Missing were the schoolteacher, a modern man who did not believe in such a rite and Jek Jia, the Chinese shopkeeper. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.648)</em></td>
<td>Chinese people (father’s younger brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Apae</td>
<td>Then I felt my stomach shoot up to my throat like one of those bottle rockets Anek and I used to set off in front of Apae’s convenience store just to piss him off. <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.27)</em></td>
<td>Chinese old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Muoi</td>
<td>“<em>Muoi, muoi,</em>” he said, “the flesh just won’t give.” “Don’t call me <em>muoi,</em>” I said. “I’m not your little sister, I’m the boss’s daughter…” <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.11)</em></td>
<td>Chinese girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.17 provides referencing and addressing terms for more Chinese males than females. All those items based on the Teochew Chinese dialect are used in the Thai society. The words ‘*sia*’ and ‘*thaokae*’ have good connotation as they mean rich people. Moreover, these words can also be used to refer to non-Chinese Thais who fit this expression of wealth. Furthermore, the words ‘apae’ and ‘muoi’ originally mean a father’s older brother and a younger sister, respectively. In this context, the two words have a neutral degree of connotation as their meanings which have been addressed by Thais are extended to an old man and a girl in a Chinese family. However, the word ‘jek’ conveys the worst connotation here. Although it is derived from the word ‘ajek’ or a father’s younger brother’, its phonological and semantic shift makes this word insulting in a sense that Thai-ethnic Thais have been addressing Chinese Thais with the term ‘jek’ *(Krooree.box, 2009)*. Pragmatically, all these terms are likely to be part of Thai language and have been used by many other Thai English writers of fiction and non-fiction, thus they reflect a range of Thai English lexicon.
It could be said that the writers prefer to use modes of addressing and referencing in Thai (and other vernaculars like Pali-Sanskrit and Chinese) rather than in English because they represent lexical transfer from socio-cultural identity of the Thai people. If the writers replace those Thai terms with Standard English ones, the locality and ideology of the characters as well as the authentic language use in the Thai setting will not be highlighted. However, a number of English terms for this lexical strategy are created with either semantic or morphological differences from those of native English lexicons, that is, “The Divine King Chulalongkorn, honourable brother, elder mother, younger mother, your humble younger sibling, and little mouse.” As a whole, the majority of these Thai items are verbally used by the Thai people. The most outstanding words are “pra, Khun, Khunying, phi, nong, ajarn, and taan” as they have been frequently found in different English texts.

Compared to earlier studies, a number of emerging addressing and referencing terms in Thai English resemble those in Bolton’s (2003b) and Jantori’s (2007) studies – phra, khun, khunying, kru, ajarn, nong, and phi. Likewise, the titles ‘pra’ in Thai English and ‘sandara’ in an Indian English novel A Train to Pakistan (Mehrotra, 1989: 428-429) are used for the honorific terms for Buddhist and Sikh leaders respectively. Like the Arabic and Turkish terms in an Egyptian English novel The Map of Love, the Thai terms ‘puyaibaan’ and ‘khamnan’ are equal to the term ‘Umdah’ due to their reference to ‘village chief’. Furthermore, the term ‘luangpoh’ is parallel to ‘Fadilatukum’ because of titles for high ranking religious key persons. Moreover, the Thai word ‘khun pti’ is related to ‘Abeih’ as they are titles for oldest brothers (Albakry and Hancok, 2008: 226). Besides, the Thai title ‘taan’ is equivalent to the title ‘tuan’ in the Malaysian English literature And the Rain my Drink (Yap, 1976: 68) since both mean ‘sir’. Apart from these, the title ‘khunying’ is similar to the Malaysian English
title ‘Datuk’ in A New Year’s Day Lunch in Kia Peng (Azirah, 2007: 37). The former is confined to only female holders while the latter can be awarded to both sexes, but the titles provide recognition to the bearers. Another similar term between Thai English and Malaysian English is ‘thaokae’ (Tan, 2009: 463) or ‘towkay’ (Azirah and Leitner, 2011: 563) because it is a Chinese loan in Thai. Additionally, the Thai referencing term for commoners like ‘phuan’ is synonymous to the terms ‘Comrade Young Shao’ and ‘Brother Shao’ in China English in a novella In the Pond (Zhang, 2002: 308) although it has no English word attached. Lastly, the Thai kinship terms “Por, Pa, Taanpor, and Khun Por” yield the terms ‘the one in my house’ and ‘the father of the children’ in Sri Lankan English fiction by Wijenaike (Dissanayake and Nichter, 1987: 114-115). These features indicate similarities between the findings of this category and previous studies. In contrast, this category also differs from that in the review as it provides the greater use of Thai words rather than in an English-translation version. Moreover, some complicated terms, especially for the royal family members, are not found in the review.

6.3 Loan Translation

Three kinds of loan translation or calques arise in this study: word-for-word translation, fixed collocation, and cursing.

6.3.1 Word-for-Word Translation

Word-by-word translation refers to English lexis that is directly translated from Thai. All words fall into the rank-shifted type, not the rank-bound one. Rank-bound translations refer to English words in which non-native writers attempt to translate at the same rank in their local lexis constituting parts. Meanwhile, rank-shifted translations do not possess morphological structure of English words in the equivalent rank of local
words (Kachru, 1983b: 133-134). In this regard, the words found that represent Thai identity in English and resemble Asian Englishes are classified according to these criteria.

### Table 6.18: Word-for-Word Translation (Distinctive Thai Items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>minor wife</td>
<td>…I remembered that she had once been the third <em>minor wife</em> of a provincial functionary of the government of His Divine Majesty Rama the Sixth. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.50)</em></td>
<td>Mistress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sticky rice</td>
<td>…Priscilla’s mother would often make <em>sticky rice</em> for us. <em>(STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p.104)</em></td>
<td>Glutinous rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dog-eating ethnic group</td>
<td>Some men from <em>dog-eating ethnic groups</em>, mostly from Sakol and Panom, come to look for dogs. <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p.144)</em></td>
<td>A group of people who eat dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>coconut room</td>
<td>… I once saw her in what we used to call “the coconut room” … This was a tiny shack with one single window where coconuts for cooking were kept. <em>(UOS, Sisi, p.84)</em></td>
<td>The room for collecting coconuts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 6.18, the four words are rank-shifted translated. They would be rank-bound if they had been translated as ‘wife minor’, ‘rice sticky’, ‘group ethnic eating dog’, and ‘room coconut’. Indeed, they are Thai items as their semantic and pragmatic segments are restricted to Thai language and they are not found in other varieties of English. Other translated loanwords of the Thai culture are detailed in **Appendix E**. They are elephant-trekking business, the annual district draft lottery, heart-stop building, rent free land, Temple of Dawn, pre-breakfast and post-afternoon nap cars, red-ants’ nest, money-making ministries, hill-tribe, rice winner, kite-flying wind, street-side fried chicken stalls, canal taxi, begging trip, begging-bowl, taste bud-cheating stuff, high-ranking thief, sinister producer, pock-marked money face, noisy propaganda, multi-uncle, multi-great uncle, short-time hotel users, and little car toilets.
Moreover, the following translated loans are used by Thais and other Asian English users:

Table 6.19: Word-for-Word Translation (Asian English Items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>shophouse</td>
<td>It was only a <em>shophouse</em>, like the thousands of tiny two-story shophouses all over the city – short and common, square and concrete, in need of a new paint job. <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.34)</em></td>
<td>A two or three-storied house in Southeast Asia in which ground floor is a shop but upper floors are for living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vote selling</td>
<td>He smiled with the joy so simple and yet enthralling and more precious than the gain of twenty baht from <em>vote selling</em>. <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.50)</em></td>
<td>An act of voting a certain politician candidate with bribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Four-Faced Brahma shrine</td>
<td>“Well, he made a pledge to the <em>four-Faced Brahma shrine</em> next to the Erawan hotel that, if the exorcism worked, he’d have a troupe of dancers immediately perform ‘The Dance of the Celestial Chickens’…” <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.49)</em></td>
<td>The Brahmin god that has four faces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the distinctive Thai items, these three words are of rank-shifted translations. They would be rank-bound in Thai if they had been translated as ‘house shop’, ‘selling vote’, and ‘Shire Brahma Four-Faced’. This is also similar to other vernaculars in Asia. The first item is uniquely Southeast Asianised as it is lexicon of Singapore and Malaysian English (Lugg, 1984: 18; Choo, 1984: 44). The items ‘vote selling’ and ‘Four-Faced Brahma Shire’ are postulated as a contemporary word used by Asians (and others) influenced by politics and religious beliefs. At this point, other loans from Thais’ socio-culture that are assumed as similarity to other Asians’ are “water-taxi, water-bus, lottery-dreamer, and powerful vote buyer”.

6.3.2 Fixed Collocations

Collocation refers to the way words have relations and combinations together.

There are four types of collocation as follows: (i) *unique collocations* are, for example,
the uniqueness of the word ‘foot’ that is used as a verb in the collocation “foot the bill”, as no other collocation like “footing the coffee” will occur; (ii) *strong or fixed collocations* allow no or a few words to collocate as they are mostly idiomatic expressions of a particular culture such as *trenchant criticism* and *fired with enthusiasm*; (iii) *weak collocations* allow words to combine with easily with adjectives like “long, short, cheap, expensive, good or bad”; and (iv) *medium-strength collocations* provide a middle range of word combinations such as the collocation ‘make a mistake’ that is not stored as a single item (Hill, 2000: 48, 50-64). In World Englishes, the loan translation creates collocations not usually found in native English as they address innovative lexicon with a strong socio-cultural reference to non-Anglo Englishes (Kachru and Smith, 2008: 107). Hence, this study contains collocations fixed to Thai idioms and translated into English. Majority of them are rank-shifted translations as shown below.

**Table 6.20: Fixed Collocations (Rank-Shifted Translation)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>spirit doctor</td>
<td>The interview with the spirit doctor was set for the following week.</td>
<td>Shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.178)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>spirit house, guardian spirit</td>
<td>…, having drifted through the open window from the spirit house – a miniature replica of the old house – where the guardian spirit resided, protecting the compound from evil spirits outside. <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.49)</em></td>
<td>Shrine of the household god. Local god of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>temple-arrested</td>
<td>Instead of going back to reside at his former abode, Wat Borombopit, in the Divine City of Angels, the second-time round priest intended to spend the rest of his life in what he called ‘temple-arrested’ in Wat Napo, this raising the number of the ordained to four. <em>(SDC (Book II, Chapter 15, p.441)</em></td>
<td>Entering or living in the priesthood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>past karma</td>
<td>But the damned temple boy blamed no one but himself for his past karma and for having the knack of incurring aversion. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.117)</em></td>
<td>One’s past deeds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to Table 6.20, items 1-3 are similar in that they share the word ‘spirit’ which can be combined with some words only – ‘house’ and ‘guardian’.
There are two other words which emerged in this study: ‘the supernatural and spirits of dark things’ and ‘the Spirits of the Universe’. Meanwhile, some items irrelevant to ‘nature’ like ‘computer’ (spirit computer) and ‘telephone’ (spirit telephone) are not usually found in Thai collocations. Moreover, the word ‘arrested’ has a sense of illegal case, namely being jailed so when used to combine the word ‘temple’, the result is contradictory. However, this collocation has no negative connotation; being arrested in a temple is not because of illegal behaviour but “strictly residing in the temple area for following the monkhood rules for the enlightenment”. Additionally, the Sanskrit (Indian/Thai) English word ‘karma’ is modified by the adjective ‘past’. This is also a fixed collocation as this modification is restricted to a few words of past time situations regarding the Hindu-Buddhist culture – ‘old’ or ‘previous’. However, the word ‘past’ is the best that fits this collocation. In contrast, its hyponym ‘new’ cannot be linked to this word; the collocation ‘new karma’ is unavailable in this culture. These words are translated in rank-shift; they would be rank-bound translations if they had been ordered in Thai as ‘doctor spirit’, ‘house spirit’, ‘spirit guardian’, ‘arrest temple’, and ‘karma past’.

Many other rank-shifted loans shown in Appendix F are grouped in relation to different domains. Firstly, collocations of Buddhist beliefs, ceremonies, and practices are: “reborn, afterlife, soul-destroying, the 227 tenets, Eight Precepts, soul-beckoning mantra, the rain-begging rite, next world, the Ruler of the Earth and the Sky, soul-binding rite, the Karmic Force, the Fellowship of the Order, and sacred circle”. Secondly, a collocation with a feminine angle in the Thai culture is ‘the Goddess of Rain’. Thirdly, a word of a habitual feature for Thais is “long-back louse”. Lastly, a political collocation is “the Might of Corrupt”.
In terms of rank-bound translations, some emerging fixed collocations are displayed below.

Table 6.21: Fixed Collocations (Rank-Bound Translation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gift-from-heaven</td>
<td>But, none, none, I tell you, is as without a Gift-From-Heaven as you are…I fear that Heaven may have forgotten you. (UOS, Sister Ondine, p.47)</td>
<td>Gifted or talent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>two-headed</td>
<td>On television, in the soap opera, the judge was declaring that the two-headed daughter… (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.32)</td>
<td>One who tries to please both parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those words are hyphenated and ordered in Thai. Firstly, it is a Thai collocation as Thais believe that all gifted people are inspired by gods in heaven. The word ‘heaven’ can be collocated with some Thai items such as the verb ‘go to heaven’ (orgasm/die), so it cannot combine some like ‘swim’ (swim to heaven). Similarly, the nominal ‘two’ is also fixed to the word ‘head’ for this idiomatic lexis. There are no nominal groups like ‘one’ or ‘three’ or ‘four’ (three-headed) to be collocated with the adjective ‘headed’ regarding Thai idioms. Other ranked-bound loans - the Goddess Moon (Pra Chan) and sub-human beings (set-manut) – are also shown in Appendix F.

6.3.3 Swear Words

Many curse words occur in Thai, and some in English are universal, not in Thai contexts. Hence, there is only one item that represents loan translation which is used in Thai language.
This word or ‘sat’ in Thai is used by Thais in their own dialects. It seems to be used as a harsh word in this context.

Overall, the Thai writers point out word-for-word translation and fixed collocation rather than curse words in their literatures in English. The first two sub-categories are very remarkable in that they imply the uniqueness of Thai English and some of them are similar to other Asian Englishes. Although the final sub-category has a few words, it indicates a minimal range of Thai English.

This category consists of certain words in relation to those found in the literature review. First of all, the words “minor wife, hill tribe, and sticky rice” represent the significant loan translation of Thai English due to their replication in Butler’s (1996; 1999a; and 1999b) and Bolton’s (2003b) studies. At this point, the word ‘minor wife’ is equivalent to the term ‘subordinate mistress’ in a Thai English autobiography My Boyhood in Siam (WatkhaoIarm, 2005: 149). Moreover, the Thai English collocation ‘the supernatural and spirits of dark things’ and ‘Heart-stop building’ parallel the Tamil Malaysian English word ‘fear-haunted nights’ in K.S. Maniam’s The Third Child (Velautham, 2000: 101) because they hold a sense of ghost and horror. Furthermore, collocations in Thai English – soul-beckoning mantra, sacred circle, and soul-binding rite – are very similar to the Sri Lankan English word ‘religious amulet’ in James Goonewardene’s Dream Time River (Fernando, 1989: 125) because of cultural sharing between Buddhism and Hinduism. In addition, the word ‘animal’ in Thai English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>‘You barbarian,’ he screamed. ‘You animal.’ <em>(STS, Cockfighter, p.159)</em></td>
<td>A wicked person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
becomes the general basis for swearing as found in the Chinese English terms ‘son of a turtle’ and ‘son of a rabbit’ in the novella *In the Pond* (Zhang, 2002: 307-308) and the Indian English term “cock-eyed son of a bowlegged scorpion” in Mulk Raj Anand’s *Untouchable* (Lowry, 1992: 289). Overall, this exhibits some sharing features between Thai English words in this study and other Englishes. Nonetheless, this category differs from that in the review as it details rank-bound and rank-shifted translations of loans.

6.4 Coinages

Coinages or neologism in this study emerge in two aspects, trademarks of products as well as morphological change of English and Thai words.

### 6.4.1 English Trademarks or Advertising of Products in Thailand

English brand names or trademarks which are popular among Thai consumers are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AT&amp;T, Yellow Pages</td>
<td>Look at <em>AT&amp;T</em> and <em>Yellow Pages</em> for instance. They went after the Americans in big way. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p. 499)</em></td>
<td>Phone books’ titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Coke</td>
<td>Aunt Joom paused for a breath. “Let me get you a <em>Coke,</em>” she said to me. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 41)</em></td>
<td>The American trademark of carbonated water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Coca-Cola</td>
<td>My mother said, “Does the than mor phi want a glass of water? Or would he prefer <em>Coca-Cola</em>?” <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 180)</em></td>
<td>The American trademark of carbonated water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cola</td>
<td>Seeing a soft-drink advertising signboard at the shop front, Elizabeth Durham went to old Ching, who stooped expectantly at the front, and asked for a bottle of <em>Cola.</em> <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 446)</em></td>
<td>The American trademark of carbonated water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on Table 6.23, the words ‘AT&T’, ‘Coke’, ‘Coca-Cola’, and ‘Cola’ are used in English by the Thai people. However, the word ‘Yellow Pages’ is called in Thai, namely ‘Samut Na Lueng’ (Yellow Page Book). Likewise, the word ‘Five Diamond Roast Chicken’ is adapted from its original version, namely ‘Five Star Roast Chicken’, which is known in Thai as ‘Kai Yang Ha Daw’. Importantly, all words but the last one are considered Thai English words due to their coining strategy and authentic use in the Thai society. Nevertheless, the final item somewhat mirrors its Thai identity in English as it is not found in other native and non-native varieties of English.

### 6.4.2 Changing Morphological Elements of the Existing Lexical Items in English and Thai

The following table illustrates the way English and Thai morphological segments are shifted from the Standard formation for literary purpose:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Five Diamond Roast Chicken</td>
<td>They must make use of a space on the pavement to set up a food stall for one of their ant-like army of minions to sell the so-called Five Diamond Roast Chicken. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.499)</em></td>
<td>The Thai trademark of Roast Chicken (adapted from ‘five star roast chicken’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.24: Changing Morphological Elements of the Existing Lexical Items in English and Thai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Original Word / Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Monopolated</td>
<td>Uncle Mongkton used to have a corral full of elephants before the people at Monopolated Elephant Tours came to the Island and started underpricing the competition, monopolizing mountain-pass tariffs, and staking … (STS, Farangs, p.8)</td>
<td>Monopolised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>un-pawn</td>
<td>Whenever he had the money, the Barber would “un-pawn” it. (UOS, The Barber, p.65)</td>
<td>Take back from the pawn shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>karmically</td>
<td>“Very karmically correct,” the god said. Then, after writhing a little, and foaming at the mouth… (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.156)</td>
<td>Karmic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>dubbers</td>
<td>I remember that in Goldfinger the dubbers kept putting in jokes about the fairy tale of Jao Ngo, which is about a hideous monster who falls into a tank of gold paint and becomes very handsome. (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.161)</td>
<td>A person who dubs a story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ensorcellment</td>
<td>“Free yourself, Sir Perceval.” I did not add, Free me, but I felt myself strain against the cage of my ensorcellment; the cage I had crafted around myself; the cage of my self-inflicted shame. (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.191)</td>
<td>Encirclement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>unperforming loans</td>
<td>…, causing that institution to run up to 80 per cent of ‘unperforming loans’ … (SDC, Chapter 6, p.123)</td>
<td>Non-performing loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>precint</td>
<td>Built with sandstone and laterite in the vast walled precint, Prasarthinpimai stood in the centre of Pimai Town on the banks of the Moon River. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.564)</td>
<td>Precinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>farangy</td>
<td>The farangy son must act quickly while his trusted friends were with him. (SDC (Book II), Chapter, p.730)</td>
<td>Westerners/ the white/ Europeans (adj)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.24 shows that the Thai English writers structure three types of lexico-morphological variation of the existing English and Thai words. First, misspelling due to mispronunciation lies in the following words: Monopolated, ensorcellment, and precinct. Next, an addition of prefixes and suffixes of the existing words is seen in the following items: “un-pawn, karmically, dubbers, and farangy”. Last, a substitution of suffixes of an English word appears in the item “un-performing loans”. Overall, these words are newly formed only in these Thai English writings, and they disappear in other
varieties of English. The word ‘precint’ is close to the Standard English ‘precinct’ but its morphological shift here created only by the Thai English writer makes it a Thai English word.

The findings of the coinage category are similar to those in the literature review. The English trademark words “Coke and Coca Cola” used for any carbonated beverages by some Thais become coinages in Thai English. This is parallel to the word ‘Colgate’, which is used for any toothpaste in Singapore English (Low and Brown, 2005: 71). Furthermore, the words “farangy and karmically” in Thai English and ‘kiasuism’ and ‘itchified’ in Singapore English are similar to that of English, Thai, and Chinese where morphological components are shifted from their norm (Wong, 1992: 119). Moreover, the neologisms “dubbers, un-pawn, and un-performing loans” yield the Nigerian English ‘invitee’ because they are recreated with new prefixes and suffixes in English (Bamgbose, 1983, as cited in Bamiro, 1991: 12). Additionally, the words “precint, ensorccement, and Monopolated” parallel the Pakistani English word ‘soothability’ in Zulfikar Ghose’s The Murder of Aziz Khan (1967) (Rahman, 1990: 7) and the Hong Kong English word ‘Joss’ in James Clavell’s Noble House (Vittachi, 2000: 410-411) due to misspelling. These traits indicate similarities between Thai English coinages and those of other Asian Englishes. Nonetheless, the only item which does not fit in any other Englishes is the ‘Five Diamond Roast Chicken’ as this is an adapted branding, and definitely not authentic.

6.5 Semantic Shifts

Semantic segments of English lexicon in the selected fiction are shifted with regard to the Thai context, as found in the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>New Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>When <em>Nature</em> turned off her lamp then, the nights were darker, quieter and more tender – the sound of gentle music could float through the air ad freely and lightly as fireflies. (<em>UOS, The Barber</em>, p.57)</td>
<td>The Ruler of the world in Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>Because the teacher was from a far-off place, which some claimed to be farther than Muang, he had been trying to find his place among the villagers so that he would not remain a stranger in their midst. When an old man called him ‘son’ he was pleased, and he gladly accepted invitations to wedding ceremonies, soul-binding rites, and parties in which would sit cross-legged on the floor among the peasants as if he had always been one of them. (<em>SDC, Chapter 3, p.61</em>)</td>
<td>A member of the local community (or the village) in North-eastern Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>walking</td>
<td>“Yes, for a fee an agent known in Siamese as ‘naamaa’ (horse face) has approached me. He’ll do all the form filling and walking so that the driving license could be issued without fail.” (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.494</em>)</td>
<td>Manipulating, Bribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>eaten</td>
<td>The road is not up to standard, the tar is thinly used; every single lump of earth or gravel is ‘eaten’ that is to say taken up by graft. And when the road has to be repaired then the merry-go-round of ‘eating’, kickback taking and buying materials at highly inflated prices happens all over again. (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.514</em>)</td>
<td>Used too sparingly and thus not durable (corrupted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>Misusing by using less quantity (corrupting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The poor-quality materials are used instead of the best ones as the budget of building up the road is corrupted by a local politician)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>uneaten</td>
<td>“...At that price, ten kilometres of uneaten bitumen road could be built, he said.” (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.570</em>)</td>
<td>High quality (uncorrupted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>…She danced in a classical dance show and she worked the whorehouses… “Did you have sex with her?” … Of course not! She had problems, all right? Expensive problems. But she was beautiful, mm-mm, good-enough to eat. (<em>DFS, Chui Chai, p.91</em>)</td>
<td>To have sexual activities with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>good man</td>
<td>Some twenty minutes later, The Honourable Taninsak Chainarongwan MP, the good man from Esarn or TC for short exerted that he would like very much to expose these well-sheltered bankers to low life at Caligula. (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 11, p.389</em>)</td>
<td>A slogan for being a qualified Thai politician</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 6.25, the English words above have some semantic widening. The first item is understandable among atheists. This Thai writer actively creates this non-animate noun to have the almighty. This ‘Nature’ does not mean a human being’s natural surroundings, but its novel meaning has its basis from the natural phenomenon controller. Likewise, the second item’s meaning is shifted from a child of legitimacy to that of society, but both previous and new semantic elements are still based on a family member.

Moreover, the words “eaten, eating, uneaten, and walking” are similar because these express bribery and corruption in Thailand. Their shifted meanings are still convergent to their previous ones; the word ‘eating’ can imply ‘eating stolen food’ or ‘using cheated money’. Such food and money can imply the government or authority’s properties. Similarly, the word ‘walking’ is an act of reaching the goal. This walking is fast but violating the social rule as the walker gives a reward to the committee. Similarly, the word ‘good man’ is widened to its political connotation “eligible representative of grassroots of society (uneducated Thais)”. Hence, the word ‘good’ is a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>New Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 9    | clean             | Her father considered that we, meaning my parents and I, were not clean enough for him who, being a prominent banker, must appear respectable, particularly in the business community.  
 *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 16, p.451)* | Good, suitable |
| 10   | unclean           | Two: the girl in question was similarly inclined, but worse. She had been heard chiding their name which was considered ‘unclean’ and in some circles the ‘sinister’ word had been applied.  
 *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.405)* | Unlucky        |
| 11   | whore gardens     | I hope none of them end up in brothels, sordid bars, ‘whore gardens’ (open beer bars) or become the victims of cruel and ruthless factory owners who force them to work like slaves.  
 *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 26, p.630)* | Open beer bars |
general definition of ‘eligible’. Although the word ‘eat’ has no political connotation, it implies sexual enjoyment or consumption.

Additionally, the words ‘clean and unclean’ embody slightly semantic shifts due to a social norm and a belief, respectively. Similarly, the new meaning of the last item is still based on ‘sexuality’ and ‘pleasure’. The word ‘whore’ seems to be hidden and forbidden, so its novel semantic element ‘open beer bars’ makes this career publicly accepted. In this way, the words ‘gardens’ and ‘bars’ are widely collocated with the word ‘beer’ in Thailand and others – ‘beer gardens’ and ‘beer bars’. Thus, the word ‘whores’ is transformed into ‘bar girls’.

It is significant to note that the above items seem to represent Thai English words because their semantic extension fits Thai socio-cultural elements. At the same time, they are common words used in Thai language and may appear in English texts in the Thai society. It is believed that all the items are not apparent in other Englishes.

The findings of this category are likely to differ from those displayed in the literature review. The selected Thai English writers only create English words with slightly semantic widening. Meanwhile, other Asian writers of Englishes invent lexicon with both slight and radical semantic extension. Nevertheless, only the word ‘son’ in Thai English is similar to the word ‘wife’ in Nigerian English in Achebe’s Anthills of the Savannah (Bamiro, 2006: 320). In north-eastern Thais’ views, ‘son’ is extended to a son of soil in a local community or a son of all villagers. Likewise, in the African culture the word ‘wife’ of an African husband is widened to the wife of a community. A family member is empowered in the Thai and African folklore, so this virtue influences English lexico-semantic variation in the two literary textures.
6.6 Hybridisation

This study contains a wide range of Thai-English hybrid formation. Such data are divided into two main systems: open and closed sets. According to Kachru (1983b, 153-154), an open-set item is considered ‘open’ due to no grammatical constraints on the selected elements of the lexis. Meanwhile, a closed-set item is judged as ‘closed’ as at least one element belongs to the closed system of South Asian languages such as the suffix ‘wallah’. From this concept, ‘Thai words with English modifiers and Thai words with English suffixes’ are adapted as a classification of the two systems of hybridisation.

6.6.1 Open Set

The open-set items are grouped into four classifications – Thai item as modifier, Thai item as head, English and Thai items as modifiers, as well as Thai and English items as modifiers. Each is illustrated via its specific types as follows:

(1) Thai Item as Modifier

Thai item as modifier refers to a hybrid format in which Thai word or a word in a local language in Thailand modifies an English word (head). This classification has two main types: NN type (Noun + Noun) and AN type (Adjective + Noun).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>takraw ball</td>
<td>During the evenings they chatted, kicked around a <em>takraw ball</em>… <em>(STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p.105)</em></td>
<td>A rattan ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Benjarong room</td>
<td>In Auntie Jin’s house, there was no living room, but the <em>Benjarong room</em>. <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p.22)</em></td>
<td>The room in which Thai porcelain with designs in five primary colours (white, black, green, red, and yellow) is collected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>khanmaak procession</td>
<td>Chalida heard the <em>khanmaak procession</em> arriving through her opened window, distant at first then deafening like an approaching train. <em>(CLD, Chapter 12, p.147)</em></td>
<td>The procession of the groom’s parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bo Tree</td>
<td>Grandmother once told me that adults call people like Grandfather “<em>Bo Tree</em>”. <em>(UOS, The Umbrella, p.5)</em></td>
<td>The sacred tree, where the Lord Buddha sat under to reach enlightenment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yatha mantra</td>
<td>Handing a bowl of water to the new piksu, the principal priest took the lead in dripping the water from the tin bowl on the ground while chanting the <em>yatha mantra</em> to send the merits to the deceased. <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p. 300)</em></td>
<td>Magic or sacred words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>plu leaves</td>
<td>Old women chatted among themselves, chewing betel nuts and <em>plu leaves</em> smeared with lime. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 277)</em></td>
<td>Piper betel leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>rumwong music</td>
<td>“Heavens!” Singhon exclaimed against the loud television broadcast and <em>rumwong music</em>. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p.427)</em></td>
<td>Thai music for circling dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>farang-lover</td>
<td>The <em>farang-lover</em> could still hear the damnation as those admirable patriots moved off. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 264)</em></td>
<td>The lover of western men (or women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mayom branches</td>
<td>Abruptly he knelt at the altar and retrieved a bundle of <em>mayom branches</em> that he kept tied up next to his bag of frankincense. <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p. 73)</em></td>
<td>Gooseberry branches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Poodhydepark</td>
<td>While in London the party must have visited Speakers’ Corner because on their return to Kroongtep, ‘<em>Poodhydepark</em>’ (Hyde Park Speech) was introduced to the Siamese public, allowing aspiring speakers to use a corner of Sanarmluang to follow the example of Speakers’ Corner. <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p. 151)</em></td>
<td>Hyde Park Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>roti vendor</td>
<td>I see a woman now – it must be a mother or aunt, too old for a sister – collaring a <em>roti vendor</em> and asking if he’s seen the child. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, pp. 121-122)</em></td>
<td>A seller of roti (Indian flat bread)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.26, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>namaskara greeting</td>
<td>Meanwhile Elizabeth sat down near the matriarch and paid respect to her with a namaskara greeting, for she held no fear of mites and vermin. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.447)</td>
<td>The greeting for salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>gailan field</td>
<td>We’re converging on the gailan field now. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 129)</td>
<td>The field where the gailan vegetables are grown.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All items represent Thai and English compound nouns. Majority of Thai modifiers are based on Thai and Pali-Sanskrit. Only two items, ‘roti vender’ and ‘gailan field’, hold Indian and Chinese loans respectively modified by English heads. Interestingly, the word ‘Poodhydepark’ contains the verb ‘pood’ while other Thai modifiers are ‘nouns’. Indeed, this verb is an ellipsis of the noun ‘karnpood’. However, when it combines ‘Hyde Park’, the Thai prefix ‘karn’ is understandably shortened. Besides, the word ‘farang-lover’ differs from the others due to its hyphenation. Other words for this type (See Appendix G) are: plataphien mobile, phabphieb position, namaskara gesture, namaskara position, puangmalai wreath, dhamma dialogue, Chui chai music, saisin cord, khao man gai place, khaopansa season, and yang tree.

Table 6.27: Thai Item as Modifier (AN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>farang name</td>
<td>‘Some name for a refugee,’ I replied, laughing. ‘That’s not a Cambodian name. That’s a farang name.’ (STS, Pricilla the Cambodian, p.100)</td>
<td>English/Western name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>farang soul</td>
<td>“If, as you say, the farang soul is dead but the Thai is not...” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.59)</td>
<td>Western soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>farang words</td>
<td>Within a week of having a television set, the shopkeeper had already adopted more farang words. (SDC (Book II) chap 15, p. 446)</td>
<td>English words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>farang women</td>
<td>She laughed. Farang women are exceptional… (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 165)</td>
<td>European women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.27, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Esarn men</td>
<td>“Yes! Where else? And from now on, every time <em>Esarn men</em> come to see us, don’t keep them waiting…” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p. 482)</em></td>
<td>Northeastern Thai men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>farang customers</td>
<td>Seated at the bar among <em>farang customers</em>, Prem’s eyes roved around and saw lovely faces of the women of his race, … <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, pp. 253-259)</em></td>
<td>European customers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>farang friend</td>
<td>A few moments later, Prem bid his hard-working serfs goodbye and guided his <em>farang friend</em> back to the family house. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 23, p.581)</em></td>
<td>European friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>farang newshound</td>
<td>“S***! My camera is hit!” swore a <em>farang newshound</em>, whose tool of trade was rendered useless. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p. 720)</em></td>
<td>European journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>farang boy</td>
<td>“Oh,” she says, “the <em>farang boy</em>.” <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 127)</em></td>
<td>European boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>farang husband</td>
<td>“At least Sin didn’t bring home an Indian wife.” Mother loved to be sarcastic. “At least she didn’t bring home a <em>farang husband</em>.“ <em>(CLD, Chapter 13, p.173)</em></td>
<td>European husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.27 shows that these hybridised items are combined with the Thai adjective ‘*farang*’ which is the most popular Thai English word. Only the item ‘*Esarn men*’ is different in that the proper word ‘*Esarn*’ is made into an adjective modifier.

(2) **Thai Item as Head**

For this hybridisation, a word (a noun) in Thai or other vernaculars in Thailand is a head and it is modified by English nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, etc. Five types of this group are – NN type (Noun + Noun), AN type (Adjective + Noun), CAN type (Compound Adjectives + Nouns), HCAN type (Hyphenated Compound Adjectives + Nouns), and CNN type (Compound Nouns + Nouns).
Table 6.28: Thai Item as Head (NN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>chicken satay</td>
<td>The latter had a variety of delectable canapés, smoked Scottish salmon, caviar, prawn cocktails, duck liver pate, roast ha, smoked oysters, slices of beef Wellington, chicken satay… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 24, p.604)</td>
<td>Grilled chicken pieces on bamboo sticks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>check-pattern sarong</td>
<td>Sometimes when it rained, you could see him, wearing only a check-pattern sarong, trying to direct the homemade… (UOS, The Barber, p.60)</td>
<td>A typical striped lower garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amethyst pohngkham</td>
<td>“…Here’s an amethyst pohngkham that was dug up in Chiang Rai…” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.38)</td>
<td>Well-known turquoises in Pohngkham District, Chiang Rai Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>God Phra Isuan</td>
<td>“She becomes possessed by the god Phra Isuan – Shiva – who as you know is Lord of the Dance.” (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.138)</td>
<td>The Hindu god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>South Sathorn</td>
<td>In the end he took a room at the YMCA in South Sathorn. (SDC, Chapter 13, p.256)</td>
<td>A Sub-District in Sathorn District, Bangkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>male farang</td>
<td>They had stared at a male farang, the CIA agent who came with the military propaganda unit… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.441)</td>
<td>Male westerners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 6.28, the words ‘chicken satay’ and ‘check-pattern sarong’ represent the hybrid items in which Malay loans in the Thai society are modified by English nouns. Note that the former in the Thai context should be ‘chicken sateh’ due to Thai phonological interference. Furthermore, the word ‘check-pattern sarong’ is morphologically different from the others in that it contains ‘hyphenated nouns’ as a modifier. Interestingly, the words ‘amethyst pohngkham’ and ‘South Sathorn’ are compounds in which English nouns modify Thai proper nouns of specific locations in the country. Moreover, the item “the god Phra Isuan” is the Buddhist term while the item ‘male farang’ refers to a human being. However, these two words concern masculinity in Thai English hybridisation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>embroidered panung</td>
<td>She was a stately woman wrapped in an embroidered <em>panung</em> held in a place by a silver belt, … <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.137)</em></td>
<td>An embroidered brocade worn over trunks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fucking ninja</td>
<td>‘…Do you see me sneaking around the house like I’m some fucking ninja?’ <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.30)</em></td>
<td>Bad person who was trained to hide for espionage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>coiled naga</td>
<td>Along the left wall, a Buddha, whose golden sheen had been slightly dimmed by age, sat in meditation upon a <em>coiled naga</em>, all on the three-tiered, carved wooden altar surrounded… <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.48)</em></td>
<td>Coiled legendary serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>plastic khan</td>
<td>Then I took my <em>plastic khan</em> and filled it from the secret pool… <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.66)</em></td>
<td>Plastic bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>usurious thaokae</td>
<td>“I’m not dealing with that <em>usurious thaokae</em> in Ban Kraduk,” my father said, … <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.164)</em></td>
<td>Usurious Chinese store-owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>half-naked khamnan</td>
<td>Having disturbed the <em>half-naked khamnan</em> during his repose, … <em>(SDC, Chapter 1, p.28)</em></td>
<td>Half-naked chieftain of sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ebbing maenam</td>
<td>By the river, Maenam Chaopraya, … the ebbing <em>maenam</em>. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.97)</em></td>
<td>Ebbing (Chaopraya) river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>new piksu</td>
<td>He began with the Four Resources on which the ordination was based. “You, the <em>new piksu</em>, shall not commit sexual intercourse, …” <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p. 298)</em></td>
<td>New Buddhist priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>rotund maebaan</td>
<td>The maids were obviously embarrassed, but the <em>rotund maebaan</em> muttered that one of the two was a ready woman of taannaiyai, … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p.321)</em></td>
<td>Rotund housekeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>richest konchai</td>
<td>“You don’t have to feel sorry for him,” Prem whispered. “He’s one of the richest men in the country.” “What are you talking about? He can’t be one of the <em>richest konchai</em> in Siam? …” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.560)</em></td>
<td>richest men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lone tako</td>
<td>After having covered a long stretch of the wasteland, the monk rested in the shade of a <em>lone tako</em>, an ebony tree. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 10, p. 370)</em></td>
<td>Lone ebony tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>fine-looking farang</td>
<td>“You’ll keep,” mumbled the <em>fine-looking farang</em>. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.93)</em></td>
<td>Fine-looking westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>old phakhomaah</td>
<td>“Hi, Mom,” I say, as I breeze past her, an <em>old phakhomaah</em> wrapped around my loins. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 114)</em></td>
<td>Old loincloth (for men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt(s)</td>
<td>English Item(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>impressive bong</td>
<td>(that was the time he admitted us to his inner sanctum, where he would smoke opium from an impressive bong and puff it in our faces)... <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.161)</em></td>
<td>Impressive pipe for smoking opium or marijuana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>polite farang</td>
<td>On the contrary, the polite farang in a cashmere overcoat turned away... <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p.155)</em></td>
<td>Polite westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>single baht</td>
<td>But those thirsty criers did not for a minute think how the Surins could afford such a luxury when not a single baht could be found in their hut. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 447)</em></td>
<td>Not even one Thai currency unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>silent piksu</td>
<td>Turning towards the silent piksu, Dani smirked, … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 448)</em></td>
<td>Silent Buddhist priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>elderly maebaan</td>
<td>When Dani turned to look at them, the elderly maebaan had a hand on her heaving heavy chest... <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p. 321)</em></td>
<td>Old-aged housekeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>stalwart farang</td>
<td>…As if her brusque and harsh voice was not sufficient, the Madame swiped the air with her hand to rid the stalwart farang with one swift wipe. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 12, p. 395)</em></td>
<td>Strong westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>weakening baht</td>
<td>Empty banks will crash, and bad loans will fester and the pus will run and the Bank of Siam can no longer put up the reserves to defend the weakening baht. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.422)</em></td>
<td>Weakening currency unit of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Thai vinyaan</td>
<td>“If, as you say, the farang soul is dead but the Thai is not, I suppose I could simply send a Thai vinyaan to occupy the child’s body, and no one will be the twister. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.59)</em></td>
<td>Thai soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>fearless farang</td>
<td>This fearless farang kept going from body to body, turning the faces of the dead... <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.717)</em></td>
<td>Fearless westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>fallen baht</td>
<td>“If agreed, both of you, Mr Triple P and you, Pam, will instantly become millionaires, in pounds not in the fallen baht please note.” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 33, p. 686)</em></td>
<td>Fallen currency unit of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>grasping khamnan</td>
<td>If he had said to the grasping khamnan that paying peasants to raise their hands to elect him was pernicious and vile it would have been a different matter… <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p. 48)</em></td>
<td>A grasping chieftian of sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>awesome khamnan</td>
<td>But suddenly her courage to taunt left her; hence she became fearful, turning round as if to see whether the awesome khamnan was near, watching her make fun of him. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.130)</em></td>
<td>An awesome chieftian of sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>crazy farang</td>
<td>What a lot of money the crazy farang has! <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 23, p.588)</em></td>
<td>A crazy westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>protective saisin</td>
<td>I made sure that the protective saisin was securely fastened. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 51)</em></td>
<td>Protective sacred white cord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.29, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>English Item(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>guardian vinyaan</td>
<td>I wanted to pray to the guardian vinyaan of the hill, but I did not know what to wish for. <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.65)</em></td>
<td>Guardian soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>sacred saisin</td>
<td>A sacred saisin ran the perimeter of the village. <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p. 75)</em></td>
<td>Sacred white cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>trusted Jek</td>
<td>Meanwhile, Si Ut has become the trusted Jek, the one who cuts the gailan in the fields... <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 126)</em></td>
<td>Trusted Chinese man of lower class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.29 delineates six categories of Thai items as heads that are modified by English adjectives. Some prominent items are described here whereas the remaining ones are displayed in Appendix G. Firstly, the word ‘farang’ arises in the highest number of heads with various English adjective modifiers: fine-looking farang, polite farang, stalwart farang, fearless farang, and crazy farang. Many other items found are: half farang, damned farang, flabby farang, poor farang, meddlin farang, fine-looking farang, defiant farang, kind farang, and friendlier farang. Secondly, the word ‘khamnan’ is modified by three English adjectives – half-naked khamnan, grasping khamnan, and awesome khamnan. Additionally, other words - senile khamnan and buoyant khamnan – are also found. Thirdly, the words ‘baht’ ‘piksu’, ‘maebaan’, ‘vinyaan’, and ‘saisin’ appear with two English adjectives for each - weakening baht, fallen baht, new piksu, silent piksu, elderly maebaan, rotund maebaan, guardian vinyaan, Thai vinyaan, protective saisin, and sacred saisin. Fourthly, Thai heads with single English adjectives are: embroidered panung, coiled naga, plastic khan, ebbing maenam, richest konchai, loan tako, and old phakhomaah. Many more words of this group are: traditional phasin, different pang, giant maengdaa, obedient luke-sith, unconscious luke-gop, hard-earned yaplong, old kroo, graceful wai, narrow soi, small kaen, little luke-pi, meek dekwat, customary namaskara, urbane kon-ungrit, and crestfallen konsuan. Fifthly, there are only three non-Thai words loaned as heads,
Japanese and Chinese orderly: fucking *ninja*, usurious *thaokae*, and trusted *Jek*. Finally, the word ‘impressive *bong*’ shows that its head ‘bong’ is a Thai word found in many Standard English dictionaries.

The following two types of this hybridisation stand out as each word possesses one head but with many modifiers or the so-called ‘compound adjectives’, which are comprised of either adverbs, adjectives, conjunctives, nouns, articles or prepositions. In addition, these hybridised items are morphologically differentiated by ‘hyphenation’:

Table 6.30: Thai Item as Head with Compound Adjectives as Modifiers
(CAN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gorgeous female farang</td>
<td>The arrival of the unexpected visitors from the City of Angels, with a gorgeous female farang in a grand car… <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 441)</em></td>
<td>Gorgeous female westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pretty female farang</td>
<td>So the children sang along with the native man and the pretty female farang, gingerly at first... <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p. 510)</em></td>
<td>Pretty female westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>old thatched sala</td>
<td>To claim it a school would be only partially true because the old thatched sala was also used for the Wat, … <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.50)</em></td>
<td>Old thatched rest-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>profound inner shanty</td>
<td>A mood of profound inner shanti swept over me, … <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.39)</em></td>
<td>Profound inner transcendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>winged divine kinary</td>
<td>Manora was a mythological half-bird woman, a winged divine kinary who resided among her kind in the woods of Mount Meru... <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p.184)</em></td>
<td>Winged divine half-bird woman in Thai literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tall, graceful farang</td>
<td>I will never forget the image of this tall, graceful farang, his head of white hair bobbing up and down against the back drop of black smoke amid the gunfire. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p. 718)</em></td>
<td>Tall, graceful westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>exquisitely spiced naemsod</td>
<td>It’s just that there’s this nagging concern that he’d feel the same way if he uses alone with a Beethoven string quartet, say, or a plate of exquisitely spiced naemsod. <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.23)</em></td>
<td>Exquisitely spiced Thai fresh condiment made from fermented pork</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.30, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>crude and loud towkae</td>
<td>…, Kum had no way of knowing that the <strong>crude and loud towkae</strong>, the proprietor, … (SDC, Chapter 4, p.64)</td>
<td>Crude and loud Chinese store-owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>clumsy but heartfelt wai</td>
<td>“Greetings to you, honored sir,” she said, and brought her palms together in a <strong>clumsy but heartfelt wai</strong>… (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 164)</td>
<td>Clumsy but heartfelt salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>old and very powerful luangpoh</td>
<td>“Here’s an <strong>old and very powerful luangpoh</strong> acquired from a Chinaman who makes his living gambling on cockfights…” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.38)</td>
<td>Old and very powerful venerable priest (here ‘old and very powerful little Buddha image)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>plum colored phatoong</td>
<td>With a white seu a khor krachao top, round-necked and sleeveless, and a <strong>plum colored phatoong</strong> swathed around her slender waist, … (CLD, Chapter 1, p.4)</td>
<td>Plum colored Thai lower garment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.30 exhibits five kinds of Thai nouns that are modified by compound adjectives. First, Thai nouns in which compound adjectives are comprised of two adjectives – gorgeous female **farang**, old thatched **sala**, profound inner **shanti**, and winged, divined **kinary**. Second, a Thai noun with compound adjectives joined by commas appears in ‘tall, graceful **farang**’. Third, one with compound adjectives that are modified by adverbs is the word ‘exquisitely spiced **naemsod**’. Fourth, those with compound adjectives are connected by conjunctives, that is, ‘crud and loud **towkae**’, ‘clumsy but heartfelt **wai**’, and ‘old and very powerful **luangpoh**’. In this respect, the latter item is different from the others in that an adverb is also added to the compound adjectives. Last, a Thai noun in which compound adjectives are formed by nouns is ‘plum colored **phatoong**’. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>blood-red, pungent yentafo</td>
<td>Beads of sweat were dripping off my face into my bowl of blood-red, pungent yentafo… (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.201)</td>
<td>Blood-red, pungent noodle in a vinegary, bright-soup stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>burly, blue-eyed farang</td>
<td>At that moment old Boonliang, Piang, Toon and Poon led a throng of old women and the swarming little children to join the other village folk who had already been staring at the burly, blue-eyed farang in the tent. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p. 504)</td>
<td>Burly, blue-eyed westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>burly-white-haired farang</td>
<td>So then the burly, white-haired farang sat down at one of the tables away from the dance floor… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p. 670)</td>
<td>Burly-white-haired westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tall, white-haired elderly farang</td>
<td>“A tall, white-haired elderly farang?” “Yes.” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p. 717)</td>
<td>Tall, white-haired elderly westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MSG-spiked meelukechin</td>
<td>…and the MSG-spiked meelukechin (noodles with meatballs). (SDC, Chapter 14, pp. 257-258)</td>
<td>MSG-spiked noodles with meatballs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pan-fried roti</td>
<td>I fish in my pocket and pull out a few saleungs, and we stuff ourselves with pan-fried roti swimming in sweet condensed milk. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.120)</td>
<td>Pan-fried Indian flat bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>frayed, sun-bleached thong tri-rong</td>
<td>Kumjai stopped there, pointing with the ruler towards the flagpole on which the frayed, sun-bleached thong tri-rong hung limply under the fine drizzle. (SDC, Chapter 3, p.53)</td>
<td>Frayed, sun-bleached three-coloured flag (Thai flag)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Referring to Table 6.31, Thai nouns modified by English hyphenated compound adjectives are divided into three sub-types. First, hyphenated compound adjectives added to Thai nouns are evident in the following items: ‘burly-white-haired farang’, ‘MSG-spiked meelukechin’, and ‘pan-fried roti’. In the former, three compounded adjectives are hyphenated to modify the word ‘farang’ while the next two compounded adjectives ‘spiked’ and ‘fried’ are hyphenated by the nouns ‘MSG’ and ‘pan’ respectively. Thai nouns in which hyphenated compound adjectives are joined by another adjectives and commas appear in the items ‘burly, blue-eyed farang’, ‘frayed, sun-bleached thong tri-rong’, and ‘tall, white-haired elderly farang’. The first two...
words are similar in the sense that the adjectives ‘burly’ and ‘frayed’ as well as commas are added to the compound adjectives of the Thai words ‘farang’ and ‘thong tri-rong’. However, these two Thai heads are different as the latter is hyphenated for its disyllabic component. The last type is a reversion of the second one. The morphological structure of this hybridised item ‘blood-red, pungent yentao’ is that a Thai noun carries its modifier which comprises hyphenated compound adjectives, a comma, and an adjective subsequently.

Table 6.32: Thai Item as Head with Compound Nouns as Modifiers (CNN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>cheeky acolyte Luke-naam</td>
<td>“Later I consumed less and less food to the edge of starvation under a pretext of leaving more of it for that cheeky acolyte Luke-naam as he was still growing,” Prem lugubriously addressed the outside air. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 17, p. 464)</td>
<td>Cheeky acolyte mosquito larva (here used as the nickname)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pretty out-of-the-way tambon</td>
<td>My great-great-aunt’s tomb was in a pretty out-of-the-way tambon of the City of Etc.Etc. (DFS, Lottery Night, p.44)</td>
<td>Pretty out-of-the-way sub-district</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike those in Tables 6.30-6.31, the two items above are that Thai nouns as heads are modified by compounded nouns, not compounded adjectives. The Thai noun ‘Luke-naam’ is modified by the English compound noun ‘cheeky acolyte’ that is made up of ‘adjective’ and ‘noun’, respectively. Likewise, the hyphenated compound noun ‘pretty out-of-the-way’, containing an adjective, two prepositions, an article, and a noun, is added to the Thai noun ‘tambon’.

(3) English and Thai Items as Modifiers

Hybridised items in which English and Thai modifiers subsequently are attached to English heads are divided into two types: ANN and other types.
(3.1) English and Thai Items as Modifiers (ANN Type)

This type of hybridisation consists of a combination of an English adjective (A) and a Thai noun (N) added to an English noun (N) that is a head.

Table 6.33: English and Thai Items as Modifiers (ANN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>high Isan flutes</td>
<td>A record came on, the sound of high Isan flutes and xylophones and a hand drum striking up the first few bars. (STS, At the Café Lovely, p. 42)</td>
<td>High flutes of Northeastern Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>delicate Benjarong porcelain</td>
<td>Delicate Benjarong porcelain decorated the low, teak tables of the reception hall. (CLD, Chapter 1, p.22)</td>
<td>Delicate five primary-colored porcelain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>majestic bo tree</td>
<td>She was re-born as a majestic bo tree with resplendent gold and silver leaves. (CLD, Chapter 1, p.7)</td>
<td>Majestic sacred tree of the Lord Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>traditional ranaad music</td>
<td>Traditional ranaad music filled the living room. (DFS, Lottery Night , p.40)</td>
<td>Traditional bamboo harmonic music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>hardy tako tree</td>
<td>But soon he stopped again and lingered under a hardy tako tree... (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 285)</td>
<td>Hardy ebony tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>traditional phnom mue gesture</td>
<td>I put my hands together in the traditional phnom mue gesture and addressed the photograph in tones of deepest humility... (DFS, Lottery Night, p. 50)</td>
<td>The traditional gesture of raising both hands up and the chest palm against palam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>decrepit Muang-Phutthaisong-Payak bus</td>
<td>Bridge after bridge, village after village the decrepit Muang-Phutthaisong-Payak bus droned mournfully on. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 267)</td>
<td>Decrepit bus from Muang to Phutthaisong to Payak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>traditional jongkraabae costume</td>
<td>Her entourage included a little blind boy wearing a traditional jongkabaen costume... (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.137)</td>
<td>Traditional costume of pulling up style</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.33 indicates that all items have the same pattern; English nouns are modified by English adjectives and Thai nouns. Only the item ‘decrepit Muang-Phutthaisong-Payak bus’ is different as three Thai proper nouns, three districts in Burirum province, are hyphenated.
(3.2) English and Thai Items as Modifiers (Other Types)

This type of hybridisation is varied. English nouns as heads are modified by compounds of English and Thai words that are either adjectives or adverbs or conjunctives with commas and hyphens.

Table 6.34: English and Thai Items as Modifiers (Other Types)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>two-saleung top</td>
<td>Sombun is preoccupied now, playing with a two-saleung top that he just bought. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.120)</em></td>
<td>Two-cent Thai spinning top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>white seu khor krachao top</td>
<td>With a white seu khor krachao top, round-necked and sleeveless, and a plum colored phatoong swathed around her slender waist, … <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p.4)</em></td>
<td>White, round-necked and sleeveless top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>fat farang mug</td>
<td>One of the few possessions her mother brought with her was an LP showing Elvis’s fat farang mug framed by those thick bushy chops. <em>(STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p. 105)</em></td>
<td>Fat western face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ideal farang man</td>
<td>“Oh?” uttered the Esarn peasants’ son, surprised by the sudden enlightenment while holding on to the gift from the ideal farang man. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p. 94)</em></td>
<td>An ideal European man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>able Napo headman</td>
<td>“…Yes, Khamnan Singhon krap, since you are the able Napo headman, …” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p. 483)</em></td>
<td>An able headman of Napo district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>handsome Esarn youths</td>
<td>“…I’m sure he is enjoying Witty’s harem, being pampered by those handsome Esarn youths in Witty’s air-conditioned Garden of Eden…” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p. 563)</em></td>
<td>Handsome north-eastern youths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>two farang editors</td>
<td>The 38th richest man in the world (according to the latest edition) gave a lengthy interview to the two farang editors, … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.512)</em></td>
<td>Two western editors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>purple, silk jongkrabaen bottoms</td>
<td>Ton looked ridiculous in the traditional Thai ensemble: the white, high-collared shirt and purple, silk jongkrabaen bottoms that wound around his thighs. <em>(CLD, Chapter 12, p.149)</em></td>
<td>Purple, silk bottoms of pulling up style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>bright green sali pastry</td>
<td>…I say, but for politeness’ sake I’m forced to nibble on bright green sali pastry. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.128)</em></td>
<td>Bright green wheat pastry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tall, upright and fair farang man</td>
<td>By chance, Prem’s eyes landed on a tall, upright and fair farang man, … <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p. 92)</em></td>
<td>Tall, upright and fair westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>English Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>poverty-stricken Esarn peasants</td>
<td>“...He has had direct dealings with the poverty-stricken Esarn peasants, hasn’t he? ...” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 35, p. 698)</td>
<td>Poverty-stricken north-eastern Thai peasants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>young farang boy</td>
<td>“No, the young farang boy is being quite correct,” said Shri Narayan Dass. (DFS, Lotter Night, p. 47)</td>
<td>A young European boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>poor farang friend</td>
<td>“My poor farang friend,” she said. (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.154)</td>
<td>A poor European friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>eager Esarn temple boy</td>
<td>The eager Esarn temple boy was met with: “No! I’m the guide. I live here. I know this country more than you do!” (SDC, Chapter 6, p.117)</td>
<td>An eager north-eastern temple boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 6.34, two main types of English and Thai modifiers are added to English nouns. In the first type, two words, English and Thai subsequently, are modifiers. In the item ‘two-saleung top’, the modifier ‘two-salueng’ shows that the English nominal ‘two’ is hyphenated by the Thai noun ‘salueng’. For the word ‘two farang editors’, the compound adjective ‘two farang’ is made up of the English nominal ‘two’ and the Thai adjective ‘farang’. Furthermore, the word ‘white seuakhor krachao top’ displays that the English adjective ‘white’ modifies the Thai noun ‘seuakhor krachao’. In terms of the words ‘fat farang mug’, ‘ideal farang man’, ‘young farang boy’, and ‘poor farang friend’, the Thai adjective ‘farang’ is modified by the English adjectives ‘fat’, ‘ideal’, ‘young’, and ‘poor’, respectively. Similarly, the words ‘able Napo headman’ and ‘handsome Esarn youths’ exhibit the way the adjectives ‘able’ and ‘handsome’ are attached to the Thai proper nouns ‘Napo’ and ‘Esarn’ subsequently. Likewise, the item ‘eager Esarn temple boy’ presents the compound noun ‘temple boy’ modified by the Thai proper noun ‘Esarn’ and the English adjective ‘eager’. For the word ‘poverty-stricken Esarn peasants’, the hyphenated compound adjective ‘poverty-stricken’ is added to the Thai adjective ‘Esarn’. Another type is at least two English
words are attached to a Thai word. This emerges in the item ‘purple, silk jongkrabaen bottoms’; the Thai proper noun ‘jongkrabaen’ links the English adjectives ‘purple’ and ‘silk’ with a comma. Likewise, the word ‘tall, upright and fair farang man’ indicates that the English adjectives ‘tall’, ‘upright’, and ‘fair’ are pre-positioned to the Thai adjective ‘farang’ between a comma and conjunctive. Meanwhile, the word ‘bright green sali pastry’ shows that the Thai proper noun ‘sali’ is modified by the English adjectives ‘bright’ and ‘green’ without any other punctuation marks.

(4) Thai and English Items as Modifiers

Similar to the previous sub-category of hybridisation, English heads are modified by a combination of Thai and English words respectively.

Table 6.35: Thai and English Items as Modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rath Pardon Declaration</td>
<td>While such activities were going on, General Ekarach proclaimed the Rath Pardon Declaration ... (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 440)</td>
<td>Government Pardon Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sanuke-seeking bankers</td>
<td>So when the Horse got the cue, he carried No. 69 to the master’s bedroom, followed by the host and the sanuke-seeking bankers, ... (SDC (Book II), Chapter 11, p.393)</td>
<td>Fun-seeking bankers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two hybrid items are similar. The English heads ‘Declaration’ and ‘bankers’ are modified by Thai and English word subsequently. Nevertheless, they are also different. The two nouns ‘Rath’ and ‘Pardon’ become modifiers. Here, the word ‘Rath’ is an elliptical form of the word ‘Rathaban’ (government). However, the modifier of the second item - the noun ‘sanuke’ - is hyphenated by the adjective ‘seeking’.
6.6.2 Closed Set

The closed-set of hybridisation in this study refers to Thai lexical items with various types of English suffixes, that is, inflectional suffixes, derivational suffixes, and a mixture of derivational and inflectional ones. Each is illustrated below.

(1) Inflectional Suffixes

Thai items with inflectional suffixes are divided into four groups: ‘-s’, ‘-ed’, ‘-ing’, and ‘-er’ forms.

(1.1) Thai Items with the Suffix ‘-s form’

The majority of Thai items combined with the suffix 's' lie in nouns without modification or ‘N Type’. The remaining words appear in other types of inflectional suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>English Item(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kiads</td>
<td>Those are the eyes of tiny frogs we call kiads. ... I'll ask Piang and Toon to catch them for us one day so you can have a taste of kaengkiads, one of our Esarn delicacies. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.662)</em></td>
<td>Tiny frogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaengkiads</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiny frogs curry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>farangs</td>
<td>I’d informed Uncle Mongkhon once that his sign was grammatically incorrect and that I’d lend him my expertise for a small fee, but he just laughed and said <em>farangs</em> preferred it just the way it was, ... <em>(STS, Farangs, p.8)</em> And you said the <em>farangs</em> would give us some of the things you’ve mentioned? <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.87)</em></td>
<td>Westerners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>bahts</td>
<td>I stand up, throw a few hundred <em>bahts</em> on the table. <em>(STS, Farangs, p.17)</em></td>
<td>Thai currency units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Krong Thips</td>
<td>I reached across the table for Anek’s <em>Krong Thips</em> and lit one. <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.41)</em></td>
<td>Many Krong Thip brand cigarettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No(s)</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>English Item(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wais</td>
<td>Finally acknowledging their presence, Nan’s parents received Chalida’s and Little Sor’s wais. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p.37)</em></td>
<td>Salutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tuk-tuks</td>
<td>Cars, <em>tuk-tuks</em>, and trucks battled for space on the dusty road, blasting their horns. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p.32)</em> Cars, trucks, buses, vans, pick-ups, taxis, pushcarts, armies of motorcycles and the fume-belching tricycle taxis called <em>tuk-tuks</em> jammed the road. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 4, p.323)</em></td>
<td>Small motor-tricycles used as taxis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kinaris</td>
<td>Bronze statues of <em>kinaris</em> – mythological figures, half bird and half human – loomed in the far corner. <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.48)</em></td>
<td>Half-bird women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pooms</td>
<td>Along the left wall...all on the three-tiered, carved wooden altar surrounded by <em>pooms</em> of jasmine buds whose fragrance permeated the air. <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.48)</em></td>
<td>Bushes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Khims</td>
<td><em>Khims; sors</em>, which resembled violins of three different sizes; <em>ranads</em>, which were along wooden xylophones…</td>
<td>Chinese-Thai cymbaloes, Chinese fiddles Thai style xylophones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ranads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>luk kruengs</td>
<td>Many popular models and movie stars were <em>luk kruengs</em>. <em>(CLD, Chapter 6, p.85)</em></td>
<td>Half-caste people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>katoeys</td>
<td>“We <em>katoeys</em> always make white people queasy, …” <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.49)</em></td>
<td>Tranvestites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>samlors</td>
<td>…. fleets of those bicycle pedicabs called <em>samlors</em>; … <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.108)</em></td>
<td>Tricycles used as pedicabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>saleungs</td>
<td>I fish in my pocket and pull out a few <em>saleungs</em>, and we stuff ourselves with pan-fried roti swimming in sweet condensed milk. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.120)</em></td>
<td>small Thai coins (currency unit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>phakomaahs</td>
<td>Street vendors are tightening their <em>phakomaahs</em> around their waists. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.129)</em></td>
<td>Loincloths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>pangs</td>
<td>She hurled herself across the room with startling agility, working her hands and feet into attitudes more contorted than the 56 <em>pangs</em> of the Buddha. <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.145)</em></td>
<td>Buddha’s characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>nagas</td>
<td>…spaceships and tigers and mythical beasts, <em>nagas</em> that swallowed their own tails. <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.160)</em></td>
<td>Legendary serpents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>stangs</td>
<td>She wondered how she could get hold of a pencil, which cost ten <em>stangs</em> at Jek Ching’s shop. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.77)</em></td>
<td>One hundredth of a baht /Very small coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Jeks</td>
<td>…. massage parlour operators and bankers are <em>Jeks</em>? <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.94)</em></td>
<td>Chinese people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>English Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>luke-nongs</td>
<td>At the time I didn’t know that luke-nongs, his wraiths. (SDC, Chapter 6, p.131)</td>
<td>Subordinates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>kaens</td>
<td>…and the playing of flutes or the kaens near her hut at night. (SDC, Chapter 7, p.144)</td>
<td>Reed mouth-organs of Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>samaneras</td>
<td>Four men carried it, following Pundit Piksu and nine samaneras – teenage boys who had their heads shaved and then wore yellow robes… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p.425)</td>
<td>Novices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>tammaks</td>
<td>A large lawn surrounded the three mansions, or tammaks, … (CLD, Chapter 1, p.10)</td>
<td>Mansions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>rong-gnaans</td>
<td>…they would be given back their jobs when the ‘rong-gnaans’ could be reopened. (SDC, Chapter 7, p.144)</td>
<td>Factories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>mohlams</td>
<td>“…my father composed for them so they could become mohlams, Isan folk singers”. (SDC, Prologue, p.6)</td>
<td>Northeastern folk singers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bangkoks</td>
<td>Bangkoks within Bangkoks. Yes, that charmingly hackneyed metaphor of the Chinese boxes comes to mind. (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p. 9)</td>
<td>Many dimensions of Bangkok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 6.36, the prominent feature of those items firstly falls into three compound nouns – tuk-tuks, luke-nongs, and rong-gnaans. Due to two syllabic words in Thai, these nativised items are hyphenated. The word ‘tuk-tuks’ occurs in reduplication due to its Thai origin. Another trait is that the rest of the existing items vary from one to three syllables. Monosyllabic compounds are: “kiads, bahts, wais, pooms, khims, sors, pangs, jeks, and kaens”. Meanwhile, disyllabic words are varied - kaengkiads, farangs, Krong Thips, ranads, luk kruengs, katoeys, saluengs, stangs, tammaks, mohlams, and Bangkoks. Interestingly, the words ‘Krong Thips’ and ‘luk kruengs’ are spaced. The former represents a well-known brand of Thai cigarettes. Among these words, the word ‘stangs’ displays its consonant cluster /st/ in English, but it is based on Thai, ‘sa-tang’. Besides, tri-syllabic words are ‘kinaris’ and ‘phakomaahs’. Finally, there is only one four-syllabic word, ‘samaneras’.
### Table 6.37: Thai Items with Inflectional Suffix ‘-s form’ (Other Types)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>angelic thephanoms</td>
<td>It was a wrought-iron gate in a design of angelic thephanoms with pressed palms. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.45)</em></td>
<td>Angelic patterns of a deity clasping hands in topken of worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>winged apsaras</td>
<td>The gates of the sky swung open and I saw winged apsaras on lotus pads, … <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.57)</em></td>
<td>Wing celestial nymphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>billowing sarongs</td>
<td>Suddenly he and the girl are gone amid a flurry of billowing sarongs. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.122)</em></td>
<td>Billowing lower garments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>countless klongs</td>
<td>…rubbish is thrown into it, scum and black, stinky water from countless klongs flow into it. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.99)</em></td>
<td>Countless canals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tiny sois</td>
<td>Not a corridor but a narrow alley…one of the tiny sois that interlace the city. <em>(DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p. 197)</em></td>
<td>Tiny alleys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>narrow klongs</td>
<td>The boat eased down the narrow klongs, bordered by stilted wooden houses;… <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.144)</em></td>
<td>Narrow canals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>delicate and beautiful kinaries</td>
<td>One day a hunter came across the group of these delicate and beautiful kinaries… <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p.184)</em></td>
<td>Delicate and beautiful half-bird women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>golden-haired, blue-eyed farangs</td>
<td>The coming and going of the laymen, especially the golden-haired, blue-eyed farangs, attracted him. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.101)</em></td>
<td>Golden-haired, blue-eyed westerners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>flustering and coughing maebaans</td>
<td>By the time the flustering and coughing maebaans caught up with him, … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p. 321)</em></td>
<td>Flustering and coughing housekeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>big-built farangs</td>
<td>Facing the pair, showing them his wares, he had to step backward when the big-built farangs would not stop. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.115)</em></td>
<td>Big-built westerners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>garlanded, singing apsaras</td>
<td>Here … fragments of fortifications and walls topped with complex friezes that depicted grim, barbaric gods and garlanded, singing apsaras. <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.183)</em></td>
<td>Garlanded, singing angels in epics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>brown and white masonry tamnaks</td>
<td>A wooden-roofed veranda joined the brown and white masonry tamnaks. <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p. 10)</em></td>
<td>Brown and white masonry mansions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those hybrid items with the suffix ‘-s form’ attached are similar due to being modified by compound adjectives. The most crucial items are ‘golden-haired, blue-eyed farangs’ and ‘big-built farangs’ as they are modified by two hyphenated compound adjectives with a comma. Meanwhile, the other items are of three sub-groups with
regard to their morphological segments. The first is only one adjective that modifies Thai heads with the suffix ‘–s form’, as found in items 1-6. Next, two adjectives that are connected by either conjunctives or commas are items 7-9, and 11. Last, three adjectives joined by conjunctives appear in the final item.

(1.2) Thai Items with the Inflectional Suffix ‘-ed form’

Thai items with the suffix ‘–ed form’ refer to a Thai compound verb in which past participle form is added.

Table 6.38: Thai Item with the Inflectional Suffix ‘-ed form’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>waied</td>
<td>She and Little Sor pressed their palms together in front of their chests, lowering their heads onto their fingertips, and <em>waied</em> Auntie Jin... <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p.32)</em></td>
<td>Saluted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb ‘*wai*’ in Thai is nativised by the inflectional suffix ‘-ed’ in relation to other past participle verbs in this context.

(1.3) Thai Items with the Inflectional Suffix ‘-ing form’

The English progressive suffix attached to Thai words is shown as follows:

Table 6.39: Thai Items with the Inflectional Suffix ‘-ing form’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>waiing</td>
<td>“Can I do Princess Leia?” she said, <em>waiing</em> to Pii Lek as though she were already his younger sibling ... <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.166)</em></td>
<td>Saluting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vipassana-ing</td>
<td>He found her alone, sitting on a plastic stool, not meditating or <em>Vipassana-ing</em> to achieve sati as he knew it, ... <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 260)</em></td>
<td>Meditating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.39, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sawasdee krapping, namaskara-ing</td>
<td>From that moment the billionaire was all charming and Sawasdee krapping and namaskara-ing to all... <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.507)</em></td>
<td>Expressing the word of Thai greeting. Salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.39 reveals two sub-groups of the inflectional suffix of the present participle form. First of all, the words ‘wai-ing’ and ‘Sawasdee krapping’ show that the ‘–ing form’ is added to the Thai verb and noun, namely ‘wai’ and ‘Sawasdee krap’ respectively. In the latter, a Thai particle ‘krap’ is attached; the suffix ‘–ing form’ is used to verbalise this particle rather than the noun ‘Sawasdee’. In another group, Thai verbs ‘Vipassana’ and ‘namasakara’ are hyphenated by the English gerund form ‘–ing’, that is, ‘Vipassana-ing’ and ‘namaskara-ing’.

(1.4) Thai Items with the Inflectional Suffix ‘-er form’

The following words show that Thai nouns possess the inflectional suffix ‘–er form’ added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>somnolent Esarner</td>
<td><em>The somnolent Esarner lay in bed, listening to the driver trying to start the engine.</em> <em>(SDC, Chapter 8, p.182)</em></td>
<td>Somnolent Northeastern Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nervous Esarner</td>
<td><em>“If you return alive to London, you’d better change that. I’m likely to go first,” suggested the nervous Esarner. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p. 673)</em></td>
<td>Nervous Northeastern Thai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two items are similar since the suffix ‘-er’ form is attached to The Thai noun ‘Esarn’. This suffix makes the word ‘Esarn’ become ‘Esarn people’ or ‘Esarner’.
(2) Derivational Suffixes

Derivational suffixes which are added to Thai words, especially ‘nouns’ in this study appear in two types: the –ian and –ness forms. Each is illustrated as follows:

(2.1) Thai Nouns with the Derivational Suffix ‘-ian form’

Thai nouns that possess the suffix ‘–ian form’ added are displayed below.

Table 6.41: Thai Nouns with the Derivational Suffix ‘-ian form’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>true Isanian</td>
<td>Thus at one point Prem Surin, a true Isanian and the principal character of the book… (SDC, Prologue, p.8)</td>
<td>True Isan guy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>solitary Napotian</td>
<td>Well, if he wins anything, he’ll let us know, the solitary Napotian signed… (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 126)</td>
<td>Solitary Napo person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to Table 6.41, Thai nouns with the suffix ‘ian’ are modified by English adjectives. The two items are contextualised in Northeast of Thailand. The word ‘Isan’ is nativised to be ‘Isanian’, which means an ‘Isan man or woman’ (a Northeastern Thai). Similarly, the word ‘Napo’, a district in Burirum province in Northeastern Thailand, is acculturated into ‘Napotian’ or ‘Napo people’.
(2.2) Thai Nouns with the Derivational Suffix ‘the –ness form’

Only one Thai noun with the English suffix ‘-ian’ attached is shown below.

**Table 6.42: Thai Noun with the Derivational Suffix ‘-ness’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>untouchable farangness</td>
<td>He’s decided that her untouchable farangness might get him an audience with some major official... <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.127)</em></td>
<td>Untouchable Europeanness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word ‘farangness’, which is comprised of the Thai noun ‘farang’ and the English suffix ‘-ness’, is modified by the adjective ‘untouchable’.

(3) Derivational and Inflectional Suffixes

The following words are different from many others in that they have both derivational and inflectional suffixes attached:

**Table 6.43: Thai Nouns with the Derivational and Inflectional Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bangkokians</td>
<td>This was a Friday, so many Bangkokians drove to the provinces for the weekend. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p.36)</em></td>
<td>Bangkok people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Napotians</td>
<td>…, most Napotians believed that the Mute had been truly adopted by pipramae. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.43)</em></td>
<td>Napo people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The item ‘Napotians’ is more nativised by these suffixes than the item ‘Bangkokians’; the Thai proper noun ‘Napo’ is hybridised by the English suffixes ‘-ian’ and ‘-s’. Meanwhile, the Thai word ‘Bangkok’ seems to become an English word. However, ‘Bangkok’ is still a Thai proper noun referred to its original version ‘Krung Thep’. Morphologically, both ‘Bangkokians’ and ‘Napotians’ are differently formed.
The suffix forms ‘-ian’ and ‘-s’ are connected to the noun ‘Bangkok’ while the consonant ‘t’ must be added to these suffixes for compounding the word ‘Napo’.

Note that several examples of hybridisation discussed above are perhaps not reflected in the Thais’ everyday use of English. Only some items in English combined with particular Thai words – “farang, Bangkok, baht, wai, and bong” are considered authentic hybrid formations because some of them appear in a Standard English dictionary and in different text types in English. Therefore, the remaining hybrid items are likely to be invented for a rhetorical purpose; however, this purpose is intended to manifest the flexibility of Thai words that can be blended into various morphological units in English. This is partially a way to promote a Thai variety of English.

Thai English hybrid items in the selected fiction share some common features with those in previous research. First of all, the items ‘yang tree’, ‘bo tree’, and ‘takraw ball’ in this study have also been found in the Thai English autobiography My Boyhood in Siam. Likewise, the word ‘farang’ is blended with several English words for two positions, heads and modifiers. For example, the item ‘farang couple’ resembles the word used in the Thai English novel Until the Karma Ends: A Plot to Destroy Burma (Watkhao1arm, 2005:150, 155). Similar to other Englishes, the word ‘farang’ is connected to an English inflectional suffix ‘s’; the item ‘big-built farangs’ is related to the Indian English hybrid ‘lift-wallahs’ in Rushdie’s fiction (Langeland, 1996: 20). Furthermore, the Thai English hybrid ‘the sanuk-seeking bankers’ yields the Malaysian English ‘the lalang-fringed path’ in The Return (Cesarano, 2000: 43) due to a vernacular modifier and hyphenation. Likewise, the item ‘two-saleung top’ parallels the item ‘pre-kaak times’ of Malaysian English in Che Husna’s Pak De Samad’s Cinema (Fadillah, 2000: 118) because such non-English modifiers are hyphenated between
English words. Overall, the findings present the open and closed sets of hybrid, which are not detailed in the literature review. A number of open-set hybrid items appear to be higher than those in the closed system, but both result in the very unique phenomenon of English-Thai and Thai-English loan blend.

6.7 Reduplication

Five strategies of word reduplication are used by the five Thai English writers – giving double force, making the intimacy, familiarity, and informality of the tone, imitating natural sounds, investing a word with new meaning, and intensifying a word.

6.7.1 Giving Double Force

Here reduplication involves an emphasis of certain nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as segments in a sentence (Mehrotra, 1997: 46). Additionally, other kinds of words can be repeated if a speaker or writer intends to convey clearer utterances or messages to his or her audiences.

Table 6.44: Reduplication for Giving Double Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>‘I’m fine, thank you.’ Lizzie chuckled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Nice to meet you.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Yes yes yes,’ Surachai said, grinning like a fool. ‘Honor to meet you, madam...’ (STS, Farangs, p.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>With each step she took her breasts nodded “Yes, yes, yes” and her two nipples gazed upward…                                                 (UOS, Sisi, pp.75-76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Black, black, black, black, black</td>
<td>Think black, Wichu. That’s what we want. Black, black, black, black, black. (STS, Draft Day, p.57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>rain, rain, rain gain, gain, gain</td>
<td>In the midst of this tapping, you could hear his booming voice singing “rain, rain, rain, what a joyous feeling I gain, gain, gain …from all this cooling rain.” (UOS, The Barber, p.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No(s)</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dragon, dragon, dragon, dragon</td>
<td>“Dragon,” I screamed, “dragon, dragon, dragon, dragon, dragon.” (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mounting… mounting… mounting…</td>
<td>They were playing a music video in between each drawing, and the suspense was mounting… mounting… mounting… (DFS, Lottery Night, p.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit</td>
<td>The woman continues muttering to herself. “Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit,” she says. That must be the girl’s name. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Juk, Juk!</td>
<td>I hear a voice: “Juk, Juk!” And I know there’s someone else looking for the girl, too. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chai, Chai, Chai</td>
<td>She too stretches her arms out to me, calls me by name: “Chai, Chai, Chai.” (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.197)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dear, dear, dear</td>
<td>“…Oh dear, dear, dear. My poor country! My heart bleeds…” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.422)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sadhu! Sadhu! Sadhu!</td>
<td>While such activities were going on, General Ekarach proclaimed the Rath Pardon Declaration, at the end of which the Napotians heartily uttered in unison to demonstrate their loyalty: Sadhu! Sadhu! Sadhu! (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.440)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gotcha, gotcha, gotcha, gotcha!</td>
<td>The little boy starts giggling and I’m screaming through the laughter, saying, ‘Gotcha, gotcha, gotcha, gotcha!’ (STS, Don’t Let me Die in this Place, p. 149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ma’am! Ma’am!</td>
<td>‘Ma’am! Ma’am!’ Ma let go of my arm, turned to face the vendor. ‘How’s a thousand, ma’am?’ the girl said, getting up from her seat. (STS, Sightseeing, p.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>again and again and again okay okay</td>
<td>‘Apologize!’ she screamed again and again and again. ‘Okay, okay,’ I managed to say after a while. ‘Sorry you win. Mercy already.’ (STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p.102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ma – Ma –</td>
<td>‘Ma – Ma – Where are – My sunglasses, luk –’ (STS, Sightseeing, p.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>gambled, gambled</td>
<td>We gambled, gambled selfishly, gambled more than we could afford,… (STS, Cockfighter, p. 209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Now, now</td>
<td>‘I don’t care if she wipes my ass, Mama,’ I said. ‘She gives me the creeps.’ ‘Now, now,’ she said. ‘Now, now.’ (STS, Cockfighter, p.217)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>No! No! No!</td>
<td>“No! No! No! I don’t want to see any doctor! I want to be a lone. Do you understand? I want to be alone!” shouted Stanley at the two minders before banging the door on them. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p.673)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Wo! Wo! Wo!</td>
<td>“Wo! Wo! Wo!” the father-uncle exuberantly exclaimed. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 31, p.677)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>well, well, well</td>
<td>“So you’re a writer! Well, well, well.” “I try my hand at short stories among other things.” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.412)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Me! Me! Me!</td>
<td>“…How about me? Me! Me! Me! Nobody cares about me!” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.714)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.44, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jek, Jek</td>
<td>... Sombun just whispers back, “Jek, Jek,” which I know is a putdown word for a Chinaman. <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.113)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Quiet! Quiet!</td>
<td>The Third Fairy frantically readjusted the heavily padded breasts, screaming at the roaring audience: “Quiet! Quiet! Now it’s my turn! Quiet!” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.410)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>sabai, sabai</td>
<td>They are clever and hard-working, whereas we Siamese prefer to take life at our ease, sabai sabai, to be lazy and spendthrift. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.94)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Charles! Charles!</td>
<td>“Charles! Charles! Charles!” he shouted drunkenly. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p. 714)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 6.44, a repetition to double emphasise the meaning of the word shows the highest number in this category. Some important items are discussed while the others appear in Appendix H. In terms of Thai words, the following items are repeated for addressing particular ones’ names like “Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit”, “Juk, Juk!”, and “Chai, Chai, Chai”. Moreover, the item “sabai sabai” that is repeated to emphasise pleasure in Thai is used as “a linguistically repeated word itself”. Furthermore, the repeated items “Sadhu! Sadhu! Sadhu!” or “saying amen in Thai” is used as one’s response to a suitable acceptance or agreement in together with raising his or her palm against palm in front of the face. In fact, the word ‘Sadhu’ has been authentically reduplicated by the Thai people while another emerging item “Ayodaya…Ayodaya” that refers to the old capital city of Thailand has not usually been repeated. Besides, Chinese words “Ma – Ma -” and “Jek, Jek” are repeated for addressing and referencing. Additionally, under this domain is “muoi, muoi”. For English words, the following functions of repetition are provided with certain items. Firstly, ‘giving a response’ was found in the items “yes, yes, yes” and “okay, okay”. This also includes the item “nothing, nothing”. Secondly, ‘addressing a person’ was seen in the items “Ma’am! Ma’am!” and “Charles! Charles! Charles!” Other items of this type are “Mick! Mick!”
and “teacher, teacher”. Thirdly, ‘giving encouragement’ appears in the item “Black, black, black, black, black” as this word represents the black ticket that Thai male teenagers wish to draw instead of the red ticket. The black ticket indicates an exemption while the red means being a soldier. Fourthly, reduplication to indicate anger is expressed in the items “Me! Me! Me!” and “No! No! No!” Fifthly, repeated words indicative of sorrow are “Wo! Wo! Wo!” and “dear dear dear”. Sixthly, reduplication for command is seen in “Quiet! Quiet!” and “now, now”. Seventhly, the item “well, well, well” is repeated as it is an English expression for ‘alright’ or ‘ok’. Eighthly, an exclamation “gotcha, gotcha, gotcha, gotcha, gotcha!” is normally expressed at least once. Ninthly, the following items emphasise the importance of words in certain moments like “rain, rain, rain”, “gain, gain, gain”, and “dragon, dragon, dragon, dragon, dragon”. This also covers the items “Money! Money!” and “mute, mute, mute”. Finally, “again and again and again” and “mounting…mounting…mounting…” are the expressions for modifying repetition of clearer actions. In this respect, “burning, burning, burning” and “giving, giving, and giving” are related to the latter due to progressive verb repetition. Similarly, the past participle verb “gambled and gambled” is reduplicated to indicate a continuous performance of a human nature.

6.7.2 Making the Tone Informal

A writer can employ reduplication to increase an intimacy and familiarity in speech patterns such as the use of taboo for humour (Mehrotra, 1997: 48).
Table 6.45: Reduplication for the Informal Tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | Ass ass ass    | ‘Don’t say that, ‘I tell her, throwing down my hand in disgust. ‘Nice girls don’t say “ass.”’

‘Ass ass ass,’ the little boy hisses, giggling hysterically at the sound of his own voice.
(STS, Don’t Let me Die in this Place, p.129) |
| 2  | tra la la la   | Bruises on her arms had to be gently rubbed to disperse pain. The mocking ‘tra la la la’ had to be overcome.

(SDC, Chapter 1, p.33) |

The taboo “ass ass ass” and the Thai interjection “tra la la la” are repeated for ironical teasing.

6.7.3 Imitating Sounds

Reduplication denotes a writer or speaker’s perceptions of sounds uttered by human beings, animals, and machines in his or her cultural background, namely in Thai (Chutisilp, 1984: 192). A writer in a certain culture hears or perceives particular animate and inanimate sounds in L1, so he or she transfers this perspective in L2 forms.

Table 6.46: Reduplication for Imitating Natural Sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1, 2  | Quack-Quack! Hack-Hack! | When girls were around, all they’d have to say was ‘Hey look, guys, there goes Black Wheezy and the Pregnant Duck’ or ‘Quack-Quack! Hack-Hack!...’

(STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p.98) | Sound of ducks |
| 3     | Bok-bok! Bok-bok! | He reached out with a hand and slapped me jokingly on the side of the head. ‘Bok-bok! Bok-bok!’

(STS, Cokfighter, p.192) | Sound of hitting one’s head |
| 4, 5  | peck, peck, peck, peck
tok, tok, tok, tok | “…Peck, peck, peck, peck. No use. They run around going ‘tok, tok, tok’ like angry chickens …”

(UOS, Iridescent Memory, p.105) | Sounds of chicken |
Table 6.46, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>boing-boing-boing</td>
<td>Those Chinese cymbals, with their annoying \textit{boing-boing-boing} sounds are clashing. \textit{(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 120)}</td>
<td>Sound of Chinese cymbals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>rat-tat-tat</td>
<td>… you chew the whole banana and spit out the seeds, \textit{rat-tat-tat}, like a machine-gun. \textit{(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p. 116)}</td>
<td>Sound of machine gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>huh, huh, yoh, yoh</td>
<td>Kiang also made certain noises that sounded like: “Huh, huh, yoh, yoh”, ... \textit{(SDC, Chapter 1, p. 33)}</td>
<td>The sound of one’s hitting water buffaloes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.46 provides three types of natural sounds in reduplication which the Thai writers imitate in English. First, there appears to be animal sounds like duck’s in “Quack-Quack!” and “Hack-Hack!” as well as chicken’s sound in “peck, peck, peck, peck” and “tok, tok, tok, tok, tok”. Next, sounds of machines and instruments are “rat-tat-tat” and “boing-boing-boing”. Last, sounds of human movements are ‘hitting’ from the items “Bok-bok! Bok-bok!” and “huh, huh, yoh, yoh”. These sounds in nativised English are articulated with using Thai pronunciation.

6.7.4 Investing a Word with New Meaning

Reduplication for investing a word with new meaning is intended for resorting to a process of semantic shift (Mehrotra, 1997: 47). A number of repeating words increase or decrease the meaning of the existing words.
Table 6.47: Reduplication for Investing a Word with New Meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>larger and larger</td>
<td>The bag grew <em>larger and larger</em> and I was afraid that it might burst, that the thinner would go flying everywhere. Anek looked at me the whole time he blew, his eyes growing <em>wider and wider</em>. He kept <em>blowing and blowing and blowing</em>, and I knew that my brother was blowing for a long time... <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p. 38)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wider and wider</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>blowing and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blowing and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blowing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>faster and faster</td>
<td>We were cruising comfortably now at sixty, sixty-five, seventy, seventy-five, <em>faster and faster and faster</em> still, the engine singing a high voice note beneath us... <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, pp.50-51)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a great-great-great-aunt</td>
<td>...; and finally – the clincher – alluded to a great-great-great-aunt of his in San Francisco who had once had a brief, ... <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup , p.20)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Great-Great-Uncle Noi</td>
<td>My Great-Great-Uncle Noi, whose bad karma had caused him to be reincarnated as one of these vile creatures. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night , pp.38-39)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>very, very, very</td>
<td>“I guess it’s about time I told you this,” I said, “but I like living in Thailand. It’s wild, it’s maddening, it’s obscenely beautiful, and it’s very, very, very un-American.” <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup , p.35)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>un-American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bow and bow and</td>
<td>;; otherwise Panya would not have known that he should return to the stage front again and again to <em>bow and bow and bow</em>. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 24, p. 608)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>round and round</td>
<td>A length of <em>saisin</em> cord wound <em>round and round</em> the nearby trees and through the pressed the palms of all the celebrants in the ritual. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 54)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all items above are reduplicated to extend meaning. Superlative adjectives in items 1-2, 4 increase the degree of size, further sight, and speed, respectively. Similarly, a progressive verb in item 3 and adjectives in items 8-9 convey several times of human activities. These are ‘inhaling the paint thinner’, ‘bending oneself for respect’ and ‘winding the white strings in a circular motion’, respectively. Particular kinship terms in items 5-6 are also repeated with Thai translation for the plural meaning - the older relatives. On the contrary, only item 7 carries a reduced meaning; this character is considered very un-American.

### 6.7.5 Intensifying

This reduplication form differs from other types in which the same words are repeated. It refers to two words in which similar phonological and semantic components
are repeated into a single word (Low and Brown, 2005: 78). This is illustrated below.

**Table 6.48: Reduplication for Intensifying Words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1     | Tid-Toy, Nid-Noy  | *Tid-Toy and Nid-Noy were like two beautiful plants growing in fertile soil with fastidious care and sufficient water.*  
*(SDC, Chapter 6, p.122)* |
| 2     |                   |         |

Only two Thai items are often reduplicated. In fact, these Thai names become “sound-connecting words” that have been used in the Thai society.

As a whole, the Thai writers utilise reduplication in order to reflect different purposes or when the characters intend to repeat expressions. It could be said that repeating as a strategy for enforcing the meaning and strength of the word shows the least authenticity of language use by Thais; some items in English are likely to be common across other varieties of English. However, other English and Thai items of this strategy – “black, black, black, black”, “Sadhu, Sadhu” and “sabai sabai” – are surely reflected in the uniqueness of Thai English words because of their semantic and pragmatic context of the Thai culture.

Certain features of reduplication from the findings resemble those in the literature review. The repetition of Thai and Chinese words for double force in the idiomatic expression “sabai, sabai” as well as the items “Jek, Jek” and “muoi, moui” from the Thai English fiction yields that of Malay and Cantonese Singapore English – ‘agak agak’ and ‘tsip tsip’ (Low and Brown, 2005: 77-78). Furthermore, the item ‘okay, okay’ in this study is similarly found in a Singapore English play *Beauty World* (Low and Brown, 2005: 191). Besides, repeated adjectives and nouns in Thai English “very, very, very un-American” and “Great-Great-Great-Uncle Noi” parallel those in an Indian
English novel *Nation of Fools* -“high, high horses” and “sharp, sharp swords” (Patil, 1994: 113). Moreover, the expression “We *gambled, gambled selfishly, gambled* more than…” is similar to the item “he *ate and ate and ate* …” in a Thai English novel *Little Thing* (Chutisilp, 1984: 144) due to a repetition of verbs. Overall, all items are repeated more in English than in Thai, especially nouns. Prominently, the reduplication from the Thai people’s views – imitating natural sounds – mirrors a Thai variety of English rather than other strategies. Further, only three reduplication strategies in the findings are mentioned in the review – giving double force, imitating sounds, and intensifying, so repeating for informal tone and semantic increase are the emerging features in this study.

### 6.8 Acronyms

Acronyms are abbreviations that are formed by the use of initial constituting parts of words (Bauer, 1983: 237). The Thai English fiction contains many acronyms in English. Nevertheless, only the uniquely innovative acronyms which neither appear in native English culture nor are used in different sources in English are considered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Original Word</th>
<th>Extract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Taninsak Chainarongwan</td>
<td>Some twenty minutes later, The Honourable Thaninsak Chainarongwan MP, the good man for TC for short exerted that… (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 11, p. 389</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>VVK</td>
<td>Very Virile Karl, Virtually Virile Karl</td>
<td>“Who is VKK?” Sopinya asked? “He’s Very Virile Karl, the hotel general manager,” Prawit giggled and then added impishly: “Or Virtually Virile Karl, depending on…” (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.406</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>DDT</td>
<td>Damage, Destroy and Take-over</td>
<td>“…How and to whom did I pay for these killings? Is it true that a secret scheme code-named DDT (Damage, Destroy and Take-over) is at work?” (<em>SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p.420</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.49, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Original Word</th>
<th>Extract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SPADC</td>
<td>Siam Progressive Agrarian Development Corporation</td>
<td>“…the government cannot secure for Siam Progressive Agrarian Development Corporation enough land to grow eucalyptus. …Meanwhile Babin Suntharaksakarn, CEO of SPADC, said…” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.480)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MW</td>
<td>Michael Wilding</td>
<td>…Michael Wilding, the tutor, looked into space, avoiding eye contact with them. …It seemed to be the silence of desperation as MW tried to think of something to say without being dismissive, … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 25, pp.620-621)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>NPF</td>
<td>the National Peacekeeping Force</td>
<td>And I quote: Announcement No.1 as issued by the National Peacekeeping Force <em>(NPF)</em> to outline the reasons for the military take-over, which is as follows: … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.701)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>CCD</td>
<td>the Confederation of the Campaign for Democracy,</td>
<td>Meanwhile, the Confederation of the Campaign for Democracy <em>(CCD)</em> and the Federation of University Students <em>(FUS)</em> joined hands to stage a protest at Sanamluang, the Royal Ground which is between the Grand Palace and Royal Hotel (formerly Rattanakosin Hotel) <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.705)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>FUS</td>
<td>the Federation of University Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Primary Four had now begun to recite verses while P3 did sums… <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.60)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>MET</td>
<td>Monopolated Elephant Tours</td>
<td>Uncle Mongkhon used to have a corral full of elephants before the people at Monopolated Elephant Tours came to the Island and started underpricing the competition, …<em>MET</em> was putting Uncle Mongkhon out of business, … <em>(STS, Farangs, p.8)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>BCFI</td>
<td>Bank of Credit and Finance International</td>
<td>“After having been to Bank of Credit and Finance International at Regent Street, we sauntered along Oxford Street towards Marble Arch…” “What did he do at BCFI?” Dani expostulated. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.477)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mr Triple P</td>
<td>Prim and Proper Prem</td>
<td>“Welcome to my monsoon country,” said my host and driver Prem Surin, who has several nicknames including Primo (used by intimate friends in London), <em>Mr. Triple P</em> (used solely by Danny for Prim and Proper Prem), … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 26, p. 626)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above words are new acronyms in the only chosen fiction. Only two stand for Thai acronyms, ‘TC and P’. The former refers to a Thai full name but the latter is a translation of ‘*Prathomsueksa*’ or ‘*Po*’. Meanwhile, the majority of the words are in English. However, the term ‘Mr Tripple P’ also contains a Thai name *Prem*, which is modified by the words ‘prim and proper’. Among English initials, four items are created for the Thai political and economic context – CCD, NPF, FUS, and SPADC. In the
mean time, the remaining items - “DDT, VVK, MW and BCFI” - are intended for non-
Thai contexts that include a project, full names, and a human feature. Surprisingly, the
science acronym ‘DDT’ known as “dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane” is one of the most
accepted synthetic pesticides in agriculture (Mayntz, 2012). However, the Thai English
writer wisely creates this acronym in the new context.

The majority of those acronyms are not likely to represent the English use by the
Thai people due to a newly created linguistic device for a rhetorical purpose of
literature. Nevertheless, only the item ‘P’ seems to mirror the authentic language use in
the Thai society as it parallels the Thai word ‘Por’ if a phonological creativity is
considered. In brief, those above acronyms can partially support Thai English words as
they are not seen in other varieties of English, but only in the selected Thai English
literature.

Compared to other Englishes, acronyms in the Thai English fiction share some
features. Firstly, the Thai abbreviation in English ‘TC’ can be related to the Japanese
acronym in English ‘NHK’ (*Nippon-Hoso Kyokai*) (Stanlaw, 1992: 186-187) and the
Urdu abbreviation in Pakistani English newspapers that are based on an Arabic
expression, namely ‘SAW(S)’ (*Salalaho alehe wasalam*) (Baumgardner, 1998: 226). These acronyms of these three cultures are similar because of the Englishisation
process. Furthermore, the acronyms ‘CCD’ and NPF’ in Thai English are convergent to
the Hong Kong English ‘PLA’ (the People’s Liberation Army) (Cummings, 2007: 28)
due to lexical innovations used in political contexts. In addition, the abbreviations
‘SPADC’ and ‘BCFI’ in this study parallel ‘CCI’ (Chamber of Commerce and Industry)
in Pakistani English newspapers (Baumgardner, 1998: 225-226) and ‘G.N.T.C.’ (Ghana
National Trading Company) in a Ghanaian English novel *The Beautiful Ones Are Not
Yet Born (Bamiro, 1997a: 108) because of economic terms. As a whole, only a Thai writer invents these identical acronyms in Thai English. These abbreviations conform to other Englishes in the literature review due to more English than indigenous words. In contrast, the writer’s acronyms differ from others in that Thai and English names are highlighted as well as the remaining scientific word is simplified for a social context.

6.9 Clipping

A number of Thai and English long words in the fiction are shortened. Similar to acronyms, only the novel ‘SDC’ comprises clipping. It was found that only two kinds – back and fore-clipping – appear in this study.

6.9.1 Back Clipping

Particular words in which back segments are shortened are displayed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Original Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Com</td>
<td>“So, here we’ve got Rit the Red and his new recruit,” one of the four challenged… “This Com here isn’t Siamese… He’s stateless and likes to prey on new boys to poison them with dangerous ideas.” (SDC, Chapter 5, p.96)</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sakol</td>
<td>Some men from dog-eating ethnic groups, mostly from Sakol and Panom, come to look for dogs. (SDC, Chapter 7, p.144)</td>
<td>Sakol Nakorn (a province in Northeastern Thailand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sa-u</td>
<td>Any news from Sa-u? (SDC (Book II), Chapter 8, p.360)</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chula</td>
<td>“…I used to teach English to his children when I was a hard-up student at Chula.” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.498)</td>
<td>Chulalongkorn University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.50, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Original Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Prathom</td>
<td>As you know, I am merely a poor and ignorant Esarn peasant who has no education beyond <em>Prathom</em> 4… (<em>SDC, Chapter 7, p.143</em>)</td>
<td>Pratomsueksa (Primary level)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.50 presents the clipped words that are used in the Thai society. In this century, the first item is often thought as clipping of the word ‘computer’. In this context, the word ‘Communist’ is also referred to, however. Hence, the remaining four items in Thai language are shortened because of the Thai people’s habitual trait of simply addressing and referring to proper nouns.

6.9.2 Fore-Clipping

In this study, only one item in which beginning morphological segment is clipped. This type is not as common as back-clipping.

Table 6.51: Fore-Clipping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Original word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panom</td>
<td>Some men from dog-eating ethnic groups, mostly from Sakol and <em>Panom</em>, come to look for dogs. (<em>SDC, Chapter 7, p.144</em>)</td>
<td>Nakorn Panom (a province in North-eastern Thailand)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to the clipped words ‘Sakol’ and ‘Sa-u’ in Table 6.50, the word ‘Panom’ is used in Thailand because its fore part, namely ‘Nakorn’, is used as the fore part as well of many provinces in Thailand such as “Nakorn Sawan, Nakorn Ratchaseema, Nakorn Nayok, and Nakorn Sri Thammarat”. Hence, the province ‘Panom’ (Nakorn Panom) is an authentic fore-clipping that is referred to in this Thai English fiction.
It could be said that the Thai writer provides those clipped words to present the very use of lexicons by the Thai people, especially in an informal setting. Thus, they can also be used in English and are surely not found in other Englishes.

It appears that Thai English clipping is similar to that in other Englishes. The word ‘com’ in Thai English parallels the Singapore English words ‘air-con’ (air-conditioner) in a novel *The Adventures of Holden Heng* and ‘thou’ (thousand) in a novel *Rice Bowl* (Wong, 1992: 141) as their back parts are clipped. Likewise, the word ‘Panom’ in Thai English can be related to the word ‘dik’ in a Malaysian English novel *Green is the Colour* (Puthucheary, 2009: 171) since both represent the fore-clipping of the indigenous items although the former is not marked by an apostrophe. Such a Thai clipping can be linked to the Zimbabwean English word ‘Spekshen’ (Inspection) in a novel *Harvest of Thorns* (Bamiro, 1997b: 103) although the latter is not a vernacular. In brief, this study shows that clipping in Thai English fiction is created with processes similar to that in Singapore and African English literatures; on the contrary, such processes exclude ‘mid-clipping’ as mentioned in the literature review.

**6.10 Ellipsis**

Only a collection of short stories ‘DFS’ carries long set of words in which back morphological elements are elliptical.
Table 6.52: Ellipsis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Original word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>namo dasa</td>
<td>In the main hall of the temple I knelt with three joss sticks before the ten-meter-long image of Lord Buddha. I said my namo dasa three times, stuck the joss sticks in the burner, drank in the sweet smell of incense. <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.76)</em></td>
<td>namo dasabhakavato arahato samma sambuddhatsa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2  | City of Angels Etc. | …beneath the canals of the little village that was later to become Bangkok, City of Angels, Dwelling Place of Vishnu, Residence of the Nine Jewels, and so on and so forth (read the Guinness Book of Records to obtain the full name of the city) known affectionately to its residents as the City of Angels Etc. *(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, pp. 10-11)*  

Then again, everyone knows there is nothing worthwhile outside the City of Angels the Divine and Great Metropolis Etc. Etc. *(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 39)*

Bangkok Metropolitan Etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                         |

The first item is the Pali-Sanskrit mantra for Buddhist prayers. This ellipsis is used rather than its full form. A prayer usually refers to a reduced form (it is often uttered as ‘*namo*’) of this sacred expression in either a dialogue or narrative, but the full words are uttered while praying. Meanwhile, the second item is much different from the former. This writer attempts to show the full name of Thailand’s capital in the excerpts underlined. Indeed, it is directly translated from a shortened Thai word, ‘Krung-Thep Etc.’ – ‘Krung’ is equivalent to ‘City’ while ‘Thep’ means ‘Angels’. Its complete version is “Krungthepmahanak hormornrattanakosinmahintayuthayamahadilokpop nopparattanaratchathaniburiromomratchniwetsathanamornphimanawartansattedakhataiyavishnukamprasit”. It means “The City of Angels, the Great City, the Immortal Magnificent Jewelled City of Great Indra, the Great Impregnable Capital of the World Endowed with the Nine Precious Gems, the Royal City of Happiness Abounding in Royal Palaces, the Great Place, the Immortal Abode of the Gods, the Residence of the Incarnate Deity, the City Given by Indra and Built by Vishnu”. The
Guinness Book of Records lists it as the longest place name in the world (Tsow, 2000: 1). The awareness of this official name of Bangkok is common among Thais, so in a written form it becomes an ellipsis in Thai ‘Krung Thep Etc.’ and in English ‘Bangkok Etc’. This English version is a previous name (nickname) of the capital given by foreigners. In this regard, the word ‘Etc’ is often missing in a spoken text.

It seems that the word ‘Bangkok Etc.’ mirrors the authentic Thai English word rather than the word ‘namo dasa’ because the former has been informally used by both Thai people and foreign visitors. Meanwhile, the latter word is recreated for the sake of Buddhism. Nevertheless, both reflect the actual ellipsis that can be used in both Thai and English languages, and they do not exist in other Englishes as well.

Ellipsis in this study appears in both Thai (Pali-Sanskrit) and English words. Meanwhile, this category in the literature review provides only English items. Although the latter is translated into English, it does not match any ellipsis items of other Englishes. This is because of a very long phrase with an abbreviation ‘etc.’ If a language is not considered, the term ‘namo dasa’ is probably related to a Nigerian English ellipsis ‘environmental’ (environmental sanitation day) (Bamiro, 1994: 14) and a Trinbagonian English one ‘galvanize’ (galvanized iron roof) in Naipaul’s *A House for Mr. Biswas* (Bamiro, 1997b: 185-186) as their back morphological constituents are omitted, nonetheless.
6.11 Conclusion

The chosen Thai English authors interweave their fiction with ten lexical creativity strategies. The most popular ones are hybridisation and lexical borrowing due to the higher amount of lexicon compared to other strategies. In fact, their writings are full of loanwords as Thai lexis is commonly found in other strategies - modes of addressing and referencing, hybridisation or loan blend, coinages, reduplication, acronyms, and clipping. This results in a large number of lexical creativity in Thai English. Structurally, the writers convey hybridisation as the most complex linguistic innovation since it embodies many constituting parts of Thai that includes other vernaculars, and English as well as other elements of lexico-morphological, lexico-semantic, and lexico-grammatical variations. In short, all these lexical creativity strategies will be further determined for their extent, which will be the indicative features of a Thai variety of English.
CHAPTER 7
DISCOURSE CREATIVITY IN THAI ENGLISH FICTION

7.0 Overview

This chapter presents how the Thai writers highlight their English fiction with different creative discourse strategies patterned from the World Englishes literature in order to enrich the textual and stylistic ornaments of Thai English. They consist of nativisation of context, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, code-mixing and code-switching, colloquial variety of English, and discourse styles. The findings are discussed with regard to specific excerpts and compared to those in other New Englishes literature in the review.

7.1 Nativisation of Context

The selected Thai English fiction is shaped by an English language within a culturally specific context in Thai. The Thai authors create nativisation of English language with cultural presuppositions via theme, scene, situation and character backgrounds in using five strategies: literary, monarchical, religious, historical, and political.

7.1.1 Literary Context

Samples from Thai literatures and an international writing on Thai studies are used as basis for backgrounds, plots, and characters in the Thai English fiction. Examples appear in the following:
Example 1

As always, my husband spoke in riddle… He launched into another bout of chanting. I want to fling myself at him and shout, “What about my secret desire, what about my need for you to come back down from the mountain and put your arms around me and make me fully a woman?” But I knew he would only answer with an enigmatic smile…..

My husband said, “Remember the story of King Vessandar, who gave away his very children – those most precious to him – to a mere beggar, because he’d managed to free himself even from love itself, that most persistent of desires. It was only when he had relinquished even love that he was free to be reborn as the Lord Buddha.” (DFS, the Steel American, pp.78-79)

The character ‘I’ (Mali) would like her husband to leave the monkhood in order to respond to her sexual or secret desire. However, her husband refuses her offer because he wants to attain the enlightenment as did the King Vesssandar. The character of her husband is recreated from King Vessandar, a Buddhist Thai literature. The king did not involve such desire to become the Lord Buddha. The reason given by the husband is thus similar to that of the king.

Example 2

I first got a glimpse of the Grail at Club Pagoda, which was near my hotel and which is where we often liked to take our clients. The club was on the very edge of Patpong, but it was respectable – the kind of place that serves up a plastic imitation of The King and I, which is, of course, a plastic imitation of life in ancient Siam…artifice imitating artifice, you see. Waiters crawled around in mediaeval uniforms, the guests sat on the floor, except there was a well under the table to accommodate the dangling legs of lumbering white people. The floor show was eminently sober… it was all classical Thai dances: women wearing those pagoda-shaped hats, moving with painstaking grace and slowness to a tinkling, alien music. (DFS, Chui Chai, p. 85)

I wasn’t interested, but for some reason she insisted on giving me the entire story behind the dance: “This particular chui chai is called Chui Chai Benjakai… the demoness Benjakai has been dispatched by the demon king, Thotsakanth, to seduce the hero Rama… disguised as the beautiful Sita. She will float down the river toward Rama’s camp, trying to convince him that his beloved has died… only when she is placed on a funeral pyre, woken from her death-trance by the flames, will she take on her demonic shape once more and fly away toward the dark kingdom of Lanka… But you’re not listening!”

How could I listen? She was the kind of woman that existed only in dreams, in poems. Slowly she moved against the tawdry backdrop, a faded painting of a palace with pointed eaves. Her feet barely touched the floor. Her arm undulated… “Why are you looking at her so much?” said Frances. “She’s just a Patpong bargirl… she moonlights here… classics in the evening, pussy after midnight.” (DFS, Chui Chai, p.87)

These two extracts are similar in that a showgirl club in Patpong, Bangkok is contextualised by two artistic works of Thailand. The setting of the famous Hollywood musical film The King and I (1956) is nativised in this story. The club is designed classically as in the film’s scene. The waiters are dressed as the servants of the Siam Court. Likewise, the bargirls are depicted as the royal dancers. Indeed, this western-produced film based on the novel Anna and the King of Siam (1944) by Margaret Landon is the first visual media that presents the Thai kingship and the early Thai way of life to the world (Cinderella, 2012). This Thai writer thus exploits this strategy.
to portray the club in order to attract the western character that is familiar with this film. Likewise, a description of the dance performed by the bargirl is taken from the *Ramakien*, a Thai version of an Indian epic Ramayana. According to Thai Ramayana (1977: 1), this story originated from the Sanskrit version of *Valmiki* in India written at least 2000 years ago. It was rewritten in many Thai styles. Indeed, the second extract is based on ‘The Floating Maiden’ by King Rama II of Bangkok Dynasty (Phutthaloetla Naphalai, 1973: 10). The bargirl could beautifully dance as in the description since she attracted the audience, namely ‘I’.

**Example 3**

Manora was a mythological half-bird woman, a winged divine *kinary* who resided among her kind in the woods of Mount Meru on top of which gods and goddesses lived. Manora and her entourage frequented an earthly lotus pond, the home of fish and colourful water birds. One day a hunter came across the group of these delicate and beautiful *kinaries* and devised a way to make his catch. Equipped with an enormous snake, he awaited the flying flock, hiding in a bush by the pond. On landing, the *kinaries* took off their wings before gliding into the water… All of the *kinaries*, except Manora whose wings had been seized, quickly put on their wings and flew away. She, with a serpent constricting her to prevent her escape, was brought to the palace as a celestial offering to the king. Fascinated by the gift, the enchanted king fell in love with Manora, but his infatuation made the grand ladies of the court hot with jealousy. So they schemed to do away with Manora to win favours back from their king. While the king was away at war with a neighbouring country, it was claimed that the presence of the alien, the half-bird woman, among mankind had brought about the war, plague and economic crisis…Manora was condemned to death by burning. While a pyre was being prepared for the immolation, Manora pleaded for her sequestered wings so as to complete her adornment in order to perform the last rite – the *kinary’s* Dance of Death. She succeeded in working on the gullibility of the courtiers, one of whom brought the wings out from a guarded box and gave them to her. She flew away as soon as she put on her wings…

And in his nightmare, it was Danny von Regnitz und Pilakol who was being led to the pyre. Some hysterical Siamese broke the line and out they came, hitting, kicking and spitting at the condemned man. The brutal, hateful men yelled:

- Make him cry for making our country go awry!
- Make him cry for mercy for ruining our economy!

Danny begged for mercy, kneeling, sobbing. His skull was cracked, bleeding; his face was dripping with blood and his clothes were torn and splattered with excrement.

- Burn him, the alien who is dangerous, becoming grossly prosperous;
- and yet his heart is bent upon destroying, guise and bribes employing!
- He is a dead weight on the land!
- Each a man cannot live on our land!

Like unleashed fiends, more frenzied men rushed towards their prey rendering blows. One of them pierced Danny’s heart with a sharp stake… *(SDC, Chapter 8, pp. 184-186)*

The writer remarkably characterises ‘Danny’ (Dani) with regard to ‘Manora’, a Thai epic literature. Both are similar in that they both are accused of bringing misfortune so that they must be killed. Moreover, Danny and Manora both begged for their lives. However, Manora was successful in not being burnt while Danny was not.
An excerpt of this story is retold by the writer in comparison with the characterisation of Danny, whose parents partially ruined the country.

Example 4

_The Gold Goby Fish_ was a classic Thai fable, and one of Chalida’s favorites. She had read it countless times.... Like the daughter of the story, she too had a dead mother. The story was of Kanitha, a good woman, who lived humbly with her daughter, Auey, and her husband, Seththi. One day on her trip to the market, she overheard the other villagers talking, saying that Seththi had taken a fancy to a beautiful woman named Kanithee. Kanitha quickly returned home and confronted her husband. Seththi denied the accusation and assured Kanitha that he loved only her and could never love another. Hearing her husband’s promises, she berated herself for listening to strangers...

But no long after, Seththi brought Kanithee into their home on the pretense that Kanitha needed help with the housework.... Kanitha was devastated. She realized that another woman had captured her husband’s heart, and there was nothing she could do but endure it. She held her tongue and accepted her fate as punishment for sins committed in her past lives. There was no escape from her karma.... Kanithee was sweet to Seththi, but hateful to Kanitha and Auey. She took pleasure in turning Seththi against his family. As time passed, Seththi’s enchantment with Kanithee became detrimental to Kanitha and Auey’s happiness. Kanithee would mock and insult watch, laughing. She beat Auey until the girl’s screams could be heard by the neighbors, and still Seththi did nothing, saying Auey needed to be disciplined. He was under Kanithee’s spell, even resenting his wife and daughter for being in the way of their love.

One morning, as they did every day, Seththi and Kanitha went out on their fishing boat. It was an unlucky day, and they couldn’t catch a single fish... Finally, drunk and in a rage, he threw Kanitha overboard and returned to shore, leaving her to drown. Auey, who was waiting for her mother at the dock, saw that only Seththi got off the boat. She asked for her mother, but Seththi said nothing,...

Auey waited for days,... She searched everywhere, but couldn’t find Kanitha. One day, as she sat lamenting by the pond, calling for her mother, Kanitha’s voice answered. Happily, Auey turned to greet her, but no one appeared. “Where are you mother?” Auey asked. “look down daughter,” the voice said. Auey looked down and saw that her mother’s voice came from a gold goby fish swimming by her.

Kanitha, who had drowned, refused to join the realm of the dead, and returned to her daughter reincarnated as the fish. She wasn’t bitter, but willingly succumbed to her destiny. She advised Auey to be strong. “Only through suffering can our sins be washed away, and our souls redeemed,” she told her daughter. Kanitha comforted Auey through her troubles under Kanithee’s merciless treatment. Every evening Auey hurried to the pond to feed her mother and listen to her kind words.... But soon Kanithee, who had become Seththi’s new wife, discovered Kanitha’s existence. Out of spite, Kanithee killed the goby fish and fed it to the animals. When Auey came to the pond and called to the fish, there was only silence....

Auey was distraught and wept for days, her heart torn apart by misery... Auey prayed desperately for her mother’s safe return.

Kanithee’s malicious act failed to extinguish Kanitha’s spirit. Concerned about her daughter, her soul materialized once more as a tomato plant with luscious fruits. Auey was overjoyed to find her mother. Every day she watered this plant and talked to her mother, ... Again Kanithee uncovered Kanitha’s being. She picked all the fruit and tore the plant from its roots.

Still, death could not separate Kanitha from her beloved daughter. She was re-born as a majestic bo tree with resplendent gold and silver leaves. Many more deaths and re-births she would experience before the story ended. She always returned to her daughter, ...

The deep bond between mother and daughter, that even death could not sever, touched Chalida’s sentimental heart... She hoped to discover the reincarnation of her mother, who she knew was watching over her and loving her... Her mother’s spirit was waiting for her... (CLD, Chapter 1, pp.4-7)

A classic Thai fable, the gold goby fish, was re-cited as the basis of characterising Chalida, who is similar to Auey. Chalida wishes her mother to be reincarnated as Kanitha, Auey’s mother, although it was impossible. However, Chalida believes that Kanitha and her mother are the same; their soul exists around their daughter. This fable has a theme of Buddhism on reincarnation, spirits, and afterlife; a psychological effect conveyed by the protagonist named Chalida to her dead mother in
this novel. Therefore, the use of this fable reflects the thematic creativity of Thai English.

7.1.2 Monarchical Context

Thailand is a monarchical country with a long history, so many events in Thai English fiction are culturally presupposed in relation to those regarding the kingship of the country. Evidence of such can be found in the following examples:

Example 5
…the bronze was dark for a long time till it started to shine with a light that rose from the heat of our bodies, the first warmth to invade the dragon’s innards in a thousand years… and then, in the mirror surface of the walls, we began to see visions. Yes! There was the dragon himself, youthful, pissing the monsoon as he soared above the South China Sea. Look, look, my multi-great-great-uncle bearing the urn of his severed genitals as he marched from the gates of the Forbidden City, setting sail for Siam! Look, look, now Multi-Great-Uncle in the Chinese Quarter of the great metropolis of Ayutthaya, constraining the dragon as it breached the ranging waters of the Chao Phraya! Look, look, another uncle, marching alongside the great Chinese General Taksin, who wrested Siam back from the Burmese and was in turn put to an ignominious death! (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p. 31)

The writer marks the flashback and the character’s ancestors from Chinese migrants in Siam since the Ayutthaya period, who worked for the kingdom. Furthermore, this ethnic group plays a significant role in the monarchical institute of Thailand. General Taksin, the late King Taksin, whose father is Chinese and mother is Thai, liberated Siam from Burmese occupation after the second fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 and established the Thonburi Kingdom (1768-1782) (Yusoontorn, 2011).

Example 6
‘Men are lunatics, Ladda.’ Mama sighed. …Papa was still at the factory hammering tin. ‘You’d think God invented stupidity the same day he came up with the penis.’
‘What are you talking about, Mama?’
‘Don’t act dumb, girl, I’m talking about the fuss these men make over their stupid chickens.’ Mama bit off a piece of thread, spat the tendrils out between her teeth. ‘Meditating with their chickens. Ha!’
‘Cockfighting is an ancient tradition, Mama,’ I said, throwing a finished piece onto the large heap between us. ‘It’s the sport of kings. You know, King Naresuan was a champion cockfighter during his reign.’
‘Don’t start, Ladda.’
‘It’s true. I even looked it up at the library to make sure Papa wasn’t lying.’
‘Even if that was true,’ Mama said, putting down the bra she was working on, ‘don’t forget that Mister Cockfighting King got killed riding an elephant into battle.’ She tapped her head with a finger. (STS, Cockfighter, p.168)

An interaction between Ladda and her mother regarding cockfighting is tied to the story of King Naresuan of the Ayutthaya period. Ladda’s mother is dissatisfied with
her husband who prioritises cockfighting over her. Ladda relates this sport with regard to the King Naresuan, a master cockfighter, as she wants her mother to understand her father’s favourite sport and to esteem it. Nonetheless, her mother argued that the king could only win in the sport, not in the war. Ladda views this sport was modelled by the championship of King Naresuan, but her mother disagreed that the king could be the model for her husband. Indeed, the writer effectively presupposes the characterisation of Ladda and her mother according to the monarchy and a local sport in Thailand.

Example 7

The compound was adjacent to Sukhothai Palace, the former residence of King Prajadhipok, or King Rama VII. The palace was occupied by Queen Rambhai, the king’s aged widow...

On occasion, Chalida caught glimpse of the royal automobile entering the palace gates. The eggshell-yellow Rolls Royce, proudly bearing the flag of the royal crest, was recognized by all Thais and was a frequent sight on the streets of Bangkok. Few Thais, however, ever saw a member of the royal family up close. Such occasions were considered blessings by commoners. The current monarch, King Bhumipol Adulyadej, Rama IX, was especially loved and revered for his infinite goodness to the people during his thirty-year reign. Seeing him brought tears of heartfelt joy to his subjects…

The district where Chalida lived had always been occupied by the elite of Thai society – peripheral members of the royal family and old, aristocratic families. This part of town, referred to as the “old city” centered around the Grand Palace, the largest and most magnificent of the royal residences, where King Rama I resided when he founded the Chakri dynasty and constructed this new capital city. Bangkok had its root here, where the palaces, government and administrative buildings, and homes of the elite were located…

For close to a century and seven generations, the Rattanakarn family compound had been handed down to its scions. King Chulalongkorn, or King Rama V, had originally bestowed the land upon Pibul Rattanakarn, one of the family’s most venerated fathers. Pibul was a loyal and sagacious aide to the king, and the land was reward for his exemplary, lifelong service. (CLD, Chapter 1, pp.10-11)

The character ‘Chalida’ is created in relation to a high-ranking family in Thailand. This family, the Rattankarns, is distinctive, so it is linked to the Thai monarchical institute. First of all, the house’s location is in the surrounding area of royal palaces in the Bangkok Dynasty, so her ancestors lived their life within views of the kings and the royal family members. Moreover, her family members are appointed as political administrators whose work is partially related to this institute.

7.1.3 Religious Context

The Buddhist way of life is thematically presupposed in the Thai English fiction. Moreover, Hinduism as well as beliefs in spirits and superstitions are compiled due to
grass roots support in and its relevance to Buddhism in the country. This is shown below.

Example 8

Thailand is a country with more ghosts than people. The belief in the omnipresence of spirits comes from animism, the dominant tribal religion in the region in the days before the inhabitants of the peninsula were converted to Buddhism by the missionary zeal of King Asoka. Today, the house I grew up in is a multistory condominium, ... But the spirit population hasn’t gone down. (DFS, In the House of Spirits, p. 2)

The belief in spirits or ghost is still embedded in Thais’ life at the modern age although Buddhism was introduced into the country long time ago. Hence, the character named ‘I’ has been moulded through such beliefs involving familiarity with spirits.

Example 9

At that point, the khunying showed up. She had changed into a casual silk pants suit and slightly less jewellery. “Oh, Mae Thiap,” she said, “I’m so glad you could come!”

“It’s nothing, my dear,” said the shaman. “And you last saw your earrings where?

“I don’t know, I don’t know,” said Midge. “It’s those beastly servants; I swear! There’s not an honest domestic left in all of Bangkok; the foreigners have hired them all away at grossly inflated wages. I was coming home from the big charity ball, you know, at the Dusit. I’m sure I still had the earrings then. Unless I took them off in the bathroom...” Her confusion was genuine, and very discomfiting. “I mean, it’s not as if they went poof! and just vanished from my ears, is it?"”

“Of course not, my dear,” she said. “Let’s all concentrate our minds.” An assistant brought a tray of joss sticks and garlands. Apparently, I was supposed to join in, so I took seven incense sticks and lit them. “This part’s simply grand,” Midge said, clutching my forearm excitedly. “She becomes possessed by the god Phra Isuan – Shiva – who as you know is Lord of the Dance. Then, in the personage of the god, she dances around wildly until she’s able to see the true location of every object in the world.”

“What if they’re not in this room? What if they’re stolen? I said. “Phra Isuan will rearrange the fabric of reality,” said Midge, “and make whatever has happened un-happen. After all, he is the God of Destruction.”

“I see,” I said dubiously.

The little blind boy came in and presented us with a bowl of sand in which to plant our incense sticks. The room was getting smoky. I tried to look appropriately meditative for a few minutes before carefully placing the sticks in the bowl. “All right,” said Mae Thiap. “Now, children, you must remember that life is a dream; the world is an illusion; that which we call reality is held in place by the chains of karma...and that’s what we must rely on. Now, Khunying, if you would kindly concentrate on the earrings...try to conjure up a mental picture of them in your mind...” (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p. 138)

The characters ‘Khunying’ and ‘Midge’ lost their earrings so the shaman, named Mae Thiap, helped them via this Hindu ceremony that relies on the shaman’s spell through the Hindu Supreme God ‘Phra Isuan’ or ‘Phra Shiva’ known as Lord of Dance and the God of Destruction (Tum Amulet, 2010). If the god inspires the shaman, she will dance and know where the lost object can be found. Besides, the shaman provides the teaching of Buddha on life and karma, before the participants of the rite meditates.

This extract implies that Hinduism is very close to the Buddhist Thais’ lives. Hindu and
Buddhist rituals operate simultaneously. Thai people think that rituals of the two religions are almost the same. Some even think Hinduism is a branch of Buddhism. Indeed, Hinduism was introduced in Thailand in the 100th century while Buddhism was established in the 1000th century. Thus, Hinduism has been influencing Thais. Because Lord Buddha did not give any rituals, Thais use Hindu rituals. For instance, ceremonies for the King are conducted first by Hindu priests, then the Buddhist monks. Furthermore, Thai commoners seek direct communion with the Hindu Gods and Goddesses in meditation (Malik, 2012). This is evident in the ritual depicted in this extract in which the protagonists pay special attention to God Shiva for achieving the goal as well as the devices used for the ritual worship - incense sticks and garlands of marigolds – definitely conform to those of Hinduism. Consequently, the significance of Hinduism towards Buddhist Thais’ culture used as the thematic ground of this excerpt contributes to the distinctiveness of the Thai English literary discourse.

Example 10
... I saw the monster slowly begin to transform into the corpse of a beautiful woman... Khun Mayurn, the unfortunate woman whose karma had caused her to walk the earth as the lowliest of demons...
It was at that moment that I saw Joey Friedberg... He walked strangely, with the grace of a woman. In fact, he wasn’t walking at all. He was gliding. Floating toward me on a carpet of mist.
“Joey,” I said softly, “how could you have slept through all that? The exorcism – the phi krasue –”
“Samraan,” Joey said. It was a haunting voice, a voice out of some past life...the voice of a beautiful woman, rich against the patter of impending rain.
“Joey – you didn’t turn into a katoey, did you?”...
“No, my child –”
“You’re possessed!”
“You’re dreaming,” Joey said, and enveloped me in incense fumes.
The corpse of Khun Mayurn was melting... He took me by the hand – his hand was soft and caked with perfume-powder – and led me out of my body. We climbed up the tombstones and climbed to the clouds on a staircase of heavenly rain. The gates of the sky swung open and I saw winged apsaras on lotus pads, singing in endless praise of Phra Indra, King of Heaven, ...Music of celestial xylophones mingled with Metallica from Joey’s Walkman. (DFS, Lottery Night, p. 57)

The author addresses the Buddhist and Hindu belief through the fantasy scene of past life. The character ‘Samraan’ realises the karma of Khun Mayurn. She also faces the spirit transformed by Joey. The crucial event is Samraan’s adventure to the heaven where she met ‘Apsaras’ or female spirits of the clouds and waters in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. They are very beautiful and supernatural women who can dance elegantly. Indeed, they are the wives of the Gandharvas, the court servants of Phra
Indra. They dance to the music played by their husbands, especially in the palaces of the gods, and entertain gods and fallen heroes (Hinduism, 2010). In this context, the writer adapts the Apsara myth into the story; the music for Apsaras’ dancing is a mixture of divine xylophones and modern musical instrument.

Example 11

.....Father O’Malley discreetly turned his back and faced the bamboo crucifix. One hand held the book open; the other reaches behind, grasped at the air for a moments before landing, by accident it seemed, on my exposed breast. Lightly the fingers drummed as Father O’Malley read to me and I listened, filling in the words I couldn’t understand with my own vision of how things must have been in the olden times…

Phra Yesu, the Christian god, who was an incarnation of the god Vishnu, made his disciples drink his blood from a silver cup called the Holy Grail. It was a magic blood which could heal the universe. But Phra Yesu was attached to material things and could not free himself from the sexual desire for Mary Magdalene, who was an incarnation of Maya, the deceiving one, who tempted Buddha under the Bo tree. So Phra Yesu was made to suffer crucifixion instead of being granted enlightenment. And the silver cup was lost.

This was the gist of what I gleaned from the priest’s discourse. I could not make out all the words, but oh, the severe beauty of their sounds! I loved the clash and grinding of those English consonants,… O’Malley’s left hand had worked its way to my pubes now, and his index finger was warily circling my clitoris…(DFS, The Steel American, pp.71-72)

The extract marks an adapted erotic version of teaching Christianity in relation to Hinduism-Buddhism. The teaching occurs through sexual activities between Father O’Malley and Mali (I). Thematically, the teaching raises the controversial issue of temptation as a common feature between Phra Yesu (Jesus Christ) and the Hindu god Vishnu (the Preserver of the Universe) who has a form of ‘Siddhartha’, the one who attains perfection, birth name of Buddha avatar (Pan India Network, 2012). The writer shows a resemblance between the Jesus Christ and the god Vishnu (Buddha) from the two religions’ myth - the son of the virgin women, namely Mary Magdalene and (Maha) maya, respectively (Near-Death Experiences & the Afterlife, 2007). Furthermore, this version shows these two women as close followers of the two gods. However, the writer employs a hypothesis of Mary Magdalene as the Jesus’s wife regarding the book The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail by Michael Baigent, Richard Leigh, and Henry Lincoln (1982) (Welsh, n.d.). Mary Magdalene has been criticised in the Christian myth as a tempter of Jesus’s sexual life. Nonetheless, no evidence claims that Maya tempted the Buddha who was attaining enlightenment. Only a shared angle of the two gods is
evident in ‘devil’, the very tempter ‘Satan’ in Christianity and ‘Mara’ in Buddhism. Therefore, the devil of sexual life affecting the two Gods’ enlightenment is recreated in the form of Mary Magdalene and Maya. Likewise, the two characters are presupposed to follow this teaching. Father O’Malley tries to reach the Christianity’s goal but Mali tempts his sexual desire, so both who fail in the enlightenment have similar roles to Jesus and Mary.

### 7.1.4 Historical Context

Thai historical events are used as basic elements in depicting each scene in the story. Particular real situations in the early days of Thailand are interwoven with the protagonists’ behaviour. This nativisation is evident as follows:

**Example 12**

“It was 1945,” my father said. “The war was over, and Chiang Kai Sheck was demanding that Siam be ceded to China. There was singing and dancing in the streets of Yaowaraj! Our civil rights were finally going to be restored to us…and the Thais were going to get their comeuppance! We marched with joy in our hearts…and then the soldiers arrived…and then we too had rifles in our hands…as though by magic. Uncle Shenghua’s car was smashed. They smeared the seats with shit and painted the windshield with the words: *Go home, you slanty-eyed scum.*” Do you know why the restaurant wasn’t torched? One of the soldiers was raping a woman against the doorway and his friends wanted to give him time to finish. The woman was your grandmother. It broke my father’s heart.”

I had never had the nerve to say it before, but today I was so enraged that I spat it out, threw it in his face. “You don’t know that he was your father, Papa. Don’t think I haven’t done the math. You were born in 1946. So much for your obsession with racial purity.”

He acted as though he hadn’t heard me, just went on with his preset lecture: “And that’s why I don’t want you to consort with any of them. They’re lazy, self-indulgent people who think of only sex. Just know that one of them’s got his tentacles wrapped around your heart.”

“Papa, you’re consumed by this bullshit. You’re slave to this ancient curse…just like the damn dragon.” Suddenly, dimly, I had begun to see away out: “But it’s not a Thai I’m in love with. It’s an American.” *(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.18)*

The hidden historical event of the Chinese community in Bangkok named *Yaowaraj* is exploited as the background of the Chinese Thai characters that migrated to the United States in this story. After World War II, Thailand became the loser because of Japan’s alliance, unlike China which opposed the Japanese. On September 20, 1945 a large number of Chinese Thais in this community celebrated this success by singing and dancing. Eventually, a Chinese flag was stuck on a Chinese tricycle. Some Chinese people along the road acclaimed and followed the tricycle, causing a traffic jam.
Meanwhile, a Thai tricycle man faced this situation and pulled down the Chinese flag, resulting in a group of Chinese people becoming upset and fighting against the Thai man. However, the Thai man had a rifle; the policemen in the area could not stop this quarrel. Then, a large number of police and soldiers attacked the Chinese people in the area. This chaos expanded to other Chinese communities in Bangkok. On September 26, 1945, the Thai government declared an end to this riot. More than 140 Chinese people were killed while more than a thousand were arrested and many Chinese houses and shops were ruined. This riot was not caused by the Chinese Thais’ obsession with China. A group of the Thai government who supported the Japanese Army lost the power, so the Chinese Thais who had been oppressed in the Thai society were used as a tool for splitting up other Thais, causing disharmony (Thai Chinese Blog, 2012). As a result, the writer depicts this complicated situation in a lively way as it is retold by the father who really hates Thai people. He does not want his daughter to marry a Thai. However, his daughter found out her father’s secret. Her father, who loves Chinese purity, has Thai blood as he is the child of a rape committed by a Thai soldier during the riot.

Example 13
It’s the Police Museum upstairs from the local morgue. One wall is covered with photographs of corpses… Upstairs, the feeling changed. The stairs creaked. The upstairs room was garishly lit…. And then there was Si Ui. He had his own glass cabinet, like a phone booth, in the middle of the room. Naked. Desiccated. A mummy. Skinny. Mud-colored, from the embalming process, I think. A sign – hand written, of course – explained who he was: Si Ui, Devourer of Children’s Livers in the 1950s. …

“Listen, Corey. I’ll tell you how I met the boogieman.” Imagine I’m 11 years old, same as you are now, running wild on a leaky ship crammed with coolies. They are packed into the lower deck. We can’t afford the upper deck,… Everyone’s fleeing the communists. We’re some of the last white people to get out of China… Everyone down there’s clustered around the food. Except this one man… I watch him… “I’m Nicholas,” I say. “Si Ui” I don’t know if it’s his name or something in Hakka. I hear my mother calling from the upper deck. I turn from the strange man. “Gotta go.”

So, I’m thinking this will be my last glimpse of Si Ui. It’s in the harbour at Klong Toey… So all these coolies,… Si Ui looks at me. And in his eyes I see…bars. Bars of light, maybe. Prison bars… The crowd that parted all of a sudden comes together and he’s gone… And in the next few weeks I don’t think about Si Ui at all. Until he shows up – just like that – in a village called Thapsake…
Example 13, continued
The second day I’m here, I meet these kids, Lek and Sombun. They’re my age…. But later, after we dry off in the sun and they try to show me how to ride a water buffalo, we sneak across the gailan field and I see him again…

Well, that’s when I see Si Ui… When I try to whisper to Sombun that hey, I know this guy… “I know him,” I whisper. “He catches birds. And eats them. Alive”… Sombun tells me someone’s been killed, and we sneak over to the police station. Si Ui is there,… The woman continues muttering to herself. “Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit, Nit”, she says. “Dead, strangled,” she says…

That afternoon, I slip away from my friends at river, and I go to the gailan field where I know he works. “Birds are easy to trap,” he says to me in Chinese, “easy as children,…”

I go to Sombun’s house. …. Sombun’s mother is making chili paste… “Oh,” she says. “the farang boy.” “Where’s Sombun?” “He went to the Jek’s house to buy broccoli… He’s been gone a long time… I wonder if the Chink’s going to teach him to catch birds.”

I’m playing by myself by the railway tracks when I see my mom and the detective walking out of the station… There’s a scream. I turn. I see Sombun’s mother with a basket… She’s overheard me, and she cries, “The Chink is killing my son!”….. Si Ui is nowhere to be found… Birds everywhere. Dead birds pinned to the walls. Birds’ heads piled up on plates. Blood spatters on the floor-planks. .. too big to be a heat of a bird….. “Tell me what happed to him,” Corey said. “Did the people lynch him?” “No. The court ruled that he was a madman, and sentenced him to a mental home. But the military government of Field Marshal Sarit reversed the decision, and they took him away and shot him. And he didn’t even kill half the kids they said he killed.”

“The first girl, the one who was raped and strangled,” Corey said, “but she didn’t get eaten. Maybe that other killer’s still around.” (DFS, the Bird Catcher, pp. 102-132)

The writer recreates a true case of Thai history about Si Ui, a serpent in the human incarnation through a childhood memory of Nicholas, Corey's Grandfather. Nicholas' life is connected to Si Ui’s. Nicholas met Si Ui on the ship from Shanghai to Bangkok. He lived with his mother, a novelist, in Prajuabkirikhan province, where he also met Si Ui, who became a coolie in vegetable orchards. Besides, the character of Nicholas is tied to different events with regard to Si Ui’s murder. Nicholas and his close Thai friends, named ‘Lek’ and ‘Sombun’ liked to play with Si Ui, who was good at bird and children trapping. Nicholas knew cases of dead and strangled children, but he was not sure whether these children were killed by Si Ui as Si Ui told him that he ate only live birds’ internal organs. Eventually, Sombun, was the last child killed by Si Ui, so he realised that Si Ui was the murderer. Overall, the writer mentions all background information parallel those which really happened - Tapsakae district, vegetable orchards, as well as the first and last victims, Nit and Sombun, respectively.
(Khonfungpleng, 2009). The writer also provides a mystery of this case at the end of the dialogue.

**Example 14**

BANANAS WERE MADE in Heaven. That was what Akiko thought when she took bite out of the first banana she had ever had. The time was the end of World War II. Akiko was seven…

“I was born just before Japan declared war on the Allies,” Akiko told me. “Father was called to the army several months before and was gone for many years… Thus it was that at the end of the war, the seven-year-old Akiko, who was given her first banana by an American medical person, should have thought that the long, yellow fruit was made in Heaven.

Akiko and I met in Cambridge, Massachusetts forty years after the war. We became good friends: I liked her polite, soft-spoken, austere Japanese manner, while she enjoyed my easygoing, laugh-laden Thai way… I was thinking of my Father calling me. “the produce of surplus bananas.” He told me that while the Japanese occupied Thailand, bananas were bought by them more than any other fruit. Fruit-growers in Thailand started to grow more bananas than ever. ….

It was not a time for diapers.
It was not a time for babies.
Yet, Father wanted a little girl

FATHER HAD HEARD someone say that if a husband and wife were to get some bananas blessed by a certain monk, they could choose the sex of their baby. Though the idea was totally un-Buddhist and sounded absurd to my scientifically-minded father, he decided to give it a try. Years later he laughingly said that since the monk was doing it for nothing, he figured he had nothing to lose. If it didn’t work, then at least it was a chance to get some free bananas. *(UOS, A Book and a Needle, pp.30-35)*

The author links the Japanese and Thai beliefs in bananas as the holy fruit as well as the Japanese occupation of Thailand during World War II with the protagonists. The unnamed Thai character and Akiko are similar in that their life is tied to bananas. The author does not exactly indicate that Akiko’s father was called to the Japanese Army in Thailand. However, the Japanese army geared the agricultural and economic boost of bananas in Thailand. Akiko feels very good with eating this fruit because she believes that she ate it once she was born. Nevertheless, the Thai character views it as an ordinary fruit and wonders about her birth relative to this fruit. Her father who wanted a daughter ate sacred bananas from the priest. Hence, the strong friendship between the two characters is created through the similar experience and belief in bananas which occurred after the war.

### 7.1.5 Political Context

Several controversial political movements in Thailand in pursuit of real democracy which had been occurring from 1940s to 1990s are loaded as the background
and main events involving the protagonists’ lives.

Example 15
But she never bothered her aunt or anyone else with her questions, since it was clear that his was indeed a taboo subject. She could only search quietly through the newspapers. The more she read, the thirstier she became for the slightest vindication of Grandfather, but she never found any. The verdict had long been given, and Grandfather had been sentenced for life: tyrant, dictator, mass murderer. He would forever be branded. September 6th was the day when Thais commemorated the people’s struggle for democracy and justice, and mourned the massive loss of life from the violence years before. It was an especially traumatic episode in the history of the nation. It was a shattering experience which could never be erased from the collective memory; a bloody day in Thai history. The mere mention of that date still brought tears to the eyes of parents who had lost sons and daughters in the turmoil of that rainy night in the capital in 1969.

(CLID, Chapter 5, pp.66-67)

This evidence of the historical bloody dated October 14, 1973 was changed to September 6, 1969 in the story. Aunty Jin requires everyone in Chalida’s family to hide details of this event as it is directly relevant to the dignity and prestige of her father named ‘Field Marshal Adisorn Rattanakarn’, the then-Thai premier. Hence, Chalida understands this event from papers. Then she realises how much pain the Rattanakarns suffered because of this event. The writer effectively rebuilds the setting of this story by nativising the truth of this day of massacre in the country.

Example 16
Then the telephone rang. “Danny isn’t home, sir. But I’ll tell him as soon as he comes in,” Primo told the Ambassador, who had called to say that another massacre had occurred in Kroontep... today, the 6th October 1976.
That evening BBC television showed the massacre, which shocked him out of his senses...It could not have happened in a Buddhist country like Siam. It must be a mistake. The BBC mistook a killing field in Cambodia for Siam.
At ten to twelve Dani returned,...”His Excellency wants you to call him right away,” Prem urged his big brother.
“Is it that urgent?” the inebriated dandy asked, checking his Piaget. ... “Well?” Prem scowled.
“Well, what? What do you want me to do? Shed my tears? It’s your country, not mine.”... “As far as I’m concerned, I don’t give a damn. The July Revolution! The 1947 Coup! The 1958 Coup! The 1971 Coup! The 14th October 1973 Massacre! And now another massacre! All I can say is get on with it. Kill each other off! The more the better!…”
Since the 6th of October there had been several commentaries... in the press and on television...Prem went further and read essays and books of Robert Swan Halworthy, D.J. Enright...and writers who had run into trouble with the despotic regimes of Siam. (SDC, Chapter 10, pp. 229-232)

The dialogue and narrative display the nativisation of the extreme political event of October 6, 1976 in Bangkok. Dani and Prem heard about this situation when living in London. Prem felt awful as he did not believe that this massacre could have happened in Thailand. Meanwhile, Dani, who had lived abroad for many years, was not sad towards
this event as he did not feel that he belonged to the country. The former four dates of the political revolutions by military regime given by Dani are correct. This seems to repeat Prem’s bitterness towards his homeland.

Example 17

Since there were attempts to whitewash the 14th October 1973 massacre and the 6th October 1976 killings, Prem Surin set out to record the facts of the events that led up to the 18th – 19th May 1992 massacre. (SDC, Book II Chapter 36, p. 701)

As Anucha predicted, the third massacre occurred. The events that led up to the killing spree on the 18th-19th of May 1992 are: (SDC, Chapter 36, pp.704-727) (From March 22 to May 19)

It took the soldiers some time to locate Jumlong who was hidden under the lifeless bodies of his men. Two military officers had to pull him out from underneath, and then one handcuffed him... (SDC, Book II Chapter 36, p. 713)

The taxi driver would not go anywhere near the Democracy Monument. He dropped me at Wat Rajabobit. ....On the way, waves of fleeing men, women and children rushed past me for the protection of the temple. “Go back! Go back!” One woman screamed. “Go to the Wat for protection! The soldiers are shooting at the protesters at Democracy Monument, Go Back!” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, pp. 716-717)

The third massacre by the coup leaders, namely Black May 1992, is presented. It contains a larger number of protesters than those in 14 October 1973 and 6 October 1976; up to 200,000 people protested against General Suchinda Kraprayoon, the non-elected Prime Minister, who was supported by the army. The writer provides the day-to-day real situation via the participation of ‘Prem’. One of the leaders of this bloody military crackdown is actually revealed in this novel - Jumlong Srimuang (Tour Bangkok Legacies, 2005b). The writer lively narrates the reality of this protest in order to visualise the brutal battle of the military government towards the Thai people.

This finding is slightly similar to a certain aspect in the literature review. A Thai version of the Indian Ramayana named ‘Ramakien’ which is nativised in the story ‘Chui Chai’ in example 2 yields the Sanskrit literature Mahabharata and Ramayana that is presupposed via the Hindu characters in Raja Rao’s Kanthapura (Kachru, 1992c: 236-237) - “Today”, he says, “it will be the story of Siva and Parvati.” And Parvati in penance becomes the country and Siva becomes heaven knows what! “Siva is the three-eyed,” he says,… Never had we hear Harikathas like this…” This text also parallels the Hindu ritual setting in example 9, in which the god ‘Siva’ or ‘Shiva’ is important. The
remaining findings are thus totally different from the review; Malay legend and British Arab colony in Malaysian and Egyptian English literatures do not share any feature with Thai English literature. Thus, other findings of contextual nativisation - three Thai classical literatures, spirit and superstition beliefs and a link between Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, historical events in relation to the kingship, the Chinese-Thais, and the Japanese troops as well as political situations relating to key activists and military regime – are not found in other previous studies in Thai English and other Englishes.

All the examples above contribute to the development of Thai English literary discourse. The thematic creation of the five Thai English fiction books with the strategies of literary, monarchical, religious, historical and political presuppositions is indeed different from that of the so-called native English literature and literatures of other Englishes even though an example is similar to that of Indian English literature. These strategies have been used in many other contemporary literatures in Thai language because they represent the Thai culture and identity. It is believed that such strategies are also used as contextual presuppositions in many other Thai literatures in English, thus they are to be considered as the uniquely thematic creativity of a Thai variety of English.

7.2 Nativisation of Rhetorical Strategies

This nativisation is divided into six groups: the transcreation of indigenous similes and metaphor, the transfer of rhetorical devices for ‘personalising’ speech interaction, the translation of proverbs and idioms, the utilisation of culturally
dependent speech styles, the employment of syntactic devices, and the use of other figures of speech relating to the Thai culture.

7.2.1 The Use of Native Similes and Metaphors

Thai similes and metaphors shifted in English concern animals, Buddhism, and Thai habitual traits as well as social values hidden in the protagonists’ characterisation. Some extracts are displayed as follows:

Example 18
“I don’t want to be a bore, Danny,” Prem implored. “But I want to know why your father, who is extremely wealthy already, had to extort millions from bankers…”
“It’s called greed on a grand scale. There’s no stop to such rapacity…”
“Oh dear! You sound as if your father is quite odious,” commented Elizabeth. “It’s not the Oedipus complex, is it? I’d like to know him better.”
“No, you don’t. Don’t be like a moth attracted to fire!” Dani stood up suddenly....
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, pp.498-499)

Dani reminds his friend, Elizabeth who is curious of his father’s wealth, of the underlined simile. Indeed, a moth feels aroused and attracted by the glitter and beauty shown from the fire or neon light, so it flies to the fire without awareness of its danger. This is compared to a person who wants to die or face disaster stupidly (Pok Pok-Noodle, 2010). Hence, Dani does not want Elizabeth to know more about his father’s background as it is complicated; corruption among Thai politicians seems to attract other people’s mind and should be solved, but it is not easy because of many dimensions of the factors. Thus, it is very risky for one to investigate this issue/matter.

Example 19
She was not aware of danger until her head was hit with a truncheon. Stunned, she could not defend herself while another armed man took hold of her hair and forcefully yanked her towards him. She screamed: ‘How can you treat people as if they are pigs and dogs!’ (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p. 710)

The underlined simile is uttered by a female photographer in the Black May massacre in 1992. In the Thai society, pigs signify something simple, and dogs imply bad behaviours. Pigs and dogs usually eat dirt and live disorderly. Their owners treat them indifferently. This simile thus refers to someone whose human dignity is insulted
or trampled upon, and someone considered useless. This photographer was very upset that the armed men tried to hurt the protesters as if they were not human beings who can be mistreated with any authority at their free will.

**Example 20**

The current monarch, King Bhumipol Adulyadej, Rama IX, was especially loved and revered for his infinite goodness to the people during his thirty-year reign. Seeing him brought tears of heartfelt joy to his subjects. He was the Father of all Thais, and no matter to what social class they belonged, they loved him with a child’s devotion and looked to him in times of hardship and crisis. *(CLD, Chapter 1, p.11)*

The metaphor “King Bhumipol Adulyadej was the Father of all Thais” is now used in the Thai society. This address of adoration may also apply to the present king who equally loves the Thais and devotes himself to many development projects, especially in the remote areas of the country. In this story, when Thailand faces crucial problems, the king is the key person who consoles all Thais.

**Example 21**

Grandmother once told me that adults call people like Grandfather “Bo Tree.” I knew what she meant. Most every temple I had ever gone to had huge Bo trees. They looked like gigantic umbrellas with their long branches radiating in every direction like the bamboo ribs that hold up paper umbrellas, only the masses of intense green leaves were much thicker than the paper. *(UOS, The Umbrella, p. 7)*

The simile “like a Bo Tree” is usually compared to an elder or a senior in a family or a society who is a supporter or protector for members, like the Grandfather character in this story *(Ninja Blog, n.d.)*. This tree is characterised as a protector from rain and sun, and it is connected to the Thai society, especially found in temples as it was under the Bo Tree, where Buddha became enlightened. Hence, Grandfather here has been supporting and protecting his family, colleagues, and society.

**Example 22**

Grandmother was told that her bridegroom was a learned man, a government official with a bright future. Furthermore, he had entered monkhood for a period of Buddhist Lent, which in those days was an automatic stamp of approval for a husband. *(UOS, The Philanderer, p.17)*

The underlined metaphor used to be more emphasised in the early days in the Thai society than at the present. Thai Buddhist guys who have reached the age of 21 are required to be ordained as a monk in order to requite their parents’ gratitude before
getting married. Thus, a man who had been ordained for the monkhood is guaranteed as a good husband. Likewise, grandmother in this story believes in the goodness of her future husband due to his fulfilment of one of the principles of Buddhism.

Example 23
Stricken with grief, midst the derision of his friends, Boon entered monkhood for as long as he could stand it – three days – just to make sure that his mother’s soul got to Heaven holding on to the hem of his yellow robe. He figured he had given her just about enough flying time. “I have her flown first-class on the ‘Yellow Robe Airlines.’” Boon boasted: “Smooth as silk…” (UOS, The Happy NE ER-DO-WELL, p.72)

Boon becomes a priest, so he wears the yellow robes of a Buddhist monk. He believes that his mother’s soul will reach heaven due to his deed, and not necessarily because of her own. He thus compares his yellow robe with the best airline in Thailand, Thai Airways, namely ‘Yellow Robe Airlines’ with its slogan in simile “Smooth as silk”. This imaginative airline also fits such slogan as it takes his mother to heaven.

Example 24
I, who had learned from Kumjai how to add, multiply, and subtract, knew also something of cheating, shrewdness, meanness, …Year after year it was the same: a pitiful gaze at my dumb boyish face for help, his sad eyes on my innocence – Is it correct, Luke-pi? A nod, nothing more but I pressed my lips tightly so some awful words could not escape, though at the time I began to sense the primeval bitterness, …but pretended to be as dumb as a buffalo, a tree or a paddy-field. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 288)

In the Thais’ eyes, a buffalo is viewed as a dumb beast. Its nose is punched and threaded with strings which are pulled during work, making it look like a dumb creature controlled by someone else. Besides, the buffalo is very patient; it does not show any reaction when it is flogged by its owners (Krujoy, 2010). Here, Prem (I) uses this simile to review his life. He has learnt from his teacher, Kumjai, that his local people (in Esarn) have been cheated and patronised by many people. However, he needs to accept this bitterness as it is difficult to solve this problem. He thus pretends to be as dumb as a buffalo that does not want to know the pain he and other Esarn people are facing.

Additionally, other similes and metaphors illustrated in Appendix I involve Thai habitual features – “she would have been following him like his shadow”, “like a puppet”, “making them my puppets”, and “easy like peel banana and put in mouth”. 

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Interestingly, all local similes and metaphors presented above have been used by the Thai people. Although they verbally appear in Thai language rather than in English, they are commonly found in other media texts in English in Thailand. Significantly, these cultural expressions do not similarly exist in other varieties of English, so they can support the emergence of Thai English discourse patterns.

### 7.2.2 Transfer of Rhetorical Devices for ‘Personalising’ Speech Interaction.

Rhetorical devices for personalising speech interaction in local cultures are transferred in English. This transfer appears in the use of speech interaction between human beings and God as well as a connection of past-present-future.

(1) **The speech patterns of God/ gods/ goddesses**

Godly speech patterns in different religions are presented via the characters’ views and interaction with the deity. They are indirect expressions of religious teaching that the writers transfer for visualising a connection of god and humanity.

Example 25

Mother said the refugees were a bad sign. ‘God’s trying to tell us something,’ she said. ‘God’s probably saying ‘Hey, sorry, but there won’t be a health club or a community garden or a playground or a pool or any of those other things you suckers thought you were getting when you first came to the development. I’m gonna give you some Cambodian refugees instead. They’re not as fun, but hey, life’s not a store, sometimes you don’t get what you pay for.’” Father nodded and said refugees meant one thing and one thing only. It meant we’d be living in the middle of a slum soon… (STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, pp.96-97)

Godly speech patterns are transferred through a human character ‘my mother’. The Mother and Priscilla are Cambodian refugees who moved to Bangkok. The writer transfers God’s intention towards the refugee into Mother’s directed speeches that are narrated by Priscilla. The two underlined patterns which are considered ‘personalising’ imply assumption. Indeed, all statements representing ‘God’s thoughts’ are informally expressed, and they convey suffering and obstacles faced by the Cambodian refugees similar to what these two characters are also dealing with.
Example 26
“...For Heaven’s sake, Supa, dry your eyes. Come now...In spite of everything God loves you anyway. What? Yes, even if you’re a Buddhist. Why? Don’t ask me why. To tell the truth, Supa, I don’t know why. But I know he does.”

A thousand hours of the “Bible Class” given by the other nuns and priests could not have brought me nearer to God than Sister Ondine’s shaky confidence. Though she had made me feel that I was not totally lovable, she kept on assuring me, over the years, that God loves me...anyway. (UOS, Sister Ondine, pp. 49-50)

Jesus Christ’s underlined speech patterns are expressed by Sister Ondine who encourages the Buddhist character ‘Supa’. They seem to be common but they are transferred in the Buddhist Thai context. These expressions might provoke Supa into thinking, capturing her mind; she is confident that the Christian God loves her although she does not believe in the religion. In this transfer, Christianity is used as a cross over from Buddhism through the universality of love.

Example 27

The Steel American looked at me, wide-eyed and only half-comprehending... I wondered how long it had been since he’d removed his armor. I tried to tug off his gauntlets. He pushed me away. “No!” he said. “I’ve sworn to live inside this mental shell until the day my quest is fulfilled.”

“I see. It’s a bargain you’ve made with your god.” That was easy to understand. I had tried to deal with the Four-Faced Brahma for winning lottery numbers, but I never seemed to be able to come up with the right offering.

Or perhaps it was his way of telling me that my special powers were not meant to benefit myself, but the whole village.

“But it’s not good for you,” I said. “What you’re wearing wasn’t designed for the tropics. Your god would surely understand.”

“I’m afraid not,” said the Steel American. “He’s a hard god. Harder than the steel I gird myself with...”

(DFS, The Steel American, pp. 67-68)

An interaction between the two characters with different religions brings indirect speech patterns of different gods. Mali (I) expresses the pattern “It’s a bargain you’ve made with your god” in order to understand the stranger’s views. In the meantime, the Brahmin god’s assumed speech is uttered by Mali who communicates with her god for lottery numbers – “his way of telling me that my special powers...” Another speech by Mali as a representation of the Steel American’s god is “Your god would surely understand”. In addition, the only indirect speech relating to this god is stated by the Steel American: “He’s a hard god...” In total, these speech patterns indicate the similar feature of the two gods – the complexity of the gods.
(2) A connection among past, present, and future speech patterns

The authors link the characters’ speech patterns sensing past, present, and future times with different themes in order to personalise their rhetorical strategies in Thai English.

Example 28
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She believed that her youngest son would be taken from home to live in a far-off place because he had taken baby birds from their nests. “You have been cursed by the mother birds, and thus you will always be homeless, travelling from place to place all your days. Wretched and fearful you will be, like the fledglings you stole from their mothers.” (SDC, Chapter 11, p.235)
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The force of karma on Prem’s life is a connection of past-present-future speech patterns in Buddhism. The expression “I was a damned white man reborn to suffer retribution” presents Prem’s past and present life, namely karma. Moreover, the clause “because he had taken birds from their nests” conveys Prem’s past sin. Besides, the underlined utterance indicates Prem’s past, present, and future life forced by such karma. Thus, Prem believes that he was a white man in his past life and reborn as Prem in the present. His karma in his childhood about separating baby birds from their parents affects Prem’s present and future life; he studies in England, which was his home in his past life, and he always travels like he is homeless.

Example 29
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September 14th, 1969
What is happening to me? I can find no consolation…Am I mad, or is the spectre truly seeking its revenge upon me? I have done nothing, spirit, do you hear me. Have mercy on me. Yet the stink of blood seeps from my skin, my hair, my breath. The sweetest perfume and soap do nothing to overcome the stench. The more I try to extinguish the odor, the stronger it becomes. It swallows me, becomes me.
“Inthir, Inthir, follow me and pay for your sins,” the spirit finally demanded of me last night.” Follow me and pay for your sins.”
“But I have committed no sins,” I pleaded.
The spirit didn’t listen, only repeated her command. (CLD, Chapter 15, p. 198)
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This letter by Chalida’s mother, Inthir, is read by Chalida. She found that her mother had committed suicide, because of the psychological effect on the bloody massacre led by her grandfather, who was then the premier. In this letter, a spirit is the connection of her mother’s past and present life. The spirit had been haunting her mother, who had long suffered after she found out about the massacre. The underlined
expression thus indicates her mother’s present (then) life while the utterance “But I have committed no sins” exhibits her mother’s past and present karma. Spirits are recreated with human behaviour becoming another factor of her mother’s death.

Example 30
In Grandfather’s study, I sat and watched his secretary of twenty years trying to write a letter, on behalf of Grandfather, literally to ask the King to grant him permission to die... My child’s mind wondered: if... if the King does not grant the permission, would Grandpa then come alive again? But the letter was finally written and delivered. The permission came in the form of a group of people from the Palace carrying among other things, a kot, a pagoda-shaped object about the height and size of an average Thai... Use of the kot is regarded as an honor, like the medals or titles people receive when they have done good deeds for their countries... My good-humored grandfather would have none of the unpleasantness of the kot. He specifically wrote, as part of his will and testament, that his body was not to be put in one. He had told us that, “Living, I have served my Kings and country to my utmost ability standing up, sitting down and kneeling; when I die, I should like to be allowed to lie flat on my back to my own utmost comfort.” (UOS, The Umbrella, pp. 9-10)

Grandfather’s past-present-future speech patterns are linked by the notion of ‘death’ via the memory of his grandchild. The first underlined sentence shows Grandfather’s present (then) speech act. Besides, the second underlined sentence conveys Grandfather’s present and future conditional life. In addition, the last underlined one denotes Grandfather’s past-present-future acts. Overall, the king in this context plays two important roles – the boss and the life owner – towards the character ‘Grandfather’. The second role pinpoints this character’s royalty towards the king, so the notion of death is connected to the king’s role.

It appears that the expressions in the later section (2) present an iconic feature of Thai English discourse patterns rather than those in the former section (1) because they are of the language used by the Thai people. In the meantime, the above godly speech patterns seem to represent belief other than Buddhism – Christianity and Brahma. The majority of Thais are Buddhist, thus such speech patterns are not a reflection of their way of life. However, there appears to be a number of Christian and Brahman Thais who would understand such patterns in the Thai English literary context. Overall, all the expressions discussed are considered ‘personalised rhetorical devices’ for the speech
patterns used in the Thai society, resulting in the uniqueness of Thai identity in English.

### 7.2.3 Transcreation of Proverbs, Idioms and Old Sayings

Various Thai proverbs, idioms, and old sayings transcreated in English involve human organs, animals, Buddhism, superstitions, sexuality, and behaviours.

**Example 31**

“In Wit’s house, I’ve made a terrible mistake,” Charles admitted. “I sat on a sofa and crossed my legs without being aware that it is unforgivably rude to point one’s foot at a Siamese, even if he is a houseboy. I got quite a lecture from Wit.”

“Oh yes. You mustn’t touch a Siamese’s head.” Anucha added. *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p. 575)*

Anucha reminds Charles of the Thai saying as underlined because head is considered the highest organ. Thai people find it offensive when their head is touched by someone besides their parents. Likewise, youngsters must not touch adults’ heads, resulting in impoliteness and disrespect.

**Example 32**

“…The bombings and killings will not end since when one ‘terrorist’ is killed ten more take his place, and so on. The atrocities created by *all* sides will not dissipate into thin air. They will bounce back at *all* perpetrators, you and your adversaries alike. It’s the force of karma, my good man. Simply, you *cannot clap with one hand*…” *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 7, p. 350)*

Prem in the priesthood told his friend, Lucern Ansalelm, about the perpetrators of the bloody massacre on October 6, 1976, in relation to the underlined Thai idiom that means ‘it takes two to make a quarrel’ *(Sorsothikun, 2006a: 202)*. The military force was not the only perpetrator for the bombings and killings of plenty of students in the protest as it was also commanded by an influential person. The expressions ‘all sides’ and ‘all perpetrators’ refer to ‘more than one hand’ that was behind this massacre.

**Example 33**

“He knows about works of art and colour schemes, does he now?”

“Though his English is *snake snake fish fish*, as he himself said, Nin seemed to know quite a lot. He knew exactly whom to see at BCFI.” *(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p. 477)*

This excerpt is a dialogue between Elizabeth and Dani on the matter of Nin (MP Taninsak). Dani wonders whether the MP knows about works of art and colour schemes. Eventually, Elizabeth confirms that the MP does although he is not proficient
in English. The underlined idiom is thus compared to those who have little knowledge on a particular matter (Sorsothikun, 2006b: 50).

Example 34
“All right, Khim, you think long and hard about your insinuation. Remember him as only we know him. And until you realize the extent of your ingratitude and all you want to do is to crawl to him begging for forgiveness, then don’t set foot in the compound. Remember this: a person who betrays her family is beyond forgiveness; lower than a dog, for even a dog has loyalty.” (CLD, Chapter 17, p.215)

Khim found that her grandfather, an ex-premier, was behind the Bangkok massacre in 1969. When Auntie Jin heard this accusation, she was very upset. She used the underlined old Thai saying to warn Khim. Ironically Khim is viewed as a traitor who condemns her own grandfather and is compared to something lower than a dog. In Thailand, a dog usually symbolises wicked behaviour or a term to insult people. Nevertheless, dogs are faithful to their owners.

Example 35
“There’s no need to baby him,” my little sister piped up. “He’s 14 years old and he ‘polishes his rocket’ every night.”
“I do not!” I said. “Well, not every night.” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.37)

He could get kites up. I never could. He and his friends would laugh and say that girls cannot “play kites.”
... (UOS, My brother and I, p.40)

The two underlined Thai taboos are synonymous - male masturbation. The former is uttered by a younger female sibling, who has observed her brother. The teenage boy is viewed as a self-reliant individual as he knows how to masturbate. Likewise, the latter is expressed by a female character, who does not comprehend the meaning as this is typically a male slang. Indeed, a rocket is characterised as a penis that needs to be rubbed or polished. Similarly, the action of flying a kite resembles the male masturbation process as a penis is pulled up and down.
Example 36
“You buy bird, little boy?” I look up...
“Why are they doing that?”
“Good for your karma. Buy bird, set bird free, shorten your suffering in your next life.”
“Swell,” I say. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.108)

This dialogue indicates cross-cultural values between Nicolas and a Thai vendor. Nicholas, who arrived in Bangkok, bought birds at the market because he was surprised by other people who were freeing birds from their cages. Although he was a non-Buddhist, he understood the value of such activity as the vendor raised the underlined Thai saying. It means one can change his or her bad fortune through freeing birds. Caged birds imply one’s worry and suffer without freedom, so he or she will feel better and more comfortable like starting his or her new life as well as his or her trouble will be eradicated in the next life (Ladyspaghetti, 2010).

Example 37
Wichu asks me if I’m nervous. I tell him that I am. Wichu says he’s not nervous at all. It’s strange, he says, I’m feeling calm right now. Relaxed. *What will happen will happen.* (STS, Draft Day, p.57)

The underlined saying is Wichu’s spiritual words while going through the compulsory conscription process. Wichu and his friend are anxious about picking a red or black ticket, so Wichu soothes his friend in order to face the coming reality. Indeed, this saying is to let one on the uncertainty of human beings for certain situations.

Example 38
“It was so horrid. He was found dead in the back of his Mercedes, his throat slit from ear to ear, his chest stabbed countless times. The youth who caught said it was self-defence; he was sexually assaulted after the lawyer had driven him to a dark lane in Soi Tonson. The newspapers had a field day, divulging his private life, you know, his relationship with teenagers, his harem, and a penchant for dressing up as a beauty queen. They dragged his wife and the adopted sons and those guiltless houseboys through mud and mire.”
“Poor Witty. I’m so very sorry. *His karma has caught up with him so soon. But I didn’t expect it to be so horribly cruel,*” the former monk muttered sadly. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 25, p. 618)

The saying ‘one’s karma has caught with one so soon’ is directed at Prem’s friend, Witty (Prawit), who abused his youth and had homosexual affairs. It reflects a Buddhist belief that one has performed a sin or the bad karma so it will immediately become retribution to his or her life. Prem and his friend, Elizabeth, feel very sad about this incident, but Prem tries to remain unemotional by using this saying.
Example 39

“...The Agriculture Minister claimed that he did not see anything wrong in Suan Vichitra Reforestation’s tactics, asserting that Suan Vichitra Reforestation was a legitimate investment which corresponded with the government’s professed policy of increasing commercial forest so as to cover 40 per cent of the country’s arable area. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister’s Secretary-General Pornpat Kittipong described eucalyptus as Siam’s future leading cash crop. Both the Agriculture Minister and the PM’s Secretary-General were unaware of any wrongdoings in the Company’s massive operation, which has enabled Suan Vichitra to have more land than most companies in Siam.” Prem stopped for a few seconds before adding an imprudent crack: *Money can make some greedy men blind.* (SDC (Book II), Chapter 24, p.596)

The underlined saying seems to be universally inculcated in life’s teaching. It is the main theme of this excerpt from the news read by Prem. It ironically conveys that money is a big deal that cannot only change one’s mind but can also lead to wrongdoing. Prem assumes that the concession of Suan Vichitra Reforestation is strange and concealed; the only company is granted to grow eucalyptus trees in north-eastern Thailand. In Prem’s view, the two greedy men are ‘the Agriculture Minister and the PM’s Secretary-General” who may be bribed for this concession. The two politicians who play major roles in Thai authority are blind or do not find any wrongdoing by this company because of a large sum of money it provided.

Moreover, other idioms, old sayings, and proverbs with regard to Thai ways of life are trans-created in English. They are: “making a deal over my head”, “not over my head”, “lick one’s foot”, “one should know the time to leave this world when one hears an owl hoot, calling for one’s ‘kwan’ or soul”, “preparation for the arrival of babies was not made long in advance for fear of alerting evil spirits”, “the land of rice-in-the-fields and fish-in-the-canals”, “Have you eaten any rice and fish yet?”, “if you see a snake and an Indian, kill the babu”, “a black cat leaps out of a corpse in a coffin” “our stars were bad”, and “inviting an enemy into one’s house”. These expressions are also detailed in Appendix I.

Similar to examples in section 7.2.1, those presented for the translation of local proverbs, idioms and old sayings contribute to the development of Thai identity in
English. They have become part of everyday expressions, thought patterns and point of views entrenched in Thais’ lives. Their translation in English does not imply that their value and virtues are decreasing due to the change of linguistic forms, but it does enrich the nativisation of English into the Thai culture.

7.2.4 The Use of Culturally Dependent Speech Styles

The writers provide speech styles in English indicative of the Thai culture. The style typical to Thai literary convention is of a naïve-tall tale and indirectness.

(1) A naïve-tall tale style in narrative

The term ‘naïve-tall tale style in narrative’ or ‘earthy folk style’ derived from an iconic folklore used as an African English literary style is found in Thai folktales that mark legends, spirits, and superstitions. In narrative, the writers intervene with a tale, a story, or a scene regarding the protagonists and the theme. This is evident below.

Example 40

Tatip Henkai sat upright, closing his eyes to channel an inner sight in the search. During these tense moments, the ancient seer muttered a lengthy mantra. When the movement of his lips ceased, the seer lapsed into a trance; his body shook and swayed as if being blown by the velocity of some horrific deeds. A while later, having emerged from the depths of the inner exploration, he voiced a startling discovery: “He’s not one of us at all. Luke-gop came from another race, another time, from a country far away to the west. I saw him a tall, sturdy white man, a much-decorated military commander on a horse leading his cavalry to face a great gathering of some thousands of turban-wearing natives. He ordered his soldiers to kill a great number of unarmed men and women with guns and then swords… After his soul had suffered from torment and fire in hellish places for a long span of time, it was destined for the womb of the poorest of the poor in our impoverished land… He has yet to finish paying for his karma from the past life in this life. If not, he has to be reborn to suffer more, much more through to the end. And so in the next rebirth, he might not be back as human,… ‘Not so nice, eh? No one likes these creatures. As Lord Buddha says: To be born human is a foremost fortune. I know what to do…” (SDC, Chapter 2, pp. 41-42)

This style is depicted in the speech by the village seer ‘Tatip Henkai’, a communion with spirit to know Prem’s past-present-future life. This seer is telling this story to Prem’s family. In Thai folk life in which spirits and karmic cycle are strongly believed, this tale is true. This story thematically involves Prem’s life; Prem is told that he was a western armed man reborn in a poor family in Esarn in order to pay his previous sin, and he may be reborn as a non-human being in the next life if he does not
finish his karma in this life through the protection of ‘the goddess mother’. This tale is also tied to a Buddhist belief in rebirth. Prem found that what Tatip told him and his family becomes true later; he was always bullied by other boys and then helped by the goddess mother when he prayed for her. Further, he was awarded a scholarship to study in England, so the seer told him that he would go back to live in a place of his previous life. Stylistically, prior to the tale, the narrator, Tatip Henkai, is described in a mythic scene of communicating with a spirit regarding traditional folklore. This is evident in the underlined sentences above. In fact, this narrative appears in many Thai TV epic series and in remote areas in the country. Moreover, the narrator uses himself as a representative who knows well all the detailed incidents regarding Prem’s last life to tell a story scene by scene such as “I saw him a tall, sturdy white man...” In addition, this tale provides some epic scenes, regarding Prem’s last life during the war such as “He ordered his soldiers to kill a great number of unarmed men and women…” Overall, this tale reflects the linguistic and literary reality of Thai folklore; such a description of language use by the seer is typical of Thai folktales but here it is conveyed in English.

(2) Indirectness

In Thai literary convention, ‘indirectness’ raises a rhetorical strategy as it reflects the Thai culture – particular socio-cultural matters should not directly and easily be revealed to readers as “word and sentence styles of telling a certain point must look elegant and artistic”. This strategy is intended for politeness and an avoidance of too much straightforwardness in expressions in which some sensitive or controversial issues and actual names or places should not be publicly written in the Thai society. Besides, this strategy includes speech patterns familiar to Thais in new literary discourse that seems simple in Thai but looks innovative or tricky in English sentences.
Example 41
So his parents and several elders gathered to beg the ghost not to take this boy from his impecunious parents, who needed another helping hand in the rice fields. (SDC, Chapter 2, p.40)

The underlined expression means ‘an act for forbidding someone from being dead’. Many Esarn and other Thais believe that a ghost represents ‘Lord of Death’, so they plead the ghost not to part this boy’s soul from his family or ‘not bring death to this boy’

Example 42
The nation was in shock, horrified that the despots could use the armed forces to quell the protesters as if it was a war against the people, that Siamese could kill Siamese as if the two sides were from different religions and races of long-time enemies. It was the shock value that made the despots, the Terrible Trio, as they were named afterwards, leave the country. But not for long in early October 1976, one of the Terrible Trio sneaked back from Singapore, hiding his horrible crime under the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk. We knew for a fact that the return of the despot, a pseudo priest, was celebrated in some quarters, and so we organised another protest within Dhamasart University. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p. 577)

The writer uses this strategy to avoid a sensitive and controversial issue of Thai politics, from the bloody October 14, 1973 to October 6, 1976. The term ‘the Terrible Trio’ is transcreated from Thai as this alias was given by the media to represent the three main culprits of the two massacres in Bangkok – Marshall Thanom Kittikachorn (the then premier), Marshall Prapat Charusathian (a minister and the premier’s son-in-law), and General Narong Kittikachorn (the premier’s son). The trigger of the brutal October 1976 is ‘one of the Terrible Trio’ or ‘Marshall Thanom’, who fled to Singapore, wanted to return to Thailand by ‘hiding his horrible crime under the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk’. This indirect rhetorical pattern means this Marshall became a fake priest in a Thai temple in Singapore in order to conceal his participation in the brutality of October 1973 and to pretend to redeem his sin by becoming an incarnation of a monk in Thailand. In the end, the Thai people were not hoodwinked; after the October 1976, he and the two others of the Terrible Trio fled to the United States (Zimmerman, 1978).
Example 43
Sisi leaned back, her eyes closed. She was moaning – the same sound she made when she let us bury her in the sand. Yet, if the moans I had heard before were ripples of water, the sound she was making now was more like the sound the waves make at the beginning of a storm.
I backed away as quickly and as silently as I could. I did not dare tell anyone about what I saw. I realized I had seen something “inappropriate,” something I should not have seen. At the same time, I knew it was something Sisi should not have done. (UOS, Sisi, p. 85)

The underlined expression shows politeness. From the clues regarding ‘Sisi’, this expression implies sexual behaviours performed by Sisi and observed by the male character (I). Describing something ‘sexual’ seems too straightforward for a literary style and sensitive in Thailand. Therefore, the writer can intellectually use this expression as the word ‘inappropriate’ is common but very strategic – it encourages the reader to find out for which socio-cultural context something is ‘unsuitable’.

Example 44
My brothers had given it to me as a parting gift. It was such an honor. Scarabs and crickets were not for girls – especially not a five-year-old sister. Now and then I was allowed to look at their collection,... But I was never allowed to own any. “Girls don’t know to care for them,” my three brothers would echo each other. They were boys. They were older. They knew more. Against me, the youngest and the only girl, they were the superiority and the majority. They must have been right.
Then at the train station yesterday, when I alone was to leave Bangkok with our parents, the “majestic majority” knighted me with a shoe box containing one scarab... (UOS, Iridescent Memory, p. 99)

The underlined phrase is an indirect linker of an interaction between the characters, ‘the girl and her three brothers’. The three brothers are described with many words signifying ‘majestic’: “honor, older, superiority, and right”. Some expressions are equal to the term ‘majority’ – “they are boys, the youngest, and the only girl”. This term is also used as the seniority matters in Thai families; the youngest has to respect the elders. Linguistically, this new word in the second paragraph is thus a compound of all those contextual words guided by the young girl according to her sibling relation.

Other examples of indirectness strategies on historical, prostituting, and political matters appear as follows (See Appendix I): “the old city”, “protection and the sex capital of the world”, as well as “the silent one, the corruptive power, the secret observer was hiding, the leaves and the branches and the tall grass could not conceal him completely from evil, the Wraith of the Masters, and the secret watcher”.

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Only an example of the naïve-tall tale style found in this study enriches the salience of Thai English literary style as it embodies what the Thai people believe in - the past karma and a Buddhist philosophical thought towards one’s life – and what excites the Thai readers: the atmosphere, the setting as well as the characters’ images and emotions. These devices fit the remarkableness of Thai English folkloric discourse. Likewise, the indirectness strategy is also used in many other literatures of Englishes, but its several examples presented here are really taken from the Thais’ thought patterns, perspectives as well as habitual and behavioural features connected to folk life, politics, sexuality, and kinship. This is considered unique to Thai English discourse patterns.

7.2.5 The Use of Syntactic Devices

Certain syntactic tools used for enriching the folk style of a traditional native village storyteller are, for example, rhetorical questions to the audience for participation. This device helps initiate the audience’s involvement in the folk story. Only one example is found.

Example 45
“Grandfather, please tell us the story about the jasmine trees,” Chalida pleaded.
“Yes, Grandfather,” Little Sor chirped, her short-lived sulkiness dissipated.
“Are you girls bored of that story yet?” Grandmother teased.
“Oh, Mother, even I’m not bored of it, and I’ve been listening to it for fifty years,” Auntie Jin said, her face flowing.
“Nobody gets bored of a good story. Isn’t that right, girls? And that means all my girls, even you Jin…
“So, let me see. The jasmine story…” Grandfather placed his teacup on its saucer, leaning back with a faraway look in his eyes like he had to travel back to a distant time to capture an elusive tale. He was always an animated storyteller, building up his listener’s anticipation. Chalida and Little Sor leaned forward eagerly.
“A long time ago, your great-great-grandfather had an older sister named Jasmine. She was very beautiful; more captivating than the most beautiful women in the kingdom. Not only was she beautiful, but kind and generous. She was charming and graceful, a creature of absolute perfection. There was one thing though that made her really extraordinary.” Grandfather paused and took a deep breath, letting the mystery linger. Even though Chalida knew the story, she felt excitement. “Do you know what made her extraordinary?” he asked them.
“She smelled of jasmine,” the two girls replied in unison, giggling afterwards.
“That’s right. She smelled of jasmine. The scent of the flower seeped through her pores and her breath. When she left a room, the fragrance remained, sweet and exhilarating. That was how the family knew she couldn’t be a human, but an angel who had mistakenly been sent to walk this earth. She wasn’t a mortal carrying the burden of sins, but an immaculate soul meant to live in the heavens."
Example 45, continued

“So the family was afraid; afraid the gods would discover Jasmine... So they tried in every way to mask her perfection... They cut her hair short like a boy, but within hours it grew back long and shiny as a spread of silk... Her skin glowed like the light of the moon, and the jasmine scent strengthened until the compound was consumed by it.

“Everyone in the family began to weep and wail, knowing that the end of Jasmine’s stay must be near... Then one night when the moon refused to shine, Jasmine’s mother awoke, screaming with anguish. Everyone rushed in to find out what was wrong. She shrieked, ‘Jasmine, Jasmine, she’s gone’... Suddenly the family realized what she was talking about. The scent of jasmine that had enveloped the grounds for the 17 years that Jasmine had been on the earth had vanished. They stomped into Jasmine’s room where they were paralyzed by the vision before them... She herself looked so peaceful, like she’d been sleeping for 100 years... The essence of her, the jasmine scent, had evaporated.” Grandfather stopped abruptly,...

“Grandfather, it’s not over yet,” Chalida’s exclaimed. The adults chuckled, amused by her enthusiasm.

“Are you sure?” he inquired innocently.

“It’s not over yet, Grandfather.” Little Sor came to Chalida’s assistance.

“I suppose you must be right. There’s two of you; only one me. So, where was I...?

“The scent of jasmine had disappeared,” Chalida replied.

“That’s right. The scent of jasmine left when Jasmine died, like it was her spirit flying to the heavens where she rightfully belonged. For 100 days, the family mourned her... Finally the mourning period came to an end, and it was time to cremate Jasmine’s body. But she wouldn’t burn,... Then they decided to bury her in the compound...

“Once they buried her, jasmine plants burst in abundance from the dirt under which she lay. All year round, the flowers bloomed, emitting the eternal perfume, reminding the family that a part of Jasmine would always be with them. To this very very day, those same jasmine plants flourish, and we can still catch the same scent in the breeze as we sit now, reminding us that she’s with us always.” Grandfather closed his eyes and inhaled. Chalida did the same and was sure she smelled jasmine in the air.

“You and your stories.” Grandmother clasped Grandfather’s hand. They looked at each other with adoring smiles. The smallest gestures revealing a deep and enduring love. It ignited a spark in Chalida’s heart, and she hoped for the same romance in her life... (CLD, Chapter 3, pp.54-57)

In this tale by Chalida’s grandfather, the question ‘Aren’t you girls bored of that story yet?’ is initiated by Grandmother. It is followed by the story teller (Grandfather)’s question ‘Nobody gets bored of a good story. Isn’t that right, girls?’ These two interrogatives assure the audience participation. While telling a story of Jasmine, the teller raised a question ‘Do you know what made her extraordinary?’ This is to ascertain if the audience is aware of this story as it was told for many times. The final questions ‘Are you sure?’ and ‘So, where was I...?’ are intended to check whether the audience know the detail and end of the story. These rhetorical questions enrich an atmosphere of telling a traditional tale in which family members are participating. Indeed, rhetorical questions are commonly used across many varieties of English, but such questions presented here are typically used in a Thai folktale, resulting in a shared similarity between Thai and other cultures in English. Furthermore, other syntactic devices to vividly colour this folk story are the use of a typical first sentence pattern used in many
Thai tales like ‘a long time ago’. This sentence is linked to this family’s legend as in the sentence: “your great-great-grandfather had an older sister named Jasmine”. The story ends with the use of a phrase ‘you and your stories’ for admiring the teller. All these sentence patterns mirror another aspect of the nativisation of rhetorical devices in Thai English literature.

7.2.6 Translation of Other Figures of Speech in the Thai Culture

Other figurative languages concern those other than the above categories of nativisation of rhetorical strategies (Kachru, 1986; 1987) – similes and metaphors. Only ‘symbolism’ and ‘irony’ identically arise in this section as they provide particular themes regarding the Thai culture. Like other speech figures, they are translated in English.

(1) Symbolism

Symbolism is a literary rhetorical strategy in which image is transferred by one object that represents a different one. The writer uses symbols like objects or natural phenomena to convey ideas of characters or events without directly stating them (Evenski, n.d.). In this study, the symbols found are relevant to the Thai cultures.

Example 46
In the middle of the grounds rose a steel pole, naked and empty, as yet undorned by the red, white, and blue stripes of the Thai flag. Red of the nation, white for religion, and blue for the monarchy. At eight o’clock every morning, the flag was ceremoniously raised to the sound of the national anthem sung by the pupils lined up beneath. *(CLD, Chapter 2, p. 33)*

When Wichu and I arrive at the temple, there’s a crowd of boys lined up inside the open-air pavilion… A banner hangs over the stage in the requisite tricolor: PRAVET DISTRICT DRAFT LOTTERY, it announces in bold script. FOR NATION, FOR RELIGION. FOR MONARCHY… When eight o’clock arrives we all stand up and sing the national anthem, followed by the king’s. A monk leads us in prayer… Wichu and I finally clasp our hands and stare blankly ahead… *(STS, Draft Day, pp. 57-58)*

The two extracts mark the similar symbol of tricolour in Thailand. The first is based on Chalida’s school life. Before getting into the morning class, Chalida (and other Thai students in the country) must stand in rows to sing the national anthem in front of
the flag pole. In this regard, the three colours of the flag symbolise three main institutions of Thailand as underlined. Likewise, the tricolour also appears over the stage where Wichu and ‘I’ are going to walk for the military conscription. These two characters, along with all Thai men, sing the national anthem together before the official ceremony of the draft starts.

Example 47
‘...the one thing I’ll never be able to understand – why keep falling for these farang girls. It’s like you’re crazy for heartache. Plenty of nice Thai girls around. Girls without plane tickets.’
‘I know. I don’t think they like me, though. Something about the way I look. I don’t think my nose is flat enough.’
‘That’s may be true. But they don’t like me either, okay? And I’ve got the flattest nose on the Island.’
(STS, Farangs, p.20)

The word ‘flat nose’ signifies a physical appearance of a typical Thai. Surachai wonders why his friend, a Thai American, is often interested in western female tourists. His friend replies to Surachai about his different appearance from other islanders. The ironic statement ‘I don’t think my nose is flat enough’ is easily understood by Surachai. His friend looks western thus many farang girls may want to flirt with him. Surachai, however, does not interest those girls due to his Thai looks, specifically his flat nose.

Example 48
‘Bet you can’t tell me what this smell is’
I sniffed his fingers. It smelled like awsuain: oysters simmered in egg yolk. ...I knew it wasn’t food.

‘What is it?’
‘That, my dear brother, is the smell of’ – he put his hand up to his face, sniffed it hungrily – ‘heaven’
I blinked at him.
‘A woman, kid. You know what that is? Pa took me to a sophaeni tonight. And let me tell you, little one, when he takes you for your fifteen birthdays, you’ll never be the same again. This scent’ – he raised his hand to his face again – ‘it’ll change your fucking life.’ (STS, At the Café Lovely, p.36)

This dialogue displays two symbols. First, ‘heaven’ signifies ‘sexual climax’; sexual activities help one attain heaven or ‘orgasm’. Another is ‘sophaeni’ or prostitute, although it is not translated in English. Young Thai men used to learn to reach this heaven with a prostitute, symbolising the teacher of sexual activities. In this regard, Anek is telling his younger brother that he has experienced ‘heaven’ and ‘sophaeni’. At first, his brother does not understand the smell of the prostitute’s vaginal secretions as
he is naive. Anek’s ‘heaven’ and ‘sophaeni’ are related to his brother via the sense of smell. Eventually, Anek reveals his first sexual experience as a fifteen birthday’s gift from his father in order to arouse his brother’s curiosity for his future try.

Example 49

But both boys knew that was not to be. Thus Kum confirmed: “My father will definitely sell me. The agent came to have a look at me. He also asked me to undress.”

“No!” Dan cried. “Not that!”

“Yes.”

“Did he touch you?”

“He had a good look at me and said ‘Very good… No hair as yet’.”

The youngsters knew very little of the criteria that particular branch of commerce used for terms of agreement and pricing. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.650)

This dialogue is derived from the story Boys of Soka by Prem with the theme of hardship in Esarn. It is being read by Charles, Prem’s friend. The two main characters are Dan (Danprai) and Kum (Kumpan), who are suffering from famine, poverty, and drought in their village. The two characters are talking about child trading. The expression ‘No hair as yet’ seems to confuse the two boys. This symbolises ‘virginity’ and ‘freshness’ in sexual industries in Thailand. Such hair refers to ‘pubic hair’ that has not appeared in Kum’s body yet. Thus, ‘no hair’ is a criterion an agent uses to buy boys and girls for a good price to be sold as child prostitutes.

Example 50

….When I think of Grandfather, I see only the face of a man in his early forties, from the uniform-clad shoulders up; the rest of his body doesn’t seem to exist. The eyes follow you as do those in most old, studio-produced photographs. It was his last official picture – what Thais mockingly call the “look straight ahead, no hat, no glasses, no smile” kind – taken just before he died. (UOS, The Philanderer, p.15)

The granddaughter describes her grandfather in his black-and-white photograph in the underlined sentence, which is now a symbolic definition of an official picture in Thailand. The word ‘a straight ahead-faced picture’ is more often used than ‘an official photo’.

Moreover, the selected fiction carries other expressions representing local symbolism on wedding, drafting, wealth, sexuality and animals. Each is subsequently
displayed (See Appendix I) – “Straw trays piled with bananas, symbols of fertility in marriage, and green melons and palm leaves, both signifying harmony, as well as tongyip and tongyod, sweet Thai desserts, their golden colour symbolising prosperity”, “red and black”, “good money and wearing a gold necklace”, “a black mole on the scrotum brought death to wives”, and “the elephant is our national symbol”.

(2) Irony

Irony is a literary device in which the actual intent is expressed in words that contain the opposite meaning (Hastings, 2002: 212). Examples of irony appear in expressions of sarcastic characters due to certain socio-cultural factors in Thailand.

Example 51
Debts had to be paid and the last buffalo had to be sold when there was no cash to pay the annual land tax. What was the use of being a rice farmer without a buffalo to plough? (SDC, Chapter 3, p. 59)

The underlined question is sarcastically raised as a thought presentation of Toon, Prem’s ex-classmate. This expression is a reflection of Toon’s father who had debts. Toon feels hurt that her father sold a buffalo; although he is a rice farmer by trade, he can no longer pursue his trade without his buffalo. With this figurative language, Toon’s shame about the absence of her professional and life instrument (a buffalo) is representative of many other Esarn people.

Example 52
Looking silently at the fire, Prem pondered: Has Piang already handed down the ancient heritage and the fear of the Masters and the Lord of Darkness to her children? You, little ones, must not dare, must not speak out against evil, against invincible crooks, high-ranking thieves, punitive murderers, untouchable drug traffickers, awesome godfathers, charming kick-back takers, sinister producers, powerful vote-buyers, be-suited extortionists, influential bribers and the bribed. You must fear the wealthy and the corrupt. Has the little boy told his sister of taboo, a code of survival: the mind that does not think, the eyes that do not see, the ears that do not hear, the mouth that does not speak? Shall I also be an instrument passing on these messages to other people’s children when one day I shall teach them, and allow the older to pass them on to the younger? (SDC, Chapter 14, p.291)

The underlined expression indicates Prem’s thought pattern toward his nephews and nieces, children of Piang or Prem’s sister-in-law. It is sarcastic because suffering and hardship meet Esarn people who face the statements as underlined. In the
Thai society, Esarn people have been forced to be dumb (no mind), blind (no eyes), deaf (no ears), and mute (no mouth) by the influential people due to poverty. This expression brings Prem and other Esarn people bitterness but Prem ironically wants that life to be a reminder of a new Esarn generation. Overall, this expression creatively represents ironic clauses on the reality of north-eastern discourse of life.

Example 53
Miraculously she managed to free herself and ran, screaming. “They're killing a man. Save him! Quick!” Then, one of the armed men shouted while clubbing the fallen protester: “Why do you want democracy? Can you eat it?” As if eating is one of the two most gratifying activities? (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.710)

This extract presents a very potent scene of the Black May massacre, 1992, in which a woman photographer has witnessed the brutal military force toward the protesters. The soldier ironically asks a protester with the underlined interrogatives. The verb ‘eat’ senses ‘living’ in this context. Indeed, the armed man may have many hidden intentions behind this question, which can be modified – “Can democracy make you full?” or “Do you need it to live?”, for example. It may also suggest that life is not easy and the protesters should be using their time and energy to produce food instead of wasting their time for something intangible.

The above instances of symbolic and ironical discourses are created for marking the nativisation of rhetorical strategies, but they are derived from social norms and values, political reactions, legendary sayings, sexual admiration, and destiny in the Thai people’s perception. Hence, their translation in English is a way to exemplify Thai English discourse patterns.

The findings of the rhetorical nativisation are rich. They share a feature with the review, as found in translated and transcreated native similes, metaphors, symbols,
irony, proverbs, idioms, and old sayings with reference to ‘animals’ – buffaloes, dogs, moths, pigs, cats, owls, birds, fish, and elephants. This yields other studies in Asian and African English literatures although different themes are conveyed. In a China English novella *In the Pond*, the old saying is “You shouldn’t play the lute to a water buffalo…” (Zhang, 2002: 311). In Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, the simile ‘...Okokwo was as a slippery as a fish in the water’ is used for the African culture (Nelson, 1988: 175-176).

Likewise, Hari Shankar’s *The Private Life of an Indian Prince* provides an Indian English metaphor – “…you are a high-mettled horse” (Patil, 1994: 192).

In terms of transferring rhetorical devices for personalising speech interaction, a godly speech pattern “God’s trying to tell us something” in Thai English fiction is partially similar to that in Indian English from Raja Rao’s *the Serpent and the Rope* - “God after all is” (Parthasarathy, 1987: 164). Moreover, the expression “I had tried to deal with the Four-Faced Brahma for winning lottery numbers,...” in this study parallels a Tamil Malaysian English one in K.S. Maniam’s *the Eagles* – “The stroke of santhanam on the frame of Lakshami grew into a gentle, thin line”. ‘Lakshami’ refers to a Hindu goddess, who is worshiped for fortune in wealth, agriculture, and trade (Velautham, 2000: 87-88). The two sentences share religious elements - Brahman and Hindu - between Thai and Indian Malaysian cultures.

For culturally dependent speech styles, this study reveals ‘naïve tall-tale style’ according to Thai style of folk - “…the ancient seer muttered a lengthy mantra. When the movement of his lips ceased,...his body shook and swayed as if being blown by the velocity of some horrific deeds…” This narrative yields that of African folk in Achebe’s *Arrow of God* (Adetugbo, 1971: 178) “… Darkness held a vague for these people, even the bravest among them. Children were warned not to whistle at night for fear of evil
spirits…” Both provide a similar atmosphere of telling tales based on ‘superstitions’. Moreover, indirectness strategy of the findings is little similar to the review. In a story In A Far Country, K.S. Maniam expresses “the people who ruled the country” to indirectly represent a political and racial issue of British Malaya (Cesarano, 2000: 76-78). Likewise, this study strategises an indirect word of ‘the Terrible Trio’ who ruled Thailand during the bloody October 1973 and 1976.

With regard to syntactic devices, this study (example 45) partially relates to those in Nigerian English from Tutuala’s The Palm-Wine Drinkard. This writer does not use rhetorical questions, but particular sentences commonly patterned in West African oral tales tradition for ‘closing formulas’ to arouse the audiences’ suspicion – “This is how I got a wife”, “That was how we got away from the long white creatures”, and “This was the end of the story which I carried from the bush to the ‘wrong town’” (Lindfors, 1973: 54-55). Thai and Nigerian English fiction hold different forms of such devices, but both represent the authentic rhetorical strategy of folk stories.

Additionally, two sections of this discourse creativity fit those earlier studies in Thai English literature. Firstly, the expressions “Good for your karma. Buy bird, set bird free,...” and “Karma has caught up with him so soon” are similar to “His folks used to tell their children that if someone stole food, after he had died and had been reborn his mouth would be as small as a needle hole” in a Thai English autobiography My Boyhood in Siam (Watkhaoalarm, 2005: 150) due to the Buddhist proverbs and sayings on fates, retribution, and reincarnation. The latter also centres on a human body that is found in this study – “making a deal over my head with you lot!” This expression is not Buddhist-oriented, but it is rooted in the Thai culture. Finally, the sentence in example 48 “the red, white, and blue stripes of the Thai flag…” resembles the tricolour in a Thai
English novel *Monsoon Country* (Khotphuwiang, 2010: 509-510) - “Our village is part of Kingdom under the tri-coloured flag”. Both sentences address the symbol of Thailand’s three institutions.

Hence, the rhetorical nativisation in the Thai English fiction holds similarities to other Englishes literature. However, the fiction contains a decent number of local symbolic and ironical expressions translated in English. This aspect is slightly emphasised by writers of other Englishes in the review.

What the above examples of nativisation of rhetorical strategies contribute to an emergence of a Thai variety of English can be visualised. All items of figurative languages as well as idiomatic, legendary and religious expressions translated into English are derived from the Thai people’s thought patterns and daily speech.

### 7.3 Nativisation of Mantra

The nativisation of mantra involves the process of the construction of identity-marking messages in the bilinguals’ creativity in Anglophone Asian Englishes. The term ‘Anglophoneness’ can refer to various sub-terms such as Asianness, and Indianness, etc. Three linguistic processes in identity construction are proposed, but only one emerges in this study - ‘treating the linguistic construction as a cohesive text representing structural discoursal and cultural hybridity’. Indeed, mantra embodies an identity construction of politics, society, philosophy, and spirituality in non-Anglo contexts. The last two constructions are related to this study as they concern literature. A philosophical construct of non-native English identity is seen in the adaptation of native literature of India (Sanskrit) and Arabia (Arabic) as they display sacred texts.
Hence, Sanskritised English brings linguistic and cultural boundaries with British English. This results in creativity and canonicity of Asian English (Kachru, 2003: 55-64). In this study, the construction of philosophy and spirituality appears as a cohesive linker of literary texts, especially via the mantra expressions in Sanskritised English.

Example 54
Prem fidgeted and turned back to plead: “Can’t you look again, Grandpa?” …
“Aa..all right, I’ll make it m..my last.”
Having thus said, Tatip cupped his trembling hands on his chest to symbolize a blossoming lotus flower, a votive offering in worshipping the Spirits of the Universe. Closing his eyes, he began to mumble a magical mantra that began with:

Om loka waree aakasa fai
sankara panapai satawa pupa nai
nati mahasamud kodi...

Prem’s heart thumped to the tempo of the chanting while Grandfather Tatip’s deeply pitted lips moved as if his life was ebbing away.  (SDC, Chapter 6, p.137)

The sacred text of Pali-Sanskrit expressions by the seer ‘Tatip’ is constructed for spirituality. Prem asks Tatip to predict his fate before leaving his village to England. Tatip performs the ritual in the holy language that can be translated word-for-word (Nyanatiloka, 1980) as follows:

God (om), soil or earth (loka), water (waree), weather or ‘wind’ here (aakasa), fire (fai)
mental formation (sankara), natural disaster (panapai), animals (satawa),
mountains and cliff (pupa), in (nai)
streams and rivers (nati), oceans (mahasamut), all right (kodi)...

This mantra employs the four natural elements of a human body regarding mental formation or karmically forming - “soil, water, wind, and fire” – and other components regarding the nature to foresee the incoming incident concerning ‘Prem’.

This example is related to those in Raja Rao’s ‘the Serpent and the Rope’ –

“Kashwam koham kutha ayatha ka me janani ko me tatah? Who are you and whose; whence have you come?  (p.407)” (Narayan, 1983: 12) and “ekah sam prati nasitapriyatamastamadaya ramah katham/papah pancavat im vilokayatuva gacchatvasambhavaya  va/” (Alone, now, after being the cause of the loss of his dear
(wife), how should Rama, sinful as he is, visit that very same Pancavati, or how pass on regardless of it, p.326) (Parthasarathy, 1987: 163-164). English translation is added to these Sanskritised expressions by the Indian writer while the Thai writer did not. Nevertheless, these instances represent the philosophical and spiritual identity of the Indian and Thai characters regarding the sacredness of the language.

Example 55
“Mary and I have found out what the problem is, and it’s not possession.”
“Buddhang sarnang gaccahmi,” the monks intoned in unison.
“What are they talking about?” Mary said. She was properly prostate, but seemed distracted. She was probably uncomfortable without her trusty notebook.
“I haven’t the faintest, idea. It’s all in Pali or Sanskrit or something,” I said.
“Namodasa phrakahvato arahato - ” the monks continued in exorably.
(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.176)

An appearance of Pali-Sanskrit expressions in this conversation is similar to code-switching. However, the holy expressions are not uttered by the interlocutors, namely ‘Mary and I’. Indeed, they are based on the Buddhist monks’ chanting, heard by the interlocutors. The italic expressions are constructed for philosophy. The first means “I pray for the three-fold refuge formula of the Buddha” while the second is “I show my respect to the Buddha who attains enlightenment” (Thurman, 2005).

The two examples present the Pali-Sanskritisation, the root of Thai language, in English through the two mediums, the seer and priest who understand the mantra. The emergence of this sacred expression depicts the discoursal and cultural hybridity between Thai, Pali-Sanskrit as well as English and Buddhism-Hinduism in literary texts. Indeed, such two examples of mantra expressions are part of language use in the Thai society. The Pali-Sanskrit words in the first text are indeed known by the Thai people even though they are not directly daily utterances. Many Thais believe in a magical mantra for worshipping a deity, so they do not need to know a translation of holy expressions. Likewise, Buddhist Thais comprehend the Pali-Sanskrit expressions in the second text once they are praying. Therefore, the nativisation of mantra in these two
literary works represents the distinctiveness of Thai English philosophical and religious discourses.

7.4 Code-Mixing (CM) and Code-Switching (CS)

CM and CS appear as textual strategies used by the Thai and foreign characters in dialogues. Thai words and phrases are mixed in English expressions by the characters. Similarly, characters switch from English utterances into Thai ones.

7.4.1 Code-Mixing

CM in this study arises into three language groups. First, north-eastern Thai dialect, sharing some features with Laotian, appears only in the novel *Shadowed Country* due to mother tongue of the main character. Next, Pali-Sanskrit emerges in the Buddhist terms. Last, Thai refers to Standard Thai words or central dialect and has no specific terms in the other regional dialects. These languages are mixed up in English literary texts for particular social and cultural intentions.

1) North-eastern dialect (Laotian)

Example 56

*Could Piang read also the poetry of the skies? There was an immense electrifying power in such a beauty, passing from form to form, from shadow to shadow, filling the air with its intensity. The quiet one held out his hand: “Bueng… der”, a curious sound that Piang constructed to be “Look!” So she trembled, believing that her brother had committed a taboo act. (SDC, Chapter 2, p. 36)*

The word ‘Bueng’ (look) with its particle ‘der’ functions as a command. This mixing is intended as the very local term addressed to the identity of the character ‘Piang’.
“So you’re leaving us again, Luke-pi. Where this time?” the ailing elder tremulously inquired as his shaking hand reached out to touch the one he had offered to the mother goddess…

“Pradheth Ungrit, poryai,” Prem replied in Lao.

“Yes, poryai: The men are called konungrit and the language is pasa ungrit.” Prem decisively rolled the ‘r’ for being a good student so as to make a contrast with those who…so that ungrit was pronounced ungit and pradheth became padhet. (SDC, Chapter 6, p.136)

Only the word ‘poryai’, the respectful grandfather or the community leader, clearly represents the northeast dialect. This dialect appears in phonological aspects; Prem and Poryai are supposed to converse in Laotian. Hence, all words mixed here are not different from other Thai dialects – Pradheth Ungrit (England), Konungrit (English people), and Pasa Ungrit (English language). In addition, these words can be put in their English version, but they are not localised English uttered by the north-eastern people. Another point highlighting this Thai dialect is Prem’s behaviour; his pronunciation is correct. This is contrary to other speakers of this dialect who cannot pronounce the retroflex sound /t/ well. Hence, this mixing is very authentic.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth, having found out what Piang and Toon were preparing, said in her basic Lao: pedlailaideur. For she wanted her favorite dish to be very spicy hot. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.575)

The mixing of the dialect expression, ‘ped’ (spicy), ‘lai’ (very), ‘lai’ (very), ‘duer’ (particle), is translated into English via Elizabeth’s thought presentation.

(2) Pali-Sanskrit

Looming trees towered over him; some animals of the woods warily watched him while he raised the tent. In the new surroundings, the priest paused. Then Srisurachwood echoed his heart-rending cry: Buddha! Dhammo! Sankho! Napo! The shout sounded as if the holy one had become incensed by sheer longing. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 10, p.373)

“Psychic transference too difficult…additional expenditure of energy impractical at present stage…but message must get through…” Suddenly he clawed at his throat for a few moments, and then fell writhing to the floor in another fit. “Can’t get used to this gravity.” the alien moaned. “Legs instead of pseudopods – and the contents of the stomach make me sick – there’s at least fifty whole undigested chillies down here – oh, I’m going to puke –”

“By Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha!” I cried. “Quick, Mary, help me. Give me something to catch his vomit.” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.171)

The two underlined expressions are based on the three jewels of Buddha. However, the word ‘Napo’ is added as a reminder of Prem’s village name and it serves
the literary rhyme of chanting. In the first extract, Prem who becomes a wandering monk in the Srisurachwood forest utters the underlined chanting words at night while setting up the Buddhist tents. The Pali-Sanskrit mixing in this English narrative functions as sacred words addressed by the monk. However, the character ‘I’ in the second extract does not indicate preaching an exclamation. When the character ‘he’ faced difficulty in ‘psychic or supernatural transference’ and he vomited, he felt stunned and uttered such non-English expression instead of ‘Oh my God’ to Mary, who also observed this incident. Indeed, this utterance is meaningful - Buddha (the Enlightened One), Dharma (the Teaching of Buddha), and Sangha (the Community of practising Buddhists) (Kozak, n.d.).

(3) Thai

Example 60
The mother smiled, seeing the love that flowed between the man and the boy, while Kiang, the older son, came up close and crouched by his father’s side, saying “Por, today, I read in my spelling book about a luke-gop, a tadpole, called Od. Let’s call him Luke-gop, all right, Por?” (SDC, Chapter 1, p.31)

This extract displays the mixing of addressing and referencing terms in Thai. The word ‘Por’, father, needs to be mixed as it represents a common term used by Thais. Moreover, the word ‘luke-gop’ is a proper noun used for Prem’s nickname, so it must remain in Thai.

Example 61
The teacher wrote with a piece of chalk on the P1 blackboard a letter, which he pronounced to be ‘Gor’.”This is ‘Gor’ or ‘Gor Gai’ – chicken,” he emphasized the last word and ordered Chan Prathom Nung (the Class of Primary One) to copy it onto their slates. That hour P1 pupils were to draw a squiggle, which resembled the letter ‘Gor’ (SDC, Chapter 3, p.55)

The writer needs to mix Thai words. The first alphabet in Thai ‘Gor Gai’, which has its form similar to chicken’s neck and head, must be phonologically put in Thai version. If it is translated in ‘Chicken Letter’, it seems to be confusing. This letter has just been learnt by Primary 1 students. Similarly, the word ‘Chan’ (class) Prathom (Primary) Nung (One)” is mixed up here due to the specific term for Thai students.
Example 62
Suddenly Stan stood up and went to a table where an ageing whore sat, awaiting the couple who had left her for a dance. He invited himself to a vacated chair next to the woman, whose trade name was Ni. He wasted little time in showing her a photograph. Ni could not possibly hear a word of what Stan was saying due to the din. “Suaymaak suaychingching…beautiful,” she cooed and wondered why this old farang had flaunted a photo of his young and beautiful wife in order to pick up a hooker.
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p. 671)

This extract stands out as the italic Thai expression is uttered with its English translation by the prostitute who must look at a picture of Stan’s young and beautiful wife. Her reply in full is more of ‘very beautiful, really, really beautiful.’ Her response is that which is expected of her and her tone may even show a bit of hurt that she must endure this kind of treatment and still provide services as a prostitute.

Example 63
“It’s all your fault,” Phii Lek’s mother said, turning wrathfully on my father. “You’re all too eager to douse your staff of passion, and now my son has been turned into a monster!” The logic of this accusation escaped me, but my father seemed convinced.
“I’ll go and buat phra for three months,” he said, affecting a tone of deep piety. “I’ll enter the nearest monastery tomorrow. That ought to do the trick. Oh, my son, my son, what have I done?”
(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 169)

The italic Thai verbal phrase is mixed in the English sentence without translation. Indeed, the father could have expressed himself with ‘enter the priesthood’ instead of resorting to Thai. However, this English version insufficiently shows a Buddhist monk in the Thai context. Hence, the Thai words are nativised.

Example 64
At that moment, my grandmother entered the booth and stared about wildly. I attempted, from my prone position, to perform the appropriate wai, but Pii Lek was rolling around and making peculiar hissing noises. Mary started to stutter, “Khun Yaa, I don’t know what happened, they suddenly started acting this way – “ “Don’t you khun yaa me,” grandmother snapped. “I’m no kin to any foreigners, thank you.” She surveyed the spectacle before her with mounting horror. “Oh, my terrible karma!” she cried. “Demons have transformed my grandsons into dogs!” (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.168)

Two views of code-mixing emerge. The word ‘wai’, or Thai greeting, is mixed in the hybrid form to its English modifier ‘appropriate’. This Thai word is very unique, so it must be nativised in English. Moreover, the addressing term ‘Khun yaa’ or the respectful title to a grandmother in Thai is verbalised in the underlined sentence. This mixing is shortened from ‘say khun yaa to me’ or ‘call me khun yaa’.
### 7.4.2 Code-Switching

Unlike code-mixing, Thai is only switched into English or from English into Thai in the selected fiction.

**Example 65**

Thwarted, the kratoey glared at her countryman who had intervened. Then one of the thugs signaled the gang members to give the traitor a lesson.

“This is a lesson” the pimp shouted. “You’re Siamese like us, yet you could betray us. Mueng! Aihia! Ainakaichart! (You bastard! A disgusting animal! A dog that sells the nation!) Do you love this falang? Is it your father?” (SDC, Chapter 14, p.263)

This extract provides a range of the actual code-switching from English into Thai. The pimp switches from English into Thai when he wants to scold a transvestite prostitute. However, certain English translations to such curses are bracketed. After the curse, the pimp then switches from Thai into English, especially via questions.

**Example 66**

To Kumjai, the applause was as good as a monsoon rain on the thirsty earth. Walking towards the head-teacher was his former pupil, accompanied by Elizabeth. The latter was full of praise, and said in Siamese: “Deemaakmaakka. Very very good indeed. Happy Birthday to you. Happy birthday to you. Happy birthday Krooyai Kumjai! Happy birthday to you. All together now!” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.510)

Code-switching from Thai into English is authentic here. The foreigner character ‘Elizabeth’ is presupposed to speak some Thai. The direct speech provided is also natural as English translation of the expression “Deemaakmaakka” is not bracketed.

**Example 67**

“No, Primo!” Dani interjected. “No Siamese at the table or at anytime anywhere whilst Panya is with us in England. He must learn to speak English.”

“In that case, we’ll never know the month in which he was born,” said Prem.

“Point taken. All right, both of you can speak Siamese for this time.”

“pangerdanunaruaiunurai?” Prem asked.

“wanteesarmduenmeena,” Panya answered differently.

“The 3rd of March,” Prem translated. We were born in the same week, same month and in the same year. I remember now. And, oh, we were in the same class at Napo Primary, too. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 21, p.546)

The writer wisely creates the code-switching in this context though it is based on translation. The characters Prem and Dani are conversing in English. Prem, however, needs to talk to Panya, his old friend, in Thai. Then, Prem switches again from Thai into English while relating his friend’s information to Dani.
Traffic screeched endlessly by and we had to wait ten minutes before we could safely jaywalk the intersection. At the corner, a withered Indian hawked lottery tickets. “Not yet,” I said. “Not until tomorrow.”

I can’t wait, Joey said. A pretty young prostitute of indeterminate gender accosted him, and he yelled back, “Hee men meuang durian kuan!”

“Ai hia! You can’t say things like that!” That irate whore was coming after us, swinging her purse. She was making straight for me, of course. It hadn’t occurred to her that it was the farang boy calling her names. “Duck!” I grabbed Joey’s arm and pushed him into an alley.

“Didn’t get it right?” he said as he lit up.

“Of course you got it right? I said, “but you can’t just go around telling someone her pussy smells like a pureed durian fruit and hope to get away with –” (DFS, Lottery Night, p.43)

The Thai American character ‘Joey’ switches from English into Thai. He scolds a Thai prostitute by using an italic taboo expression. Similarly, the prostitute responded to him, *Ai hia*, without English translation, and switches into English. Eventually, the first curse is translated in an underlined expression by Joey’s Thai friend.

The westerner character ‘John Hamlet’ authentically switches from English into Thai when he talks to a Thai soldier. This code-switching is effectively created as this character speaks two languages though translation is employed.

But we all look alike to them. And I was imitating a woman’s voice when they were trying to get a fix on the psychic transference. So they made an error of a few decimal places, and – poof! – here I am!”

“Pen baa pai laew!” I whispered to Mary Mason.

“I heard that!” my brother whispered riposted. “But I am not mad. I am quite, quite sane, and I have been taken over by a manus tang dao.”

“What’s that?” Mary asked me.

“A being from another star.”

“Far frigging out! An extraterrestrial!” she said in English. I didn’t understand a word of it; I thought it must be some kind of anthropology jargon. (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.170)

Code-switching also interfaces code-mixing here. The Thai character is whispering in Thai about the matter of his brother to Mary, a westerner who understands Thai. The switching of such matter in English is translated by the character ‘my brother’ – “I am not mad” – as his response. Eventually, code-mixing also appears as he cannot find an English equivalent to the Thai word ’manus tang dao’. Then, ‘I’ has to switch from Thai into English to translate such a word to Mary.
Significantly, the examples in code-switching definitely reflect the actual language use in the Thai society as several Thais and foreigners are conversing in English and switching into Thai. Likewise, the mixing of non-English words and phrases in the dialogues can really occur in Thailand. However, such mixing in the English narratives serves as the way in which the writers want to enhance language varieties in written discourses rather than in spoken discourses. In brief, overall instances of code-mixing and code-switching presented contribute to the development of a Thai variety of English.

The findings of CM and CS partially parallel those displayed in the review. Translation and non-translation as strategies in both processes are found in the selected fiction. In the novel ‘Shadowed Country’, the expression “he pronounced to be ‘Gor’.

“This is ‘Gor’ or ‘Gor Gai’ – chicken, he emphasised the last word and ordered Chan Prathom Nung (the Class of Primary One) to copy it onto their slates” presents the way Thai is mixed in English sentences with the narrator’s translation in a dash and bracket. This similarly happens in a Singaporean English poem ‘Ahmad’ – “Orang puteh has been kind (Malay: white man)” (Patke and Holden, 2010: 38). Likewise, in this novel, the expression “You’re Siamese like us, yet you could betray us. Mueng! Aihia! Aimakaichart! (You bastard! A disgusting animal! A dog that sells the nation!) Do you love this falang?...” displays the switching from Thai cursing into English, translated in a bracket. This style is similarly used in an Egyptian novel The Map of Love’ – “Ya akhi (no my brother), says Mahgoub...” (Albakry and Hancock, 2008: 228). For non-translation, this study provides only code-mixing with ‘Pali-Sanskrit’ - “By Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha!” I cried. “Quick, Mary, help me...” (example 59). This similarly arises in expressions in a Kenyan English novella Without Kiinua Mgongo – “Mwangangi, being a Mkamba, mwana wa Kulatya, was in his forties...” (Kurtz and
Kurtz, 1998: 67). Besides, other strategies of code-mixing and switching in this study also appear as an alternation from English to Thai dialects and religious language, especially by non-Thai characters. This aspect did not surface in the literature review.

7.5 Colloquial Variety of English

Colloquial or basilectal variety of English emerges since Thai characters with lower English proficiency use certain lexical and grammatical patterns considered ‘improper English’, namely ‘Tinglish’ while talking to other characters with higher proficiency (mesolect and acrolect varieties). Moreover, some Thai characters with a moderate level of English ability add Thai discourse particles to make their English expressions sound Thai. Hence, Tinglish and discourse particles highlight this variety.

7.5.1 Tinglish

Tinglish or poor English with Thai structure interference by Thai speakers appears in many dialogues and narratives in the selected fiction.

Example 71
A waiter came to take his order. Prem chose fried rice with egg and prawns, taking care not to say *fly lice*. And he patiently waited for it. *(SDC, Chapter 7, p. 154)*

The italic expression presents Tinglish as a result of difficulty a Thai speaker faces in pronouncing the retroflex sound /r/ in Thai. Many Thais prefer to utter the lateral sound /l/, so it influences their English expression. However, the character ‘Prem’ with good command of English is very careful not to commit this mistake as he will be insulted.
Example 72
“You like stay in Siam, Khun Lisabet?” asked TC in his best English.
“Yes, very much,” she coyly confirmed. “Bangkok is much bigger and more modern than I thought. Though I didn’t expect it to be as pristine as Anna in Siam suggested, you know, elephants in the streets and tigers in the jungles and rich men wallowing among beautiful women in their harems…”
“No more jungle, Khun Lisabet. We cut tree. You see elephant in street in Kroongtep. Esarn man take elephant here and beg money but no harem now. We have manoy, kept women, in house, condo or apartment, and ready women in massage parlour, club and bar and beer garden.”
“Then I thought that once you left the Celestial City, you’d enter the forest. But it’s not so. There are factories after factories almost all the way to the hills a hundred miles away…” Elizabeth pertly pratted.
“Ah, you go Esarn. Many good, Khun Lisabet. Many Kroongtep people no go Esarn. My ketuektang (constituency) is in Esarn, so now I push airport there. TC proudly pontificate…
“Khun Lisabet, I want know you gooder. We eat rice together when I come back from New York. Okay?”… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 16, pp. 455-456)

A conversation between TC (Taninsak Chainarongwan), a Thai member of parliament, and Elizabeth shows Tinglish. Elizabeth uses a range of mesolect to acrolect varieties of English while TC entirely performs the basilectal variety as in the underlined expressions. TC provides ungrammatical sentences and brings Thai words. Some Tinglish utterances can be modified: “Do you like to stay in Siam, Khun Elizabeth?” and “We deforested. You see many elephants along the streets in Kroongthep”.

Example 73
...Meanwhile Salee caught Horst’s thick wrist and stopped the motion…
“She very pretty…skin so white…hair white also…so white…hair white also…so nice. She was here with VIPs who acted like they own this joint.” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p.672)

Tinglish is uttered by a Thai lady ‘Salee’. Her underlined expression shows an absence of the be-copula and ordering of English noun phrase in Thai pattern. However, her English seems to be good as the last sentence is grammatically correct, with the use of a particular word like ‘joint’ as an informal version of ‘place of business’. Hence, Salee’s colloquial English is also mixed with good English.
Example 74

After I finished combing the beach for trash, put Clint Eastwood back in his pen, Lizzie and I went up
the mountain on my motorcycle to Surachai’s house, where his uncle Mongkhon ran an elephant-trekking
business. Mr. Mongkhon’s Jungle Safari, a painted sign declared in their driveway. *Come Experience the
Natural Beauty of Forest with the Amazing View of Ocean and Splendid Horizon from Elephant’s Back!*
I’d informed Uncle Mongkhon once that his sign was grammatically incorrect and that I’d lend him my
expertise for a small fee, but he just laughed and said farangs preferred it just the way it was, thank you
very much, they thought it was charming, and did I really think I was the only huakhuai who knew English
on this godforsaken Island? During the war in Vietnam, before he started the business, Uncle Mongkhon
had worked at an airbase on the mainland dishing lunch to American soldiers. (*STS, Farangs, pp.7-8*)

This narrative pictures a conversation between Lizzie’s friend and Surachai’s
Uncle Mongkhon. Lizzie’s friend uses good English and reminds Surachai’s uncle of
the broken English in the sign. However, Uncle Mongkhon does not worry about his
Tinglish as he is confident with his ability, having worked once for the American army
base in Thailand. Such underlined sentences could be modified – *Come Experience the
Natural Beauty of the Forest with the Amazing View of the Sea and Splendid Horizon
from Elephant Back.*

Example 75

…”‘Enough,’ the wife says in English to my son, throwing up her hands. ‘I no do this no time, okay? He eat
by himself now, Jack,’ Jack sighs again, calls after the wife by her name. He says, ‘Tida –,’ but she’s
already halfway out of the kitchen, muttering to herself in Thai like some crazy what? …
She stands there silently, cocks her head curiously to one side.
‘What do you want from me?’ I ask after a while.
‘I no want nothing.’ Her voice is a little louder now.
‘I just want to say sorry to you. I no mean to make you upset.’
‘Who said I was upset?’
‘Jack tell me you cry.’
‘That’s a lie,’ I say.
‘No lie.’ She’s shaking her head. ‘Jack say you crying like baby in the shower.’
(*STS, Don’t let me die in this place, pp.120-124*)

The dialogue between *Tida*, a Thai wife, and *Jack*, an American husband, as
well as *Tida* and her father-in-law is understandable, but full of Tinglish. In the first
three underlined sentences, Tida often uses ‘no’ instead of ‘don’t’. Furthermore, the
other two underlined sentences present her misuses of reported speech.

Example 76

‘What’s he saying!’ Lizzie whispered in my ear.
‘Ha ha ha,’ Surachai interjected gesticulating wildly. ‘Everything ok, madam. Don’t worry, be happy. My
uncle, he just say elephants very terrified of your breasts.’ (*STS, Farangs, p.11*)

The character ‘Surachai’ communicates in English with a tourist, Lizzie. In this
element, his use of Tinglish appears in terms of main verbs and subject-verb agreement.
She was still in her dancing clothes when I went in. A little girl was carefully taking out the stitches with seam-ripper. There was a pile of garments on the floor. In the glare of a naked bulb, the vestments of the goddess had little glamour. “They no have buttons on classical dance clothes,” she said. “They just sew us into them. Cannot go pee-pee!” she giggled.

The little girl scooped up the pile and slipped away.

“You’re…very beautiful,” I said. “I don’t understand why…I mean, why you need to…?”

“I have problem,” she said. “Expensive problem. Dr. Stone no tell you?”

“No” Her hands were coyly clasped across her bosom. Gently I pried them away.

“You want I dance for you?” (DFS, Chui Chai, p.89)

Tinglish is used by a bargirl. She totally cannot ask interrogatives well. Like other Thais, she also uses the form ‘no’, instead of ‘don’t or doesn’t or didn’t’. Moreover, the use of subject pronoun ‘I’ is expressed instead of the object pronoun ‘me’, and the infinitive –to form is neglected. These mistakes can be modified as “Didn’t Dr. Stone tell you?” and “Do you want me to dance for you?”

### 7.5.2 Thai Discourse Particles

Many discourse particles found in this study are phonologically similar to Thai – ja, bah, nah, oi, eh, and huh. However, their semantic contexts differ from those in Thai due to English particles. Hence, the following two particles are unique Thai:

1. **Kup(Krap)/Ka (Kha)**

   The most common polite particles in Thai are ‘Krap’ and ‘Kha’ that are used by males and females respectively at the end of statements and questions in order to convey the respect to the addressee (Smyth, 2002: 126). The following examples are provided:

   Example 78
   Then they trooped back in a single file to sit on the floor of the sala according to their grades. Roll calls began. “Ma kup,” each boy answered, when Kumjai called out a name. “Ma ka,” responded each girl.
   (SDC, Chapter 3, p.53)

   The primary students indicate their attendance with the polite male/female address “Ma kup” and “Ma ka”. Indeed, the particle ‘kup’ is usually pronounced without the retroflex sound /ɾ/ by most males throughout the country.
Example 79
Charmingly she performed a namaskara with a ‘sawasdee ka’ utterance to taanluke – the magnificent multimillionaire, the heir apparent and the majority shareholder in all of the companies under the VP Group, with a luxurious life in the 58-room palatial VP House. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 4, p.326)

This lady inserts the particle ‘ka’ at the end of the Thai greeting word and performance to display her respect and politeness to the magnificent multimillionaire. This particle and action would impress the addressee.

Example 80
“Taannai Dhani taught you how to do this, did he?” Elizabeth took delight in communicating with the meek manservant in Siamese.
“Chaikrap,” confirmed the servile servant while carefully pouring the wine from the decanter into one of the two glasses for her to taste. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, pp.559-560)

The servant utters ‘Chaikrap’ to respond ‘Yes, sir’ to his master. The particle ‘krap’ is correctly pronounced as the addressee has been well-trained in Thai social manners.

Example 81
Charles made a nuisance of himself in getting in the way. But he believed that he could be helpful to the lone doctor. The two Siamese nurses on duty came and went smiling charmingly at the noble, white-haired farang, whom they loved to call Khun Charley. ...Khun Charley ka, Khun Charley...painaima? (SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.665)

The addressing form “Khun Charley ka” is added to the question ‘painaima’ (Where did you go, ka? or Where have you been, ka?). The title ‘khun’ is the most general polite term used by men and women to refer to their equals and superiors, and by strangers to address each other politely (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005: 51). This title is addressed to the foreigner, so it conveys the addressee’s familiarity and its acculturation in English. Here, this particle is used by the Thai nurses, who in their professions, act with so much mercy and kindness, so it helps soften the speaker’s utterance.
Example 82

Taannai Dhani smiled magnanimously, saying: “When it seems almost impossible to get something done, it may indicate that the machine is clogged and so it needs some lubrication. Why don’t we grease it? Khamnan Singhon krap, did I say your name correctly? Yes, Khamnan Singhon krap, since you are the able Napo headman, I trust that you can help Khun Kumjai regain his position.”

“But we have no grease at all, kraptaannai,” Singhone said tremblingly, for it was staggering to discover that he was actually addressing the son of the very powerful Master, whose family name was mentioned almost every day on television and on radio. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.483)

The title ‘Taannai’ (gracious master) is added to ‘Dhani’ due to being respected by the villagers. Hence, the headman of the Napo village, namely “Singhone” responds to Dhani’s question with the polite particle and second-person pronoun ‘kraptaannai’ in order to display the supreme respect of Dhani with gratitude to the villagers. Indeed, Dhani is also a very polite addresser; he adds the particle ‘krap’ by the end of the question to Singhone as he wants to respectfully equalise the status between him and the addressee.

(2) Na

‘Na’ is a mood particle in Thai that is used to make a sentence milder, especially when one is seeking approval, agreement or compromise. This particle is equal to certain responding forms in English ‘…, OK?’ or ‘…, right?’ (Smyth, 2002: 132). This appears in the following:

Example 83

‘C’mon. Give an old woman a break.’
The girl smiled. She said eleven hundred. Ma yelped again.
‘I’m not a farang, na? We’re all Thai here. Give me the Thai price.’ The vendor asked Ma to name one. Not eleven hundred, Ma said… (STS, Sightseeing, p.80)

The particle ‘na’ is added by Ma, who addresses the vendor during their bargaining. Ma is dissatisfied with a given price for foreigners. Thus, she uses the underlined expression. This particle denotes a mild sense of the form ‘…, right?’

The expressions discussed contribute much to an emergence of Thai English spoken discourse depicted in literary discourses. The characters’ use of Tinglish and
Thai discourse particles probably mirrors the different backgrounds as well as differing levels of English proficiency among Thais. This in effect, points out to communication achievement rather than grammaticality.

Similar to those described in the review, the findings of colloquial variety of English emerge via working-class characters. First of all, the word ‘fly rice’ in example 71 similarly manifests a phonological feature of Tinglish presented by Martyn (2012), namely the word ‘bedloom’; Thais get difficulty in pronouncing the retroflex sound. In example 73, a bargirl uses Tinglish “She very pretty...skin so white...” In example 76, Surachai utters ‘Ha ha ha,...Everything ok, madam...” Likewise, ‘a taxi driver’ in the Taximan’s Story speaks Singlish – “...People born many, many children, six sons, two daughters. Big family! Ha! Ha!...” (Wood, 1990: 278). These instances share a feature of the absence of the copula ‘be’ in present (Tinglish) and past times (Singlish) meanwhile the interjection ‘Ha Ha’ is replicated in only example 76 in Tinglish. Besides, Tinglish in a written form in example 74 - “Come Experience the Natural Beauty of Forest with the Amazing View of Ocean and Splendid Horizon from Elephant’s Back!” - yields an unedited sentence from a Thai English newspaper “He said the panel will pass on its report to the UN” (Todd, 2004) due to Thai grammar interference. Moreover, this study reveals that a Thai particle ‘na’ is very unique since it is mentioned by Martyn (2012) as a particle of giving suggestion such as “I won’t see you next week na”. Although this particle in the selected fiction - “I’m not a farang, na?...” does not properly mean ‘recommendation’, it shows its replication by the earlier study in Thai English. Indeed, this particle is partially equivalent to Malay one ‘lah’. This yields the particle ‘lah’ in Malaysian English from the expression in the story A New Year’s Day Lunch in Kia Peng “…I’m a grandmother-lah, you know?” (Azirah,
2007: 37-38). Both particles convey a similar mood of dissatisfaction, especially regarding the word ‘indeed’.

A difference between the basilectal variety of English in this study and that in the literature review is a number of discourse particles. Only one unique particle emerges in the Thai English fiction although others like ‘la’ and ‘ja’ are found in a former study in Thai English. Meanwhile, varieties of Malaysian and Singapore English particles are revealed in other, previous research. In contrast, the colloquial variety of English in written texts is seen in only Thai English (a tourist sign) whereas only dialogues are highlighted in Malaysian, Singapore, and South African Indian Englishes in the review.

7.6 Discourse Styles

Discourse styles in relation to Thai writing emerge in three aspects: the use of long sentences, wordiness, and Thai writing system.

7.6.1 The Use of Long Sentences

A long string of sentences usually occurs in Thai writing due to lack of sentence boundaries like punctuation marks in English (Supnithi et al., 2010). This is merely a factor of this style in Thai. It also comes across the selected Thai English fiction.
Example 84
He discoursed learnedly in the dragon lore of many cultures, from the salubrious, fertility-bestowing water dragons of China to the fire-breathing, maiden-ravishing monsters of the West; lectured on the theory that the racial memory of dinosaurs might have contributed to the draconic mythos, although he allowed as how humans never co-existed with dinosaurs, so the racial memory must go back as far as marmosets and shews and such creatures; he lauded the soup in high astounding terms, using terminology so poetic and ancient that he was forced to draw the calligraphy in the air with stubby finger before my father was vaguely able to comprehend his metaphors; and finally – the clincher – alluded to a great-great-great-aunt of his in San Francisco who had once had a brief, illicit, and wildly romantic interlude with a Chinese opium smuggler who might just possibly have been one of the very Lims who had come from that village in Southern Yunnan; you know the village I’m talking about, that very village…at which point my father – whisking way all the haute cuisine dishes and replacing them with an enormous blueberry cheesecake flown in, he said, from Leo Lindy’s of New York – said, “All right, all right, I’m sold…”
*(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p. 20)*

Syntactically, this sentence can be divided into another five sentences due to the semicolons. All have many clauses modified by sub-clauses and phrases. Furthermore, dashes and a directed speech are also linked. This makes the longest and most complicated sentence of this story. This sentence is narrated by only one speaker, who talks with the writer’s father. The writer combines all sentences in only one sentence so that the story told by Bob and the reaction from the narrator and her father can be connected. Stylistically, this sentence shows the reader that the speaker is talking non-stop and changing from one topic to another seamlessly and without reason until finally the listener interjects to give the speaker a rest.

Example 85
And then – for Bob Halliday and I were still entwined in each other’s arms, and his flesh was still throbbing inside my flesh, bursting with pleasure like the thunderclouds above – we rose up, he and I, he with his left arm stretched to one side, I with my right arm to the other, and together we spelled out the two tree melding into one in the calligraphy of carnal desire – and, basically, what happened next was that I released into the effervescing soup stock the swift sleek segment of my soul, the sly secretion from my scales, and, last but not least, the locked door deep inside my flesh. *(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, pp. 33-34)*

This sentence can be divided into four parallel sentences. All start with the maker ‘and’ and an adverb phrase – (i) And then - ....- we rose up; (ii) and together we….; (iii) and basically, what…; and (iv) and, last but not least, the… Moreover, they are also joined by dashes. Each sentence also has sub-clauses and phrases. The phrase ‘he and I’ is redundant, but the two subjects play major roles in the relationship. Indeed, this sentence is about a man or woman explaining the lovemaking and climax with Bob. It tries to describe one of the most indescribable moments of human sexuality.
Example 86
For instance, there are, say, a walk in the forest from Heeringen to the Wurm at Muthal where Fritz Lange served lunch of grilled river trout and sausages to the father and the little son at the forest-house…and a white-haired Frau picking wild mushrooms in the sunny glade…and on her deathbed she smiled in bidding farewell to him in 1945….and a real reason why he left Germany for Switzerland and more, much more for I hold a trump card very close to my chest. (SDC, Chapter II, p. 241)

Under this sentence, there are four main clauses, indeed. However, they are compiled in a sentence by the pattern of “there are” and the verb ‘say’ that present ‘stories’. In addition, the four events are tied together by ellipses at the end of each clause. Thus, this sentence must be long as the connected clauses represent Wilhelm’s childhood memory told to Prem and other friends of him.

Example 87
And shortly before the Sergeant left us, before Ma took over the motel from her parents, before she ever forbade me from speaking the Sergeant’s language except to assist the motel’s guests, before I knew what ‘bastard’ or ‘mongrel’ or ‘slut’ or ‘whore’ meant in any language, there was an evening when I walked into the ocean with Clint Eastwood – I was teaching him how to swim – and when I looked back to shore I saw my mother sitting between the Sergeant’s legs in the sand, the sun a bright red orb on the crest of the mountains behind them. (STS, Farangs, p.7)

This sentence is long due to the addition of clauses. Four clauses start with ‘before’; they are the important background of the narrator that results in his views about his mother. Besides, each clause has sub-clauses and phrases, but they help portray the characters’ actions and views via this sentence. This sentence is intended to show this was a time of innocence before people called him and his mother names.

Example 88
The southwest Monsoon, which emerges from the womb of the Indian Ocean as a ferocious and angry child and then bullies its way across first landfall as a delinquent juvenile and young adult, finally arrives in Thailand more or less mellow and middle-aged, bringing just the right amount of rain for planting; even when floods result, the visit is short and the soil seems even more fertile. (UOS, The Umbrella, p.11)

This sentence seems to be long as the background information of ‘The southwest Monsoon’ must be described with figurative language. Furthermore, its effect on Thailand also needs to be detailed.

7.6.2 Wordiness
Wordiness is an extravagant style of writing as many words, expressions and phrases are too redundant, resulting in ambiguity of main points (M.Tx Writing, 2004).
However, it is viewed as an ornament of prose writing in Thai since Thai writers have more chances to elaborate on their writing via many words and expressions. This comes across the chosen fiction that contains two aspects of wordiness as follows:

(1) Repetition of words and phrases

Example 89
“I thought you were counting the buildings you own all over our Divine City of Angels,” affectedly said handbag-carrying Prawit Waiwitayakul. “Don’t you know that you own over ten per cent of Bangkok? See, there, that tall tower, and that one, and that one. Look over this way, there is another one, and another one by the bridge, there.” (SDC, Book II, Chapter 11, p.381)

This example is full of many determiners. The phrases ‘that one’, ‘another one’, and ‘there’ are repeated. They are wordy expressions but important elements that help to repeat and to stress the vast properties of the character (Prawit) in the paragraph.

Example 90
Everybody liked Sisi. True to the gesture of her bouncing breasts, Sisi was always ready, always helpful, always saying “yes.” She would eagerly help in the kitchen, around the house, in the garden – anywhere, it seemed, that help was needed. (UOS, Sisi, p. 77)

The writer intentionally repeats the adverb ‘always’ thrice in this extract in order to support the point “Everybody liked Sisi”. Furthermore, an addition of the clause “anywhere, …help was needed” also serves this wordiness.

Example 91
“So this is what we’re gonna do,’ he said. ‘We’re gonna pretend that you didn’t just try to punch me. I’m gonna let you go and I’m gonna count to three. You’re gonna go back to wherever the hell you just came from. You understand me, boy?” (STS, Priscilla the Cambodian, p. 117)

The contraction and verb phrase of ‘gonna’ are overused. This redundant pattern is, however, needed as an informal form of modality making it clear to understand and achieve a regulation or agreement between the two men. The older man is very angry. When invoking a plan of action, he repeats very clearly the steps in a way that they cannot be misunderstood. It also serves as a marker instead of ‘first, second, third’. His final question is a sarcastic retort since he has made it quite clear using a repetitive structure to outline his actions.
(2) Repetition of clauses and sentences

Example 92
Prem could see himself, a starving eight-year-old, sitting at the back and listening attentively to Kumjai’s customary dictum, which was being firmly repeated now: “Education improves the mind. It is the light to show the way in darkness. And that’s why every child has to come to school to learn to read and write and count. Being illiterate, you will always be at a disadvantage. You’ll not be able to know whether the shopkeepers, the traders and the millers give you correct payment or change. You would not know how their weighing machines work and whether you receive a fair price or not. That’s why we are learning to read and to count. So, then, where we are? Oh yes. Read after me: Life of a dragonfly.”

“Life of a dragonfly,” the class repeated in unison from the textbook spread in front of each of them.
“I am a dragonfly,” the headmaster read.
“I am a dragonfly,” the boys and girls imitated.
“My friends and I fly all over the paddies and marshes,” uttered Kumjai in a monotone.
“My friends and I fly all over the paddies and marshes,” the children mimicked like a large flock of parrots.

This extract embodies several unnecessary clauses and sentences. The two underlined sentences are redundant. Furthermore, the point ‘disadvantage’ is modified by many details – “You’ll not be able to know…” and “You would not know…” However, this redundant and wordy elaboration is essential for this context. The teacher ‘Kumjai’ needs to motivate students in the rural area to be literate so that they will not be cheated, so many details of the topics ‘Education improves the mind’ and ‘disadvantage’ should be very clear. In addition, the repetition of the sentences “I am a dragonfly” and “My friends and I fly over the paddies and marshes” presents authentic rote learning in Thai schools where students are taught with drill activities. The whole purpose of this wordiness is rote learning and repeating words and instructions more than once. It is unnecessary and monotonous for adults; however, it is a simple style to enhance children’s rote learning.

Example 93
I began to understand the way Anek had eyed those showroom bikes. I began to get a taste for speed.
“That’s as fast as I’m letting you go,” Anek once said when we got home. “Second gear’s good enough for now.”
“But I can do it, Anek. I can do it.”
“Get taller, kid. Get stronger.”
“C’mere, Anek. Please. Second is so slow. It’s stupid.”
“I’ll tell you what’s stupid, little brother. What’s stupid is you’re eleven years old. What’s stupid is you go into turns like a drunkard. What’s stupid is you can’t even reach the gear pedal. Grow, kid. Give me twenty more centimetres. Then, maybe we’ll talk about letting you do third. Maybe.”

(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.31)

The main point of this text is that Anek’s brother is not allowed to ride a motorbike in third gear. The writer redundantly uses the expression “what’s stupid”.

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This is a must; Anek’s brother does not obey his brother and feels angry by saying “It’s stupid”. This upsets Anek, so he reviles his brother with such repetition and long expressions. Therefore, this makes this argument long and wordy. His little brother seems not to understand his otherwise clear explanations and thus he resorts to ‘baby talk’, repeating by using the brother’s own words repetitively.

Example 94
The dragon said:
There is a sleek swift segment of my soul
That whips against the waters of renewal;
You too have such a portion of yourself;
Divide it in a thousand pieces;
Make soup;
Then shall we all be free.

“That doesn’t make sense!” I said. The dragon must be trying to cheat me somehow. I slammed the scroll against the nearest tooth. The stucco loosened; I heard a distant rumbling. “Give me a straight answer, will you? How can I rid my father of the past that torments him and won’t let him face who is, who I am, what we’re not?”
The dragon responded:
There is a sly secretion from my scales
That drives a man through madness into joy;
You too have such a portion of yourself;
Divide it in a thousand pieces;
Make soup;
Then shall we all be free.

This was making me really mad. I started kicking the tooth. I screamed, “Bob was right…you’re too senile, you’re mind is too clouded to see anything that’s important…all you’re good for is Bob’s great big esoteric enigmas…but I’m just a human being here, and I’m in bondage, and I want out…what’s it going to take to get a straight answer out of you?” Too late, I realized that I had phrased my last words in the form of a question. And the answer came on the jasmine-scented breeze even before I had finished asking:
There is a locked door deep inside my flesh
A dam against bewilderment and fear;
You too have such a portion of yourself;
Divide it in a thousand pieces;
Make soup;
Then shall we all be free.

(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, pp.28-29)

A triple repetition of the dragon’s statement is in the poetic form as underlined.

The narrator wants a direct reply from the dragon in order to know the dragon’s myth in her family. The dragon gives a correct answer each time. It is incapable of giving a different reply as what it says is correct in its own mind. It may not be what the answer-seeker is expecting and readily understood, but still the dragon is not coerced into giving a different, seemingly more suitable answer.
Example 95
But, back then we felt that the Barber was anything but “lucky.” He was not only poor but he was also alone: no wife, no children – not even a relative. Ours were a close-knit society then; whether married or single, people lived in community. No one we knew lived alone. No one except the Barber.
Much later we learned from Father that the Barber grew up in an orphanage and only had four years of fundamental schooling before learning his trade from a free class given at a temple. Nevertheless, the Barber considered himself lucky because there was only one person he had to look after and only one mouth to worry about feeding. (UOS, The Barber, p. 64)

The redundancy is seen in the Barber’s two features – luck and loneliness. The Barber is lucky twice as found in the following sentences: “the Barber was anything but ‘lucky’” and “the Barber considered himself lucky…” In the former, he was considered ‘unlucky’ but the Barber thought he was lucky. Similarly, the sentences conveying ‘loneliness’ are repeated thrice – “…he was also alone: no wife, no children – not even a relative”, “No one we knew lived alone. No one except the barber”, and “…there was only one person he had to look after and only one mouth...” This wordiness shows amazement of the fact that anyone could live alone, totally alone, without relatives, and even more amazement that he could be happy by living alone. Overall, this repetition makes this narrative very wordy.

7.6.3 Thai Writing System

Thai writing system is obvious only in the novel Shadowed Country. The writer details the orthographic convention of Thai language as compared to English. This new light of discourse style creates a glimpse of the nativised Thai writing style in English.

Example 96
... As opposed to English, Siamese has no punctuation marks, no capital letters, no sentences, Primo pondered, glancing at the pages of the two written languages. Siamese words are strung tightly together. At times one can say or write at the beginning without a noun. Such an omission relies on guesswork to be understood, whereas in English a sentence has a beginning and an end, the noun and the verb or verbs and a full stop...
Having pondered so, the student wrote some English phrases as he would write in Siamese to reconfirm his discovery:
ShalleatwhatwhenthereisnothingtoeatchildrenengobegricenotyetcomebackandwehungryricepITYoursonsgofarb
egricesometimesreturnemptynamanyyearsrainnotgoodcannotgrowricecannotgrowanythingnorice
orfishnoricefieldshutbrookamjai chaiwankalsitilkeeptheschoolopen  (SDC, Chapter 8, p. 187)

The writer depicts a view of ‘Primo’ (Prem) toward a description of Thai writing system. As a new student in London, he found differences in the orthographic and
grammar system between English and Thai regarding the people’s mind. English people are very individual and have mental spaces to others, so their writing requires a punctuation mark and capitalisation for a sentence. Meanwhile, Thais like to live in a collective society, thus their writing has tightened letters and other distinctive features as underlined. Hence, Primo displays the Thai style of an English paragraph to prove his assumption. This written English is ungrammatical as it is ordered in Thai structure such as “shall eat what when there is nothing to eat children go beg rice not yet…”

The stylistic devices presented here highlight the phenomenon of Thai English discourse patterns. Long sentences and wordiness surely occur in other varieties of English, but their examples discussed above are unusual. Although the former is of the writers’ thought presentations in narratives, it indicates the way in which the Thai people continually think and express ideas as much as they can before completely stopping. Similarly, several instances of wordiness are derived from spoken discourses which present the reasons why the Thai people often use or repeat many words, phrases and clauses to clearly support the subject matter. Different from these two types of discourse styles, those English sentences composed in Thai orthographic style are probably written by several Thai beginners of English who are more familiar with the Thai writing system than English. However, this may not meet the writer’s intention; such a style truly distinguishes it from written English Standard. As a result, the significance of these three discourse styles heightens the notion of Thai English.

The Thai English discourse styles in this study resemble and differ from earlier studies in Thai English and other Englishes. The short story DFS embodies a very long sentence (in ex. 84) that can be separated into five sentences and many sub-clauses and
phrases. This yields the longest sentence in Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* (1974: 69) that includes ‘ten occurrences’ of ‘and’ due to many hidden clauses (Mehrotra, 1989: 427). Further, this Thai English story has a similar feature of ‘wordiness’ in ex. 94 to a Sri Lankan English poem *Nallur*. The Thai story is shaped into a poetic form and its following patterns are repeated thrice – “You too have such a portion of yourself; Divide it in a thousand pieces; Make soup; Then shall we all be free”. Similarly, the Sri Lankan writing repeats the sentence ‘It’s there’ three times (Goonetilleke, 1990: 337-338). Moreover, a wordy style of Thai English in ex. 95 fits that of Zimbabwean English in a novella *Bones* – “I keep my mouth closed. Nothing beats a closed mouth, nothing…” (Wylie, 1991: 49) since the preceding sentences are repeated as details of the main idea. This African writer gives the reasons why ‘I keep my mouth closed’ with many wordy sentences. Likewise, the Thai author expands several redundant sentences to clearly support the topic sentence ‘the Barber was anything but lucky’. Besides, the Thai orthographic system in English in ex.96 has never been shown in any other Thai English literatures. It is a novelty style in this study. Nevertheless, this novel is not the first Thai English writing that depicts the Thai spiral thought presentation. This is because Prajuab Thirabutana initiates ‘thought patterns in English’ in the novel *Little Things* (See Appendix J), in which the Thai concepts of being considerate, polite, and respectful are hidden in English sentences (Chutisilp, 1984: 174-175). This novel does not display the Thai orthographic system however, but it is noteworthy that the present study partially resembles this earlier research. In addition, the present example (ex.96) also holds a common feature with that in Nigerian and Malaysian English writing. Such tightened Thai English phrases appear as one long sentence. This is parallel to Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, in which English sentences are based on the Yoruba orthographic convention (Afolayan, 1971: 52) and to Salleh Ben Joned’s *Adam’s Dream*, in which
poetic convention is adapted from a Malay verse form of the ‘pantun’ (Patke and Holden, 2010: 178). These literatures from three cultures represent the writer’s attempt to keep English close to indigenous literary tradition. Overall, these features show that discourse styles in Thai English share those in other Asian and African Englishes. In contrast, the sub-category ‘wordiness’ is detailed through a wide range of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences as it is the major emphasis of the Thai English fiction. That is, this style is generally discussed in the literature review.

7.7 Conclusion

The findings indicate that the Thai authors are able to produce their English writing with the six salient textual and stylistic strategies named ‘discourse creativity’. Nativisation of Thai literary, monarchical, religious, historical, and political contexts enrich cultural presuppositions of Thai English stories in divergence from native English literary traditions. Moreover, nativisation of rhetorical strategies unusually portrays figurative languages, idioms-proverbs-old sayings-legends, religion and philosophy, and indirectness that are cohesively constructed in Thai English literature. Furthermore, nativisation of mantra marks the sacredness of Pali-Sanskritised English rooted in Thai identity. Besides, code-mixing and code-switching emphasise an existence of multilingualism depicted in the Thai characters. In addition, the colloquial variety indicates that Thai English has a range of basilectal and mesolectal varieties. Additionally, Thai writing styles transferred into English fiction support a unique Thai English literary discourse. Evidently, some of those features are similar to discourses of other Asian, African, and Caribbean Englishes. This assumption will be further justified with the framework to ascertain if they are indicative of a Thai variety of English.
8.0 Overview

This chapter attempts to identify particular indicators of Thai English from the emerging characteristics of lexical and discourse creativity in this study. Such indicative features are discussed and interpreted against the sociolinguistic background of English in Thailand, conceptual framework of the study, and previous studies on linguistic creativity and Thai English. The discussion and interpretation from these different angles are then used to prove Thai English as a variety.

8.1 Indicative Features of Thai English: A Discussion in Relation to the Sociolinguistic Background of English in Thailand

Certain categories of lexical and discourse creativity in the chosen fiction are taken as ‘indicators’ of Thai English that have evolved according to sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects based on Schneider’s (2007) phases 1-2, in the English development and functions of English (See Chapter 2).

In terms of lexical innovation, only lexical borrowing, loan translation, hybridisation and coinages in this study are constant features in the early emergence of Thai English words. In the foundation phase (1612-1949) of English in Thailand, the word ‘farang’ (westerners or white people), which is derived from the Persian ‘feringhi’
in the King Narai’s reign (1656-1688) (Cruysse, 2002: 58-59) and the English ‘foreign’ representing the Portuguese as the first Europeans in Thailand in 1511 (Chutisilp, 1984: 87), appears as items of independent lexical borrowing and of coinages as well as various forms of hybridisation in the selected fiction. Some examples are given as follows:

(i) Lexical borrowing: Ma doesn’t want me bonking a farang because once, long ago… (STS, p. 5);

(ii) Coinage: The farangy son must act quickly while his trusted friends were with him. (SDC, p.730); and

(iii) Hybrids: farang name, male farang, fine-looking farang, gorgeous female farang, two farang editors, farangs, and golden-haired farangs, etc.

Other words are ‘wat’ and ‘klong’, which were first seen in western documents ‘Chinese Repository XIII’ (1844: 965) and ‘Kingdom Yellow Robe’ (1898: 26) respectively (Simpson and Weiner, 1989). The former word arises in this study via the sub-categories, namely independent and reduplicating lexical borrowing, while the latter emerges as only an independent loan.

At the exonormative stabilisation phase (1950-), the words ‘rent wives’ (house girls) and ‘second hand wife’ occurred during the Vietnam Era with the American army bases in Thailand. These two examples have survived as found in the word-for-word translation from Thai, namely ‘minor wife’ in this study.

In brief, only hybridisation stands as the most outstanding lexical creativity in an interpersonal function of English in the country as it is currently used in several
domains like movies and song titles, names of airlines and colleges, as well as names of television and radio programs.

In line with discourse creativity, only the two categories determined have become indicative features supported by the exonomative stabilisation – code-mixing and code-switching as well as the colloquial variety of English. The utterance by a rent wife in the American army base “One car come. One car go. Two car krom” illustrates the mixing of Thai and English and Tinglish meaning ‘two cars crashed’ (Supanpaysaj, 2010). Likewise, a Patpong prostitute character mixes Thai expressions in the sentence “Suaymaak suaychingching…beautiful” (SDC, p.671). At present, the mixing of English in Thai utterances has become fashionable, especially in various television talk shows and drama series. Furthermore, Thai-English code-switching is modelled by Thai popular singers, DJs, and lecturers (Arakwanich, 1996: 35). Therefore, code-mixing and code-switching represent an important linguistic device that is usually used by the Thai people who want to appear modern. This study reveals many characters with code-mixing and switching – a teacher, foreigners, bargirls, and a seer. Certain forms of switching and mixing cover Thai greetings, taboos, proper names, Buddhist terms, Thai proverbs, and expressions in Northeast dialect. In terms of basilectal variety, some features of Tinglish in Thais’ lives resemble those in the fiction. According to Smalley (1994: 16, as cited in Pupipat, 1998: 6), Thai speakers need to use Tinglish for business transactions with foreigners whose English is native and non-native. Likewise, in the 21st century, a large number of north-eastern wives, who married foreigners, rely on Tinglish for everyday communication. These features are found in the data examined. For instance, four characters with different backgrounds similarly use Tinglish. Firstly, a Thai Member of Parliament ‘Taninsak Chainarongwan’ utters “Khun Lisabet, I want know you gooder. We eat rice together …” (SDC, pp. 455-456). Moreover, Uncle
Mongkhon, who worked at the American army base, wrote a tourist sign in English “Come Experience the Natural Beauty of Forest with the Amazing View of Ocean and Splendid Horizon from Elephant’s Back!” (STS, pp.7-8). Furthermore, Salee, a Patpong bargirl, expresses “She very pretty...skin so white... hair white also...” (SDC, p.672). Lastly, Thida, a Thai wife married to an American ‘Jack’ states “Jack tell me you cry” (STS, pp.123-124). These examples mirror broken English with a Thai grammatical interference.

This discussion results in an existence of an indicator for a Thai variety of English, namely ‘Persisting features of the English development in lexis and discourse’. It is indicative of Thai English from an interpretation of the findings with the sociolinguistic background of English in Thailand.

8.2 Indicative Features of Thai English: Interpretation via Conceptual Framework

Indicators of Thai English lexicon and discourse patterns from a linguistic creativity analysis of the Thai English fiction are identified after particular categories of each creativity feature are interpreted with reference to the conceptual framework based on the three main approaches to World Englishes.

8.2.1 Indicative Features of Thai English Lexis

Indicators of Thai English words from the existing features of lexical creativity in the chosen fiction are interpreted with relevant concepts by the three theorists (See Chapter 3). The following five indicators for Thai English vocabulary are discussed:
(1) Contextualisation of Thai English Lexis

Four types of lexico-grammatical transfer representing contextualisation of Indian English words in Kachru’s (1983b: 99-127) work are found in this study.

(1.1) *Lexical transfer* or lexical borrowing: In this study, a large number of Thai words are loaned in English texts. Two categories of such words are independent and reduplicating borrowing according to a provision of translation or clues for contextual meanings of certain items;

(1.2) *Translation*: This study relies on the term ‘loan translation’. However, two internal linguistic elements – rank-bounded and rank-changed translation – are analysed in this study. For instance, word-for-word translation contains all items of rank-changed pattern;

(1.3) *Shift*: This concept is shift of proverbs and idioms beyond the lexical level. It is also found in this study, however, at the discourse creativity, namely transcreation of idioms and proverbs; and

(1.4) *Calques* refer to rank-bound translation. This study combines Kachru’s terms ‘calques’ and ‘translation’ into the adapted category named ‘loan translation’ that comprises word-for-word translation, fixed collocation, and cursing. All sub-categories are analysed with the basis of rank-bound and rank-shifted translation.
In this respect, collocation requires more explanation. Four features of Indian English collocations distinct from British English ones (Kachru, 1983b: 109) yield the sub-category ‘fixed collocation’ in this study. Thai idiomatic words are translated into English with ‘rank-bound and rank-changed’ processes, but their contextual meaning is still based on the Thai culture, neither British nor American culture. Four functional types of Thai English collocation are (a) Buddhist beliefs and ceremonies (spirit doctor and soul-destroying sight); (b) feminine Divine (the Goddess of Rain and the Goddess Moon); (c) unfavourable habitual features of Thais (two-headed and long-back louse); and (d) politics (the Might of Corrupt or the local power of corruption). These examples which are directly translated from items in Thai have been used by the Thai people, thus they deserve the notion of Thai English collocation.

Not only collocation, but speech-functions also represent a special language type in that local words are translated within the context of the culture (Kachru, 1983b: 112). Three types of speech-functions of Indian English words under such process are applied to this study - abuses or curses, greetings, and modes of address and reference – appearing in two categories. Cursing is a sub-category under loan translation as it entirely concerns an English translation of a swear word in Thai that is interpreted culture-specific. Moreover, modes of addressing and referencing become an individual category due to various linguistic terms representing status and social position of the Thai characters in the fiction. However, greetings are not grouped into a separate sub-category since they are incorporated into the category called ‘lexical borrowing’.

Evidently, curses in this study support a group of those suggested by Kachru (1983b: 113-114) – ‘used by men to men’. The item ‘animal’ (STS, p.159) is addressed by Papa to his rival named Little Jui. Likewise, all recommending six dimensions of the
modes of address and references in non-English literary texts (Kachru, 1983b: 116-118) are similarly found in this study. Firstly, superiority and inferiority occur in English lexical choices referring to the royal Thai family members – ‘The Divine King Chulalongkorn’. This function also relates to the prestigious title and referencing term for Thai commoners like ‘Khunying’ (lady) and ‘Taan’. Secondly, professional modes vary. Titles for Thai teachers are Kru, Krooyai, and Ajarn. Moreover, titles for local administrators are ‘Khamnan’ and ‘puyaibaan’. In addition, a referencing term for an honorific politician is ‘The Honourable MP’ and for a gracious spirit doctor is ‘than mor phi’. Thirdly, religious titles for Thai monks and other followers of Buddhism are ‘Pra’, ‘Naak’, ‘the Pundit Piksu’, and ‘Luke-sith’. Further, referencing terms for monks and learned men are ‘luangpoh’, ‘atma’, and ‘Honourable Brother’. Besides, a non-Buddhist monk is also addressed – ‘Phra Yesu’. However, caste is also included in this function. Thailand has no caste as in India but it may be replaced by ethnicity and socio-economic classes. This study carries a number of referencing terms for Chinese Thais such as ‘sia’, ‘thaokae’, ‘Jek’ and ‘muoi’. Meanwhile, general terms referring to lower-class Thais with a patronising tone are ‘Ta Si, Ta Sa, and Ta Mee’. Indeed, the term ‘Jek’ also implies an insult to Chinese Thais. Fourthly, kinship terms are ‘luk’, ‘nong’, ‘pii’, and ‘por’. Fifthly, affection modes of addressing include ‘Elder Mother’, ‘Younger Mother’, ‘Your Humble Younger Sibling’ and ‘Little Mouse’. Lastly, neutral covers terms with a moderate degree of politeness – ‘nai’, ‘porliang’ and ‘peeliang’, ‘ta’, and ‘khun’. These examples prove the contextualisation of Thai English words.

(2) **Innovation of Thai English Lexis**

Two lexical innovation types in South Asian Englishes are single items (shifts and loan translation) and hybrid items (Kachru, 1983b: 152-162). However, the latter
type is more emphasised. Like such New Englishes, Thai English hybridisation in this study is revised according to this framework – open and closed sets.

The open set is of two structures: South Asian item as head and South Asian item as modifier. This study thus follows this pattern. It contains two main sub-categories – the Thai item as modifier and the Thai item as head. Moreover, two other related sub-categories are emerging – English and Thai items as modifiers as well as Thai and English items as modifiers. These four groups of hybrid formation are detailed according to morphological-grammatical components. Firstly, Thai items as modifiers with English items as heads are of two types: (i) NN type or Noun + Noun (koy tree and khaopansa season) and (ii) AN type or Adjective + Noun (farang friend and Esarn men). Secondly, Thai items as heads with English items as modifiers consist of the following five types: (i) NN type or Noun + Noun (South Sathorn), (ii) AN type or Adjective + Noun (coiled naga), (iii) CAN type or Compound Adjectives + Nouns (pretty female farang), (iv) HCAN type or Hyphenated Compound Adjectives + Nouns (blood-red, pungent yentafo), and (v) CNN type or Compound Nouns + Nouns (cheeky acolyte Luke-name). Thirdly, English and Thai items as modifiers with English as heads are grouped into two types – (i) ANN or Adjective + Noun + Noun (traditional ranaad music) and other types (bright green sali pastry). Finally, a type of Thai and English as modifiers with English as heads is seen in the word ‘sanuke-seeking bankers’.

The closed set, Thai items as heads with English suffixes, is of three patterns – inflectional suffixes, derivational suffixes, and a mixture of derivational and inflectional ones. In the first group, there are five types as follows: (i) N –s type or Noun + the –s Suffix (kinaris); (ii) other types or Adjectives + Nouns + the –s Suffix (narrow klongs), (iii) N –ed type or Noun + the –ed Suffix (waièd); (iv) N –ing type or Noun + the –ing
Suffix (waiing and Sawasdee krapping); and (v) N –er type or Noun + the –er Suffix (nervous Esarner). The second group embodies two types – (i) N –ian type or Noun + the –ian Suffix (true Isanian) and (ii) N –ess type or Noun + the –ess Suffix (untouchable farangness). The last group is seen in the word ‘Bangkokians’.

A variety of Thai English hybridisation indicates innovation. Not only this concept, but another paradigm by Kachru also points out hybrid items. In type B of linguistic innovation (1985), hybridisation and other categories like mode of reference and address as well as collocations that are discussed in the paradigm, namely ‘contextualisation’ (Kachru, 1983b), represent innovative or creative linguistic strategies of non-native English users.

(3) Nativisation of Thai English Lexis

The existing categories of lexical creativity in fiction imply the nativisation of English in the Thai culture. Conforming to the Kachruvian framework (1986; 1987), especially ‘nativisation of cohesion and cohesiveness’, this study reveals four lexical aspects: collocation extension, lexical shift, hybridisation, and loan translation. All words under those aspects are nativised in English by the bilingual writers who are aware of literary creativity with regard to the Thai culture.

Only one category of lexical nativisation by Kachru (1986; 1987) parallels Schneider’s structural nativisation (2007: 71-82) – hybridisation. Other three processes supporting the lexical expansion of Postcolonial English words are lexical borrowing from indigenous languages, coinages, and semantic shifts. The findings thus agree with certain features of these four processes. First of all, a number of both independent and reduplicating lexical borrowing items appear in three categories of loanwords from
toponyms, fauna and flora, and culturally distinctive customs. Firstly, words borrowed from names of places in Thailand are – Muang, Baankhunluang, Kroongthep, Baan Somwang, Baan Vimarnman, and Baan Songsiam. Secondly, loans for Thai animals and plants are “palaa, mah, luke-nam, pladaek, and kapom” as well as “puttachat, yaplong, ton yang, kha, baimaakood, and takai”, respectively. Lastly, words for Thai customs are saisin, sangha, gutti, namaskara, wai, Sawatdee, sinsod, kot, krod, Vipassana, and sukwan. Furthermore, hybrid compounding is generally defined as a particular combination of English and indigenous elements. This concept is evident in an extensive formation of English and Thai hybridisation. Moreover, only the use of suffixes for coinages in Thai English is concerned. Biermeier (2007, as cited in Schneider, 2007: 81) gives examples of the suffix –(r)ss in Singapore English (instructress) and in Indian English (female temptress). No such suffix is added to Thai English coinages in this study. Certain suffixes coined into the existing English words are ‘-er’ (dubb3rs) and ‘-ly’ (karmically). In addition, semantic shifts in this study rely more on broadened meaning than narrowed meaning.

The notion of nativisation by Schneider (2007) depicts more details than that by Kachru (1986;1987). The findings of lexical borrowing seem to be the foremost process that supports the nativisation of Thai English words rather than other categories.

(4) Transcultural Creativity of Thai English Lexis

Two types of cultural crossover that mark transcultural creativity in World Englishes literature (Kachru, 1995) are related to the lexical results – intelligibility and comprehensibility. First, intelligibility is found in the sub-category ‘word-for-word’ translation (under ‘loan translation’) as a denotative meaning of Thai lexis is decoded in
English. Several Thai words from this strand do not carry culture-specific meanings; it is assumed that non-Thai readers are able to understand them. Next, comprehensibility appears in the sub-category ‘fixed collocation’ and the category ‘ellipsis’ since the connotative meaning of Thai socio-cultural canons, especially in religious or ritualistic lexicons needs to be translated. For example, the idiomatic words “spirit doctor, re-born, the Spirits of the Universe, Eight Precepts, the 227 tenets, temple-arrested, and sacred circle” as well as the elliptical item in Pali-Sanskrit ‘namo dasa’ convey Buddhist and Hindu-Brahmin practices and ceremonies in Thailand. Non-Thai readers require awareness of idiomatic words to comprehend Thai English literature. The lexical formations from the two categories address the Thai writers’ attempt to keep English words close to the Thai culture.

(5) Localisation of Thai English Lexis

Only Strevens’s concept of localised forms of English (LFEs) (1980;1982) is adopted. The features of LFEs are defined with five parameters. Lexically, two parameters are transparent in the findings – lectal and varietal range of varieties as well as existence of standard and non-standard forms. In terms of varietal range, particular registers of language for Thai English words are found. Under loan translation, the words ‘elephant-trekking business’, ‘heart-stopped building’ (mortuary building), and ‘taste bud-cheating stuff’ (MSG) denote registers of tourism, medicine, and food science, respectively. The words ‘chok muay’ (lexical borrowing) and ‘takraw ball’ (hybridisation) convey a ‘sport register’. From modes of addressing and referencing, the item ‘His Divine Majesty Rama the Sixth’ represents a register of monarchy. Besides, hybridised items ‘Poodhydepark’ and ‘MSG-spiked meelukechin’ are political and food science terms, respectively. Additionally, a clipped word ‘com’ is of a political register, “Sakol, Panom, and Sa-u” are based on the geographical register – provinces and a
country, as well as “Chula and Prathom” are referred to the education register. All the different registers serve the literary register of language in the Thai English fiction.

Formality-familiarity of words is the second dimension of varietal range. Several Thai English words found range from formality to familiarity regarding a certain situation of the language used. This aspect entirely yields the category ‘modes of addressing and referencing’ that is classified according to the hierarchy and social status of the Thai people. The highest degree of formality of words refers to two groups - ‘the royal Thai family members’ (The Divine King Chulalongkorn) and ‘Buddhist monks’ (Pra and Lungapoh, etc). The formal and respectful titles for commoners are ‘taanpor’, ‘khun por’, ‘khun’, and ‘ajarn’. The most neutral referencing terms with partial familiarity are ‘por’, ‘pii’, ‘nong’, and ‘ta’. Besides, the very intimacy of addressing terms includes ‘phuan’, ‘Ai’, and ‘E’. In addition, this concept also fits the category ‘clipping’. All clipped words in this study are informally used by the Thai people.

The last dimension is the appropriateness of slang, colloquial, swearing, and abuses. In this study, only taboo and curses are related. From the category of lexical borrowing, the items ‘huakuai’ and ‘Dawson’ are the very sexual taboos in Thai. Under loan translation, a Thai curse ‘animal’ is translated into English.

Furthermore, the statement “existence of ‘non-standard forms’ of LFEs in World Englishes faces only trivial variation in lexis” is proven or made evident in this study. It appears that all categories contain non-standard English lexis but some display unimportant lexical variation that should not confuse non-Thai readers. Some considered categories are given as follows: (i) reduplicating lexical borrowing shows
contextual meaning of a certain Thai loan; (ii) loan translation of word-for-word
conveys denotation of Thai items; (iii) coinages of English trademarks exhibit unique
and well-known names in a particular society; (iv) reduplication of English items with
different purposes is more understandable than that of Thai items; and (v) acronyms
seem to surprise or confuse non-Thai readers as the meanings of English abbreviations
are shifted in relation to the Thai context but their full words provided in contextual
messages are very helpful.

Overall, the notion of Thai English words is likely to emerge because the
findings of all lexical creativity categories attest to the concepts of World Englishes
vocabulary by Kachru (1983b; 1986; 1987; 1995), Schneider (2007), and Strevens
(1980;1982). This can lead to a clearer existence of a Thai variety of English.

8.2.2 Indicative Features of Thai English Discourse Patterns

The findings of discourse creativity in the fiction bring particular indicators of
Thai English discourse patterns in accordance with Kachru’s and Strevens’s concepts.

(1) Nativisation of Thai English Discourse Patterns

Only the two categories, nativisation of context and of rhetorical strategies in
Kachru’s (1986; 1987) studies, mainly imply nativisation of Thai English discourse.

(1.1) Contextual nativisation

The findings of this category are plentiful and colourful as the writers
presuppose literary, monarchical, religious, historical, and political contexts of
Thailand in creating themes, scenes, and characters in their English fiction. Firstly, four Thai classical literatures are grounded – the King Vessandara, the Ramakien, Manora, and the Gold Goby Fish. Although the film ‘The King and I’ is based on the novel ‘Anna and the King of Siam’ written by a non-Thai, its theme is an interface between Thailand and westernisation. Secondly, the kingship of three periods of Thailand is tied to main stories and events in the fiction – King Nerasuan and the cockfighting sport, King Taksin of the Thonburi period and his Chinese blood, and the four kings of the Bangkok periods and the locations of their grand palaces. Finally, religious beliefs of the Thai and foreign characters are presupposed in a new context. This is seen in a link between a Hindu ritual on the Supreme God ‘Shiva’ and the teaching of Buddhism, the creation of Phra Indra and Apsara, the god and angel in Hindu myth in the fantasy scene of afterlife, and the invention of an erotic version of Christian God in comparison with Hindu-Buddhist gods.

Moreover, historical events affected by World War II in Thailand are retold in different themes. Firstly, the 1945 Chinese racial massacre in Bangkok is recreated as a Chinese Thai character’s mind conflict. Secondly, a Chinese soldier in the war known as a serpent in the human incarnation who migrated to Thailand with the controversial case is rewritten in a new context with the basis of a real situation. Thirdly, Thai and Japanese beliefs in banana as a fruit of heaven are related to the Thai and Japanese characters’ birth during the war. Lastly, the very political events on the coup dictatorship of Thailand such as the government’s threatening powers toward key activists, the bloody October 1973 and 1976, and the Black May 1992 are vividly presupposed as situations relevant to the protagonists.
(1.2) Rhetorical nativisation

Five streams of rhetorical nativisation are apparent in this study. More Thai similes than metaphors are nativised in English. Both are based on Thai life, tradition, beliefs, legends, and values. With regard to rhetorical devices for personalising speech interaction, two aspects of expressions are transferred. Firstly, the godly speech patterns in three religious views are articulated via human interaction. The Christian expressions relative to God are “God’s trying to tell us something”, “It’s bargain you’ve made with your god”, “Your god would surely understand”, and “He’s a hard god...”; utterance for the Brahmin god is “his way of telling me that my special powers were not meant to benefit myself,...” In addition, Christian expressions towards a Buddhist are “In spite of everything God loves you anyway. What? Yes, even if you’re a Buddhist...” Another is a connection of past-present-future speech patterns. All expressions are taken from Buddhist beliefs, especially in connection with the force of karma – “You have been cursed by the mother birds, and thus you will always be homeless...” and “Inthira, Inthira, follow me and pay for your sins”. Only one aspect belongs to ‘death’ in the Buddhist way – “on behalf of Grandfather, literally to ask the King to grant him to die. If the King does not grant the permission, would Grandpa then come alive again?” Some of these sentences are used in Thais’ everyday life, but some are recreated for a religious function in literary texts. Furthermore, several proverbs, idioms, and old sayings in Thai are transcreated in English. In terms of animals and Thai life, they are “snake snake fish fish”, “a person who betrays her (his) family is beyond forgiveness, lower than dog, for even dog has loyalty”, “Good for your karma. Buy bird, set bird free, shorten your suffering in your next life”, “If you see a snake and an Indian, kill the babu”, “a black cat leaps out of a corpse in a coffin’ and “the land of Rice-in-the Fields-and-Fish-in-the-Canals. Have you eaten rice and fish yet?” The
head has also got a meaning for Thais, so the transcreated patterns are “making a
deal over my head with you. Not over my head”, and “You mustn’t touch a Siamese
head.” Others are based on particular organs – “you cannot clap with one hand”,
“money can make some greed men blind”, and “lick one’s foot”. The remaining
items belong to ‘birth and spirit’, ‘karma’, ‘luck and stars’, ‘uncertainty of human
beings’, and ‘enemy’. Everything is currently used in the Thai society. In the light of
culturally dependent speech styles, a naïve tall-tale style in narrative is found in the
use of earthly folk style via a communication between the seer and the spirit as in the
following sentences of narrative: “Tatip Henkai sat upright, closing his eyes to
channel an inner sight in the search... When the movement of his lips ceased, the
seer lapsed into a trance; his body shook and swayed...” In line with syntactic
devices, rhetorical questions are used while the folktale is being told such as “Aren’t
you girls bored of that story yet?”, “Do you know what made her extraordinary?”
and “So, where was I...?” These sentences are indicative of the audience’s attention.
In addition, a typical sentence used in Thai tales is translated here – ‘a long time
ago’. The new category, namely ‘translation of other figures of speech in the Thai
culture’ is adapted from Kachru’s (1992c: 239) work. The main findings are that
many kinds of Thai symbols are translated in literary discourses. Sexual symbols are
“A black mole on the scrotum brought death to wives” and “heaven of orgasm and a
prostitute as a teacher of sex”. National symbols appear in the requisite tricolour of
flag and in elephants. The Thai people’s feature is described with the symbol of ‘the
flattest nose’. Moreover, symbols of futility and prosperity occur in certain fruits and
sweets used in Thai marriage proposal. Aside from these, Thai official photograph is
constructed with a symbolic discourse - “look straight ahead, no hat,...” Overall, the
rhetorical nativisation in the fiction applies various aspects of Thai socio-cultural
patterns to display the Thai English writers’ literary and linguistic creativity.
Thai Cultural Loading of English Language

The findings of contextual, rhetorical, and mantra nativisation are reinterpreted with the postulation on ‘cultural presuppositions’ (Strevens, 1987b: 174-176). The following aspects represent the way English language is loaded into particular Thai cultural patterns embedded in the selected fiction. In this regard, certain extracts revised for this discussion are illustrated in Appendix K.

(2.1) Philosophy and religion

(2.1.1) Animism and theism: Animism is a belief in spirits and superstitions while theism concerns God, gods, and goddesses. Ghosts and souls are strongly rooted in the Thai society. In example 8, spirits or allusions are contrary to Buddhism but they are still recognised by many Buddhist Thais. Likewise, in example 41 the soul is spared for saving a family member’s life. Meanwhile, theism is presupposed in scenes on Hindu gods and Christian God. In example 9, a ritual by a shaman praying for Phra Isuan (Vishnu), the Hindu Supreme god, is for looking for a lost item. For another god in example 10, an appearance of Phra Indra and his wives or angels named ‘apsaras’ is a part of a Thai character’s past life story. Example 11 is based on the adapted teaching of Christianity with regard to Buddhism-Hinduism. Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene are compared to Buddha (the Vishnu god) and Maya with the basis of temptation. These instances reflect animist and theist canons in Thai English literary discourse.

(2.1.2) The relation of man to God is obvious in speech patterns via a human being, a communicator with God. In example 25, the relation of man to God reflects on a long directed speech presupposed as God’s expressions. The speaker, Mother, seems to understand obstacles she and other refugees are facing, so such
expressions represent God’s expected intention in a human view as seen in ‘God’s trying to tell us something’ and ‘God’s probably saying’. These expressions are uttered by only one character. However, example 27 provides two speakers who are conversing with reference to different gods. The first speaker (Mali) has a relation to her god for carrying out luck – “It’s a bargain you’ve made with your god. I had tried to deal with the Four-Faced Brahma ...” This relation seems not to be strong as her thoughts toward the god are only ‘expectations’. Meanwhile, another named the Steel American seems to have a deeper relation to his god as he understands that his behaviour may not be accepted by the god - “He’s a hard god...” Only the finding of this section reflects the Thai and foreign characters’ beliefs in Brahma-Hindu and Christianity while the major data of other parts truly mirror Buddhism. Although Buddhists do not believe in God, these speech patterns of godly presupposition can be loaded into the Thai society of multi-religions.

(2.1.3) Views on life and death as well as after-life from particular examples parallel Buddhist beliefs on karma as well as cycling of death and reincarnation. Examples 4, 28, and 36 reflect the Thai writers’ views on karmic force. Only example 28 does not mirror a death perspective – merely the effect of a previous karma on one’s present life. Meanwhile, the other two are connected to ‘next or after-life’ implying after-death. These views are strongly loaded as the themes of the Thai English fiction.

(2.1.4) Ethics and morals are embedded in the characters’ right and wrong behaviour. Majority of ethical and moral elements are based on the teaching of Buddhism as found in examples 37-39 – uncertainty of life, the force of karma, and
(2.2) Concepts of nature

The notion of nature in the Thai culture refers to the power of the universe. In example 54, the Pali-Sanskritised English mantra expressions contain natural elements – loka (earth or soil), waree (water), aakasa (weather or wind), and fai (fire). The four key components moulding a human life are internal factors constructing the power of the universe. Hence, the Spirits of the Universe worshipped by the seer ‘Tatip’ represent the power of nature in Buddhism-Hinduism of the Thai culture.

(2.3) Notions of government

The selected fiction depicts the political development of Thailand on the mass movement for democratic governments. Both examples 16 and 17 provide the true dates of the revolutions and massacres in Bangkok caused by the army governments. However, the date in example 15 is presupposed. Indeed, all examples reflect the very notion of government in the Thai culture.

(2.4) Literature

Particular scenes of Thai literatures are presupposed in the selected fiction. Three instances present a distinctive artistic form of the Thai culture. Only examples 1 and 3 are derived from the original Thai classical literature whereas example 45 represents the writer’s literary imagination. Example 1 is distinctive in that the main character, King Vessandara, is a portrayal of Buddha. Example 3 stands out due to its dancing tradition. Meanwhile, the fantastic story in example 45 mirrors a typical Thai tale in which angels, gods, and the heavens are grounded.
From Strevens’s cultural presupposition, only notions of science and society’s ‘ultimate myths’ are absent in the findings. However, the remaining four sufficiently present the loading of the Thai culture in English language and literary forms.

(3) Thai Identity Construction in English Literary Discourse

The new category of nativisation ‘nativising mantra’ is an indicator for identity construction in Anglophone Asian Englishes (Kachru, 2003). Examples 54-55 of this nativisation provide the use of Pali-Sanskritised English as the mantra and chanting expressions that are not translated due to the holiness of the language. This sacred text reflects the identity construction of Thai cultural discourse of worshipping; the linguistic purity of Pali-Sanskrit mixed in Thai spoken or written texts is believed to be the fulfilment of the religious practice. A spell in Pali-Sanskrit expressed by the seer in example 54 thus presents the identity of the spirit message. Likewise, the priest’s preaching sentences in example 55 indicate the identity of the religious convention. The two examples of identity constructions are accepted in the Thai culture, so their nativisation in English should become an indicator of Thai English literary discourse.

(4) Realisation of Thought Patterns in Thai English Writing Style

The category ‘discourse styles’ is adapted from the heading ‘realisation of thought patterns’ in Kachru’s (1987: 134-136) work since the paragraph structure of the non-native English texture reflects thinking and mental processes in a local language and style of the writer. The selected Thai English writers realise that a degree of their literary styles represent their thought patterns in Thai language. Three aspects of this category directly concern this heading – a long-sentence, wordiness, and Thai writing system. For Thai writing style, a long-sentence paragraph in which many sub-clauses and phrases are connected as well as wordy texts in which words, phrases, clauses, and
sentences are repeated are considered the accepted style. In addition, example 96 displays the *Thainess* as English is written in the Thai orthographic system. These three streams depict the thought processes in Thai that are nativised in English literary texts.

(5) Multilingual Code Repertoire in Thai English Literature

The category named ‘code-mixing and code-switching’ is adapted from a linguistic area of the trimodal approach (Kachru, 1992b). Kachru proposes this concept due to the multilingual code repertoire in Indian English. This study, however, reveals that particular features of code-mixing and code-switching in Thai English fiction yield this concept. Three languages, namely Thai (central), Loatian (Northeast dialect), and Pali-Sanskrit come cross English dialogues and narratives in this study. Nevertheless, only the switching from Thai into English and English into Thai is recognised by the Thai writers. Although northeast dialects and Pali-Sanskrit are the grounding elements of Thai language, this code-mixing seems to mirror a degree of the multilingual code repertoire. In brief, the bilingual repertoire of code alteration may rather be a suitable term for code-mixing and code-switching in Thai English literature although Thailand has been known as a monolingual society.

(6) Transcultural Creativity of Thai English Literary Styles

The findings on the nativisation of context and rhetorical strategies are reinterpreted by three types of intercultural crossover (Kachru, 1995). Two types appear at the discourse level. Type 2, ‘comprehensibility’ arises in transcreation of proverbs or expressions of ‘religious and ritualistic canons’. The underlined sentences from “Many more deaths and re-births she would experience…” (ex.4), “Boon entered monkhood…just to make sure that his mother’s soul got to Heaven holding on to the hem of his yellow robe” (ex.23), and “Follow me and pay for your sins” (ex.29) are
based on Buddhist beliefs and practices. Those in examples 4 and 29 convey the cycling process of the karmic force. Meanwhile, that in example 23 symbolises an approach to ‘Heaven’. These expressions will not be comprehensible if they are interpreted in a non-Buddhist context. Type 3 ‘interpretability’ concerns adding some commentaries to translations of sacred texts like the Bible. Only example 11 is relevant though it does not fully suit the concept of the type 3. The Bible is modified, not commented, with the theme that temptation affects attaining the enlightenment. This version is distinctive in that this sacred text requires the readers’ deep interpretation on not only Christianity but also Buddhism and Hinduism since its theme centres on these three religions. Overall, transcreation of religious expressions represents a salient stylistic strategy of the transcultural creativity in Thai English literature.

(7) Localisation of Thai English Discourse Patterns

The findings from nativisation of rhetorical strategies, colloquial variety, and discourse styles are reinterpreted with Strevens’s (1980; 1982) LFEs. Firstly, a LFE inlectal range of this study emerges only in the colloquial variety named ‘Tinglish’. Different Thai characters use broken English. A range of acrolectal and mesolectal varieties of Thai English speakers partially arises but such varieties are not as outstanding as the lowest variety. Moreover, the use of Thai discourse particles, namely ‘kha/krap’ and ‘na’, in English expressions also enriches the degree of the basilectal variety. Besides, the Thai writers also exhibit politeness and mood through such particles. Secondly, a LFE from varietal range at the discourse level emerges in two aspects of registers – rhetoric and phonology. Many Thai items of similes, metaphors, symbolism and irony that are of literary registers are transcreated to serve as the localisation of rhetoric in English. Only the sub-category ‘indirectness’ is not directly interpreted with any concepts. As an additional paradigm, it is discussed with earlier
studies. Here, indirectness rhetorical strategy in Thai culture and literature relates to the senses of politeness and an avoidance of being straightforward. However, only example 43 suits the former while the majority (examples 41-42, 44, and M-O in Appendix I) belongs to the latter. In the former, Kachru’s (1995) transcultural creativity and Strevens’s (1980;1982) localised forms of English may support the notion of politeness on forms of apology and greetings in dialogues. Nonetheless, politeness as indirectness here focuses more on written discourse than spoken discourse, so it is not discussed by such two paradigms. In fact, indirectness should also reflect nativisation as it falls under the rhetorical nativisation.

In short, those seven indicators are evident that Thai English literary discourses exist.

8.3 Indicative Features of Thai English: Discussion via Studies on Linguistic Creativity and Thai English

Features of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English are interpreted with the earlier studies (See Chapter 4). Hence, this heading merely displays a summary of such discussion and interpretation. Note that other New Englishes are referred to Asian, African, and Caribbean contexts – Indian, Singaporean, Malaysian, Philippine, Nigerian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani, Hong Kong, China, Egyptian, Nigerian, Kenyan, Zimbabwean, Ghanaian, South African, and Trinbagonian Englishes. Certain examples of such Englishes in comparison are not detailed here because they are displayed through the end of a description of the findings in each category of lexical and discourse creativity (See Chapters 6-7).
8.3.1 Indicative Features of Thai English Lexis

There appears to be three indicators of Thai English lexicon when the findings are determined with related studies – similarities to other New Englishes, uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes, and uniqueness of Thai Englishes. Each is summarised with certain categories of words that are in comparison.

(1) Similarities to other New Englishes

Evidently, the following ten categories share common features with other varieties of English. Each is given below.

(1.1) Lexical borrowing: Three functional groups are similar to other Englishes as follows: (i) foods: pad thai, tonyip, tonyod, kanomchan, and kanom morkang; (ii) a religious rite – saisin; (iii) a place – moobaan; and (iii) a tree – tonyang;

(1.2) Modes of address and references: Six hierarchical groups are as follows: (i) a Buddhist priest – ‘luangpoh’; (ii) commoners – ‘taan’ and ‘phuan’; (iii) kinship – Taanpor, khun por, khun pii; (iv) occupation: ‘puyaibaan’ and ‘khamnan’; (v) social class - ‘khunying’; and (vi) ethnicity - ‘thaokae’;

(1.3) Loan translation: Three aspects are given as follows: (i) word-for-word translation – heart-stopped building; (ii) fixed collocations of Buddhist and Hindu beliefs – the supernatural and spirits of dark things, soul-beckoning mantra, sacred circle, and soul-binding rite and (iii) curses – animal;

(1.4) Coinages: Four types are described as follows: (i) English trademarks – Coke; (ii) new prefixes added – un-pawn and un-performing loans; (iii) new suffixes added
– dubbers, farangy and karmically; and (iv) misspelling – precint, ensorement, and Monopolated;

(1.5) Semantic shifts: There is only one English word in which meaning is shifted in accordance with the Thai culture and similar to a semantic shift of other Englishes – son (a son of a community);

(1.6) Hybridisation: Some hybrids share morphological-grammatical features with other Englishes – big-built farangs, the sanuke-seeking bankers, and two-saleung top”;

(1.7) Reduplication: Words reduplicated in Thai, Chinese, and English are: ‘sabai, sabai’, ‘Jek, Jek’, ‘muoi, moui’, ‘okay, okay’, ‘very, very, very un-American’, and ‘Great-Great-Great-Uncle Noi’;

(1.8) Acronyms: ‘TC’ (Thai name), ‘CCD’ and NPF’ (political aspects) and ‘SPADC’ and ‘BCFI’ (economic contexts);

(1.9) Clipping: ‘com’ (back-clipping) and ‘Panom’ (fore-clipping); and

(1.10) Ellipsis: ‘namo dasa’ (omitted back constituent).

(2) Uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes

The following words are unusual as they are parallel to other Southeast Asian Englishes. Only two categories are found – (i) loan translation: water-taxi, water-bus,
shophouse, vote-selling, Four-Faced Brahmin Shire, lottery-dreamer, and powerful vote buyer; and (ii) modes of addressing and referencing: *thaokae*.

(3) Uniqueness of Thai English

Many lexical items are unique because they are considered as ‘distinctive words’ in former studies in Thai English. In other words, the uniqueness in this context refers to particular outstanding Thai words which have usually appeared in many other texts in English in Thailand because of their semantic specificity towards the Thai culture. Five of ten categories are evident as follows: (i) lexical borrowing: *wai, klong, tuk-tuk, kwan, farang, tonyang, panung*; and *pathung*; (ii) loan translation: sticky rice, hill tribe, and minor wife; (iii) modes of referencing and addressing: *pra, pí, khun, krue, ajarn, khunying*, and *nong*; (iv) hybridisation: *yang tree, bo tree, takraw ball*, and *farang couple*; and (v) reduplication: certain words disappear in any studies but mirror the *Thainess* of English, namely an imitation of a natural sound - ‘*peck, peck, peck, peck*’ and ‘*tok, tok, tok, tok*’- representing chicken’s sounds in a Thai perception.

8.3.2 Indicative Features of Thai English Discourse

Like lexis, indicators of Thai English literary discourses appear in similarities to other New Englishes as well as the uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes and Thai English.

(1) Similarity to other New Englishes

Three categories of the discourse creativity features in the fiction share common features with other Englishes.
(1.1) **Nativisation of context**: Only one example is found in a Thai version of the Indian Ramayana, namely ‘Ramakien’, used as the setting in the story ‘Chui Chai’;

(1.2) **Nativisation of rhetorical strategies**: Six groups similar to other Englishes are described. Firstly, the use of animals in native similes in Thai English discourses is obvious in the following sentences: “Don’t be like a moth attracted to fire”, “as dumb as buffalo”, and “treat people as if they are pigs and dogs”. Secondly, the godly speech patterns are marked when they are compared to other Englishes - “God’s trying to tell us something”, and “your god would surely understand”. Thirdly, ‘naïve tall-tale style’ in narrative stands out due to the use of ‘superstitions’. Fifthly, the expression ‘Terrible Trio’ is highlighted as an indirect rhetorical strategy for a Thai political issue. Lastly, the sentences of syntactic devices for a Thai tale “Nobody gets bored of a good story” and “Do you know what made her extraordinary?” prove their shared characteristics with the previous study;

(1.3) **Code-mixing and code-switching**: Two types of strategies in Thai English code-mixing and code-switching are taken for comparison. First, the remarkable use of translation in code-mixing and switching appears in the subsequent examples - “…This is ‘Gor’ or ‘Gor Gai’ – chicken, he emphasised the last word and ordered Chan Prathom Nung…” and “You’re Siamese like us… Mueng! Aihia! Aimakaichart! (You bastard! A disgusting animal!)”. Another is non-translation, an example in which Thai (Pali-Sanskrit) is mixed without definition - “By Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha!” I cried. “Quick, Mary, help me…”

(1.4) **Discourse styles**: A long-sentence, wordiness of clauses and phrases, and the Thai orthographic convention in this study fit those of other New Englishes.
(2) Uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes

Only the category ‘colloquial variety of English’ yields that of Singapore and Malaysian English. This is seen in two kinds of this variety (i) the lack of ‘copula-be’ in a present simple sentence and the use of a universal interjection “Ha Ha Ha” in Tinglish expressions; and (ii) the use of a Thai particle ‘na’ for the sense of ‘indeed’.

(3) Uniqueness of Thai English

Four aspects of instances in Thai English discourse are regarded as ‘uniqueness’ because they are regarded as ‘identical discourse patterns’ in many previous studies on Thai English.

(3.1) Nativisation of rhetorical strategies: Transcreated local idioms, proverbs, old sayings, and symbols in English similar to the former studies in Thai English literary discourse are “Good for your karma. Buy bird, set bird free, shorten your suffering in your next life”, “Karma has caught up with him so soon”, “making a deal over my head...” and “…Red of the nation, white for religion, and blue for the monarchy”;

(3.2) Nativisation of context, rhetorical, and mantra strategies: Two features of Thai local identity of English suggested by Smith (1988: 3-5) are obvious in the three discourse nativisations in this study. Firstly, a proper priority for spiritual values according to Thais’ religious beliefs’ is evident in “Thailand is a country with more ghosts than people” (ex.8) and “She was reborn as majestic bo tree...” (ex.4). Moreover, particular myths of the religions like Christianity and Hinduism are linked to Buddhism (ex.11). Secondly, interdependence between human and the divine is presented via some speech patterns – “It’s a bargain you’ve made with your god... I
had tried to deal with the Four Faced Brahma…” (ex.27). Besides, a relation between people and nature can be visualised in the nativisation of mantra (ex.54) in which the seer expresses mantra words in Pali-Sanskrit to worship the spirits of the universe. This expression implies the importance of four natural elements of the world and human being – soil, water, wind, and fire;

(3.3) Colloquial variety of English: The notion of Tinglish is strongly supported by several studies. Example 71 attested to what Martyn (2012) found as a unique Tinglish production of the lateral sound. Further, example 72 meets the views of Sawangaroros and Sanguanruang (1984) and of Rattanapruek (1984) that an understandable degree of communication when Thais speaking English to foreigners is more important than grammatical correctness. Furthermore, Tinglish in a tourist sign (ex.74) yields Horey’s view (2006) that grammar errors representing Thai English are found in tourist-related advertisements in the English magazine ‘Angel City – Thailand’. Indeed, this example conveys an understandable level of English communicated to foreign tourists, but it still senses Tinglish. Likewise, Thai English is regarded as Tinglish by 19 of 20 Thai English writers who view that their writing is more Standard English than Thai English or broken English (Buripakdi, 2008). Another instance of Tinglish “Jack tell me you cry...” (ex.75) parallels an unedited English sentence by Thai news writer - “He said the panel will pass on its report to the UN” (Todd, 2004). The two Tinglish expressions display misuse of tenses in reported speeches. Lastly, the use of a Thai particle ‘na’ is proved that it is replicated by the former study; and

(3.4) Discourse styles: The use of long sentences, wordiness and Thai writing convention in this study can be linked to the two former studies in Thai English.
Chutisilp (1984) states that long sentences and wordiness are the distinctive discourse styles in Thai English writings. Likewise, Pingkarawat (2002) found that ‘repetition in lexical, grammatical and conjunctive ties’ is an outstanding feature in a higher proportion by Thai English documentary writers of the newspaper *Bangkok Post* than American writers of *Herald Tribune*. Thus, repetition in words, clauses, and sentences in this study should be considered a unique style of Thai English.

All six angles of the discourse creativity provide evidence that they are supported by other studies in literary discourse of Thai English and other Englishes.

### 8.4 An Existence of a Thai Variety of English

From the above discussion, the notion of Thai English is obvious. Indicators with categories of Thai English lexis and discourse are summed up as follows:

1. *Persisting features of the English development* contain four lexical and two discourse (sub)categories – lexical borrowing, hybridisation, loan translation, coinages, code-mixing and switching, as well as Tinglish;
2. *Contextualisation* embodies three lexical processes, namely lexical borrowing, loan translation, and modes of address and reference;
3. *Innovation* contains four lexical aspects: lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan translation, and hybridisation;
4. *Nativisation* covers lexical and discourse creativity subsequently – (i) lexical borrowing, hybridisation, coinages, semantic shifts; and (ii) context, rhetorical strategies, and mantra;
(5) **Transcultural creativity** also includes (sub)categorieds of creativity in both lexis
and discourse: (i) loan translation and ellipsis; and (ii) religious context as well
as transcreation of proverbs, idioms, and old sayings in Buddhism;

(6) **Localisation** carries (sub)categorieds of two levels of linguistic creativity – (i)
lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan translation, semantics,
hybridisation, reduplication, acronyms, and clipping; and (ii) indirectness,
Tinglish and Thai discourse particles;

(7) **Thai cultural loading of English language** consists of only discourse creativity
– context, rhetorical strategies, and mantra;

(8) **Thai identity construction of English literary discourse** confines itself to
discourse creativity, especially ‘mantra’;

(9) **Realisation of thought patterns in Thai writing style** is limited to only discourse
styles – a long-sentence, wordiness, and Thai writing system;

(10) **Multilingual code repertoire in literary and cultural contact** is obvious at
only the discourse level, namely code-mixing and code-switching;

(11) **Structural similarities to New Englishes** cover lexical and discourse
creativity – (i) lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan
translation, coinages, semantic shifts, hybridisation, and reduplication,
acronyms, clipping, and ellipsis; and (ii) context, rhetorical strategies, code-
mixing and switching, the colloquial variety of English, and discourse styles;

(12) **Structural uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes** is found in the two
linguistic levels: (i) lexicon (loan translation and modes of address and
reference); and (ii) discourse (the colloquial variety of English); and

(13) **Structural uniqueness of Thai English** includes lexical and discourse
creativity – (i) lexical borrowing, modes of address and reference, loan
translation, hybridisation, and reduplication; and (ii) context, rhetorical strategies, mantra, the colloquial variety of English, and discourse styles.

The 13 indicators are evident that Thai English deserves a place among other non-native varieties. However, only six indicators imply both the lexical and discourse levels of linguistic creativity. Furthermore, three indicators convey only lexical creativity whereas four are confined to discourse creativity. This seems to balance the density of all indicators for the lexical and discourse creativity. Interestingly, the Thai English writers use the lexical and discourse processes similar to other authors of New Englishes and Southeast Asian Englishes. Similarly, they also construct their own norms, namely the unique Thai English through lexicon and discourse processes. It is noted that Thai English words and discourses contribute fully to the linguistic and literary development of English in Thailand.

The 13 indicators contribute to the debate on the existence of a Thai variety of English. The created terminology ‘a developing non-native variety’ is more suitable than ‘an established non-native variety’ for this regard. Although this study proves that those indicators can yield this new variety, it requires many other factors to support a full non-native variety of English in Thailand.

Only three features that contribute towards the making of a variety according to Butler (1999a: 82) are reflected in this study – (i) certain words and phrases expressing the crucial physical and social circumstances and considered peculiarity to the variety (Chapters 6-7), (ii) a history of a variety of English as a part of the language community (Chapter 2) and (ii) a literature in which that a variety of English is a medium (a part of Chapter 5 ‘a profile of Thai English literature’). Meanwhile, the
remaining two on phonology as well as dictionary and style guides have not been investigated in this study.

In the second feature, the history of English seems to be an inadequate evidence as Thai and English have been in contact for more than 300 years but only two phases of the English development – foundation and exonormative stabilisation – are constructed.

The development of English, functions of English, and English education policy (See Chapter 2) are the key factors that hinder a full non-native variety of Thai English. This study shows that English is fast growing in literary functions due to the increasing amount of creative literatures in English since the 1990s. Meanwhile, other functions are obscure. The most crucial factor is that if the aim of English education is shifted from ‘native norms’ to ‘non-native’ ones, the significance of Thai English in Thailand would be recognised. Nevertheless, this is not yet the case in Thailand.

The three approaches are taken to determine this developing variety. English in Thailand falls under the Expanding Circle according to Kachru’s (2005) work below.

![Diagram of Three Concentric Circles of Asian Englishes](image)

**Figure 8.1: Three Concentric Circles of Asian Englishes** (Kachru, 2005: 14)
Considering Strevens’s (1982) world map of English, English in Thailand is not a strand of either any British or American English since a history of colonial language is absent. Likewise, localised forms of English here are of more international type than intranational one due to more parameters of foreign language than a second language. Likewise, Schneider’s (2007) model is designed to study English in the former colonies. The full process of a colonial language had not moulded English in Thailand. This study displays some processes of ‘the persisting features’ of English in the Thai society, but the identity of English here is still vague due to the strong values attached to Anglo-norms. Hence, all indicators of Thai English lexicon and discourse patterns reveal that they seem to yield the term ‘a developing variety’ or an expanding variety of Thai English. This seems to be contradictory. Expanding Circle varieties are norm dependent, not norm developing, thus this raises a question “how does this study dare to use the term ‘a developing variety’?” Indeed, this term is adopted from Pingkarawat (2002) who found that the linguistic distinctiveness of Thai English journalistic discourse results in an emerging identity in English by the Thai writers. This probably means that Thai English is moving towards nativisation. Nevertheless, the answer is not fully correct. In other words, Thai English has a partial position or symptom of nativisation as its norms and forms are being developed by various Thai English users. Meanwhile, a large number of Thais still have affinity towards British/American English. From this study, Thai English is surely under the Expanding Circle but its lexicon and literary discourse are still partially developing. Consequently, a compromising and convincing term for Thai English here should be a developing variety of the Expanding Circle English.
8.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines whether Thai English exists as a new variety of English. It was determined that Thai English lexicon and literary discourses are emerging. This finding supports the notion of a developing non-native variety rather than an established one due to the need for more empirical evidence.
9.0 Overview

This chapter summarises the findings and discussion on linguistic creativity in Thai English fiction and highlights the important contributions of this study.

9.1 Summary of Background and Methodological Information

This study was conducted to examine the debatable issue of Thai English as another variety from analysing Thai literatures in English. The notions of linguistic creativity, contact literature, and non-native varieties of English as recreated by Thai writers are considered the key words for rationalising the study. The study contains two aims – describing the salient features of lexical and discourse creativity in Thai English fiction as well as identifying particular indicators for a Thai variety of English.

The conceptual framework for analysing and describing linguistic creativity in Thai English fiction as well as for interpreting an existence of a Thai variety of English are adopted and adapted from the following three main approaches to World Englishes, namely the integrated approach: (i) Strevens’s localised forms of English and world map of English (1980;1982) and cultural presuppositions (1987b); (ii) Kachru’s models of non-native Englishes (1983a), contextualisation and lexical innovation (1983b); three

The selected five Thai English fiction books consist of three collections of short stories and two novels. Particular features of linguistic creativity in the books are investigated with three stages – text selection, text coding and categorising, as well as text analysis and interpretation.

9.2 Summary of Features of Linguistic Creativity in Thai English Fiction

The characteristics of lexical and discourse creativity in the fiction are summed up as follows:

9.2.1 Lexical Creativity

There appears to be ten categories of lexical creativity as guided in related studies. Lexical borrowing and hybridisation appear as the most frequent categories used by the selected writers. These two strategies also have distinctive features. Lexical borrowing is found in only two sub-categories, namely independent and reduplicating loans, but each provides a variety of terms that reflect the notion of Thainess. The lexicons found in different domains attest to their Thai socio-cultural elements such as Buddhism, food and plants. Moreover, the two sub-categories contribute to the existence of multilingualism in Thai English words because they are loanwords from Pali-Sanskrit, Chinese and Malay languages. Furthermore, lexical borrowing possesses
a feature that is not found in any other lexical categories, that is, phonological creativity through the words “patetfalang, baimakood, takai, and kiangbin” which present the reality of north-eastern Thai characters that face difficulty in pronouncing the retroflex sound and diphthongs. Significantly, the words “farang, wat, baht, satang, tuk-tuk, Krung-thep, and klong” are codified as English words with Thai origins by the latest edition of Oxford English Dictionary (2002). This is the most reliable proof of Thai English vocabulary. In the light of hybridisation, it is the most complicated category as two main systems – open and closed sets – encompass various types and examples of Thai and English hybrid formations. This category also mirrors the concept of Thainess. It appears that the word ‘farang’ shows the highest amount in all sets and types as combined with English words. In a variety of English texts in the Thai society, this word reflects its real use such as ‘pretty female farang’, ‘tall graceful farang’, ‘farang boy’, and ‘farangs’, so it is normal for Thais or foreigners in Thailand to combine this word with English items.

Reduplication and loan translation provide the similar amount of examples and both stand out. In terms of reduplication, words used for repetition are based on not only English but also Thai. The most prominent function of reduplication reflecting the Thai identity of English falls into ‘imitating natural sounds’. Particular sounds of animals, machines, and instruments in Thais’ perception are very unique. Moreover, the use of loan translation shows that the Thai English writers consider denotative and connotative meanings as well as rank-bound and rank-shift as the basis of translating Thai words into English ones. The majority of lexical items in the sub-categories, namely word-for-word translation, fixed collocation and swearing words, yield Thai ideology. Certain words are not found in other Englishes such as spirit doctor, temple-arrested, two-headed, minor wife, and dog-eating ethnic group.
Next, the category ‘modes of addressing and referencing’ proves its significance in the selected fiction. Different groups of the Thai characters have respectful titles in relation to social status and degree of formality. The foremost feature is seen in the commoner characters because several terms present four socio-cultural factors affecting Thai communication norms – classes, sexes, careers, and styles. Meanwhile, the other groups indicate only two or three factors of such norms such as religion, seniority, and styles for the monk.

Moreover, coinages and semantic shifts seem to provide an equal amount of items. For coinages, the word ‘Five Diamond Roast Chicken’ which represents a Thai product depicts its Thai identity rather than other words as it is not found in other Englishes. Likewise, the word ‘farangy’ stands out because the most popular Thai English word has the English suffix attached. Meanwhile, other words convey a slight degree of Thainess. With regard to semantic shifts, the word ‘eat’ has the most striking feature. The writer of the book ‘SDC’ is different from other writers because he can create this word into four forms with two new senses – eat (to have a sexual activity), eaten (corrupted), eating (corrupting), and uneaten (uncorrupted).

In addition, acronyms, clipping, and ellipsis are the strategies with subsequent amounts of lexical items. These strategies are similar in that they are based on Thai and English morphological forms but only have Thai semantic elements. It is surprising that the majority of the acronyms fall under the book ‘SDC’ while only one item is found in the book ‘STS’. The most outstanding acronyms are the words ‘TC’ (Taninsak Chainarongwan) and ‘P (Primary) since both are mirrored in Thainess. Though the latter appears in an English letter, it is equal to a Thai letter (Po). For clipping, back segments
of the lexical items appears in the higher number than those of fore-segments. It was also found that the majority of such items are Thai words. Likewise, ellipsis presents its Thai locality as a Pali-Sanskrit mantra word and a translation version of the very long full name of Thailand’s capital are highlighted. All these three categories show that the Thai English writers point out the Englishisation process of Thai words.

9.2.2 Discourse Creativity

Discourse creativity with six sub-categories emerges in parallel with the related studies. Nativisation of rhetorical strategies is the main emphasis of stylistic creativity due to six types and various examples. The outstanding feature of this nativisation significantly appears in the Thai culture and animals in the large numbers of local similes, metaphors, proverbs, idioms, symbols, and old sayings translated and transcreated in English. Moreover, the concept of religion in the Thai society is taken as the main ingredient to be transferred for ‘personalising’ speech interaction with using godly speech patterns in Christianity, Brahma and Buddhism, and the notions of karma, spirits and death as the connectors in which past, present, and future events are tied to the protagonists. Furthermore, the strategy named culturally dependent speech styles also stands out as it reflects Thainess. The naïve-tall tale style in a mythical scene of a traditional folklore in which the village seer communicated with a spirit in order to foresee one’s karmic cycle is not found in other literatures of Asian Englishes. In this regard, the prominence of Thai folklore in English literary styles is obvious in the strategy, namely syntactic devices. The chosen writer wisely applies rhetorical questions to entertain audiences when telling a folk story. Besides, the notion of indirectness rhetorical strategy serves the Thai ways of thinking, speaking, and writing in English; Thais indirectly avoid direct discussions regarding death, political and authority issues, and sexuality.
Nativisation of context reveals that the Thai writers presuppose plots, characters, and settings with five socio-cultural contexts of Thailand in their English fiction – literature, religions, monarchy, history, and politics. All reflect the uniqueness of Thai literature in English. However, only two examples provide the most outstanding feature as the creation of the stories requires layers of presupposition with regard to Thai literary discourse. Both come from the book, DFS. The first is the presupposition of an erotic version of teaching Christianity in comparison with Hindu-Buddhist gods through an interaction between the Thai and foreign characters. This requires the writer’s understanding towards the relation of three religions in the light of sexual matters and his ability in presupposing the two characters to be the Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene as well as Vishnu (Buddha) and Mahamaya. Another is the creation of the story of Si Ui, a serpent in the human incarnation as a lively storytelling by an American character who lived in Thailand. This requires the writer’s awareness of historical background of the protagonist ‘Si Ui’ and all events and victims regarding his life as a murder in Thailand. This leads to the presupposition of a teller who experienced the real situations via the flashback strategy.

Nativisation of mantra provides a few examples that display the philosophical and spiritual identity constructed in Thai English fiction because it is a new strategy in Asian Englishes literature. Example 54 on the use of non-translation mantra in Pali-Sanskritised English is distinctive in that it portrays the Thai English writer’s creativity in the textual hybridity between Buddhism and Hinduism for a thematic and narrative strategy.

In terms of code-mixing and code-switching, the use of three languages – Thai, Laontian, and Pali-Sanskrit - proves that Thai English literary discourses yield the
notion of multilingual code repertoire. Furthermore, both processes share a common feature of the use of translation and non-translation as the main strategy. The foremost feature appears in the creation of both code-mixing and code-mixing in the same dialogue through the Thai and foreign characters. This indicates the writer’s emphasis of the notion of ‘authenticity’ in Thai English speech patterns.

The colloquial variety of English indicates that the Thai people need to use Tinglish for communication. This sub-variety of Thai English the fiction mainly involves mispronunciation and ungrammatical expressions. The most unusual instance of Tinglish is a conversation between Taninsak Chainarongwan and Elizabeth in the book ‘SDC’ as it manifests a range between basilectal and mesolectal varieties. Moreover, the colloquial variety is obvious in the use of Thai discourse particles – na, kha, and krap - in English dialogues and narratives. All three particles represent Thai identity in English.

Discourse styles show that the writers produce long sentences as well as redundant phrases, clauses, and sentences due to an elegant Thai English style. The most remarkable style in Thai English is the presentation of English expressions in the Thai orthographic system because it is a way of disseminating Thainess in English texts.

9.3 Summary of Indicators for a Thai Variety of English

There appears to be 13 indicative features of Thai English lexis and literary discourse as follows: (i) persisting features of English development; (ii) contextualisation; (iii) innovation; (iv) nativisation (v) transcultural creativity (vi) localisation; (vii) Thai cultural loading of English language; (viii) Thai identity construction of English literary discourse; (ix) realisation of thought patterns in Thai
writing style; (x) multilingual code repertoire in English literary and Thai cultural contact; (xi) structural similarities to Asian, African, and Caribbean Englishes; (xii) structural uniqueness of Southeast Asian Englishes; and (xiii) structural uniqueness of Thai English. These indicators are evidence that Thai English exists as a variety in the Expanding Circle since all categories of lexical and discourse creativity processed in the fiction are very similar to those used in other New Englishes literatures in the Outer Circle. This assertion is true as these linguistic devices appear in a similar genre. The selected Thai English writers and other writers of Englishes are similar in that they use English as a first language and employ such devices to develop the characterisation and theme of their fiction in order to manifest their national identity in English. Moreover, several examples from such categories reflect their real use of English by the Thai people for verbal and written communication within the Thai context. Further, all sub-categories of creativity fit the concepts of World Englishes words and discourse patterns framed in the three approaches. Nevertheless, the term ‘developing non-native variety’ seems to be more appropriate for Thai English than the established non-native variety.

9.4 Implications

Theoretical and applied implications of this study can be gleaned. Many aspects of the research are considered a novelty in World Englishes, especially with regard to discourse creativity. Nativisation of mantra is adapted as a paradigm to few studies as it yields only a certain variety like Indian English in which sacred texts of the Hindu culture are structured in Sanskritised English. Surprisingly, the Thai English novel Shadowed Country provides scenes in which mantra is uttered in Pali-Sanskrit - a convention of a ritual in the north-eastern Thai region and Thai monks’ chanting words. The mantra expressions in the two scenes are translated in English by the researcher himself so as to interpret messages of spiritual and philosophical identities constructed
in English patterns to manifest the discourse and cultural hybridity between Thai-English and Pali-Sanskrit as well as Buddhism-Hinduism in this fiction. It could be said that this study pioneered the examination of this concept from Thai English literature.

Nativisation of rhetorical strategies also embodies some new aspects of the findings due to unavailability of studies regarding the Expanding Circle English. The sub-category named translation of other figures of speech in the Thai culture carries a simple set of data of literary figures – symbolism and irony - but uniquely portrays Thai English as one of the many aspects where Thai life is grounded on. The sub-category titled naïve-tall tale style or earthy folk style usually appears in African English literature. However, studies on this aspect of Asian English literature are not found in the present study. The selected Thai English fiction thus represents this new stylistic device in Southeast Asian English writings.

Other concepts from the integrated approach taken to interpret the findings also result in a novel literary phenomenon of World Englishes. Kachru’s (1992b; 1995) and Strevens’s (1987b) paradigms are not directly raised as the main categories of discourse creativity since they cover a broad view ranging from lexical to discourse creativity. Hence, they are utilised to identify indicators for Thai English. Eventually, the three concepts’ main features that include sub-categories and criteria representing linguistic creativity in World Englishes literature yield the findings in the Thai English fiction. The findings of the categories, namely nativisation of contexts, nativisation of rhetorical strategies, nativisation of mantra, seem to meet the validity and reliability of a qualitative study as they are mainly interpreted using Kachru’s (1986;1987; and 2003) paradigms (See Chapter 7). Then, they are reinterpreted with Strevens’s (1987b) study, as found in an in-depth description (See Chapter 8). The same findings with the two
frameworks appear in similar direction of the interpretation, so the three angles of nativisation and the cultural presuppositions could be regarded as the most appropriate framework for analysing new literatures in English.

Schneider’s approach (2007) has been adapted by a number of researchers to study new varieties of English, especially in postcolonial countries. Surprisingly, his ‘Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English’ is applied to describe the development of English in Thailand, a non-colonial country. This adaptation challenges the reliability and validity of the model. However, this study utilises particular concepts and terms with respect to “contact between English and indigenous languages in Thailand”. The term ‘settler strand’ (the coloniser) is adapted as “trading representatives of the British East India Company and of the British Borneo Company” and ‘British/American residents’. The latter includes various respective persons such as traders, royal tutors, officers, supervisors, soldiers, and missionaries, etc. Meanwhile, the term ‘indigenous people strand’ (the colonised) appears as local people, migrants and staff members and labourers of the British East India Company and of the British Borneo Company. In the meantime, the four criteria for describing phases – socio-political background, identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects – are emphasised. Although the two phases of English in Thailand are not a full reflection of an implanted English of a colony, they mirror a range of British/American English influence and recognition in sociolinguistic dimensions which occur because of the relationship between Thailand and Britain-America and their neighbours (the British Malaya and British Burma). This proves that this model can be valid for a non-postcolonial society. Further, Schneider’s lexical aspects of nativisation have been adopted in a few studies on new literatures in English. The present study thus becomes the pioneer for
conceptualising such aspects to interpret nativisation in Thai English lexicon from literary texts.

The concept of nativisation in Kachru’s and Schneider’s approaches seems to yield an interpretation of the findings as they are another indicator for a Thai variety of English in Thai English fiction. However, this concept as a phase of the English development has not met the actual stage III of English in Thailand yet. This seems to be vague but it is also a novelty. The remaining of English at the second phase indicates that the notion of Thai English does not possess its full non-native variety and did not merit acceptance by the Thai population. Thus, this study cannot claim that the Thai people have already nativised English language with their culture and ideology. Indeed, a description of the two phases given at the beginning of this study does not employ the findings in Thai English fiction but is later used as the basis for investigating the implication for a particular indicator for Thai English (See Chapter 8), in relation to whether features and phenomena of English in Thailand in different periods of time are found in a set of linguistic data in the selected Thai English literature. Evidently, all features in the two phases are determined as an indicator ‘persisting features of the English development’. Hence, the indicator namely nativisation from the findings is autonomous but based on the integrated approach. It involves Schneider’s phase that Thai English is a developing its norm by modelling the native variety. Nevertheless, the findings in Thai English fiction are evident that they fit such concept in the framework, not the phase. Hence, a compromise for this is that Thai English is a developing non-native variety, not the full nativisation.

Strevens’s (1987b) paradigm seems to approach literary and non-literary texts of non-native Englishes. Moreover, the findings are evident that his concepts of
localisation of English and cultural loading of English language can be indicators for
Thai English lexicon, grammar, and literary discourses. Hence, this old approach is still
worthwhile and considered a contemporary paradigm to examine a very new variety of
English like Thai English.

Apart from those, boundaries between the two levels of linguistic creativity
may be overlapping. Differences in Thai idiomatic expressions between lexis and
discourse seem not to be clear-cut. Indeed, this study has a focal point for this
differentiation. Lexically, the sub-category namely fixed collocation carries only words
and phrases (e.g. noun phrases) of idiomatic expressions of the Thai culture in which
connotative meanings are translated in English. Stylistically, the examples under the
category titled nativisation of rhetorical strategies, especially regarding translation of
similes and metaphors as well as translation of other figures of speech in the Thai
culture – probably share common features with fixed collocations due to their
connotation of the Thai culture. However, these three rhetorical perspectives embody
only figures of speech in sentences that affect their meanings at the textual level in
dialogues and narratives, not single sentences.

Additionally, the word ‘tuk-tuks’ displays an overlapping boundary between
reduplication and hybridisation. However, this word is grouped into the latter sub-
category. If this item appears as a singular form, tuk-tuk, it will also fall into lexical
borrowing. This word must be naturally reduplicated and hyphenated in English; only
the item ‘tuk’ cannot stand individually as it does not mean ‘a small motor-tricycle’ but
‘a typical Thai nickname’. Therefore, its reduplicated form cannot be shortened. For the
reduplicating sub-category, this study emphasises functions and morphological
structures of repeated Thai and English words. Moreover, such words can semantically
stand in their single form. In this way, items of lexical reduplication may share a common feature with wordiness under the sub-category named discourse styles. Indeed, the latter items carry redundancy of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences that make the text too long; some wordy patterns are not necessary but they reflect Thai literary style and thought patterns. However, the lexical reduplicating displays repetition of parts of words in sudden utterances, not the whole texts.

9.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Certain recommendations for further research are provided as follows:

(1) The findings can contribute towards comparative studies on World Englishes;

(2) This study uses only textual analysis in describing and discussing the linguistic and literary features of Thai English, so further studies should also employ other methods like interviewing the writers and distributing questionnaires to Thai students and instructors in the World Englishes course;

(3) All concepts in the integrated approach can also be utilised for studying other English fiction by Thai writers or by those in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries to further support this study or to show gaps;

(4) Pragmatic and phonological creativity in spoken discourse can be carried out in other studies on Thai English literature; and

(5) The profile of Thai English literature can be disseminated to many Thai and other scholars of English studies. It can later be enlarged into an ‘Anthology of Thai English literature’ that will contribute towards English literary studies in Thailand and Asia. Further studies on this new literature could also be conducted with other approaches to World Englishes literature - “Cultural Studies and Discursive Constructions of World Englishes” (Dissanayake, 2009) and “World Englishes and Gender Identities” (Valentine, 2009).


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APPENDIX A: DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. **Englishes** provide several similar terms which are defined as follows:

   A. **Varieties of English**: When English from the parent variety penetrated other non-native English countries, the term ‘Varieties of English’ emerged. English has become so widespread that the varieties are sufficient enough to be institutionalised and regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to more native-like English. Indeed, varieties of English has six different types, each of which can have general sub-varieties: regional or ‘dialects’, educational and social standing or ‘sociolects’, subject matter or ‘registers’, medium or ‘mode of discourse’, attitude or ‘style’, and interference or “second language varieties, pidgins, and creoles” (Quirk et al., 1972: 13, as cited in Doshi and En-Huey, 2006: 38). Varieties of English are termed as non-native varieties rather than native ones. Such varieties have their sub-varieties and linguistic forms that are different from native English.

   B. **World Englishes**: This term results from the notion of ‘Englishes’ that symbolises “variation in form and function, use in linguistically and culturally distinct contexts, and a range of variety in literary creativity” (Kachru, 2006: 69). The term focuses on the existence of English as a world language among users with different mother tongues and local cultures. The traditional concept of English in the world used in describing the language diffusion does not apply to English in the same way as it does to other languages of wider communication. Hence, ‘Englishes’ becomes ‘World Englishes’ when languages of the world have varying degrees of ‘pluricentricity’ that refers to multilingual identities, multiplicity of norms, and distinct sociolinguistic histories. The pluricentricity of English, the shift of the
linguistic centre of English from the native norm to the non-native norms, concerns the profile of three concentric circles of English around the world (Kachru, 2006: 70-71). This enduring term refers to the diversification of English as a result of its contact with different indigenous languages and cultures. It is shown in the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. However, this term centres on the extent to which forms and functions of non-native Englishes differ from native-English after the colonial period.

**C. New Englishes:** Two relevant terms ‘new Englishes’ and ‘New Englishes’ are different. The ‘new Englishes’, a result of the old variety ‘British English’, refers to American, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Englishes. Meanwhile, the ‘New Englishes’ belongs to countries where English becomes a second language or a communicative tool for multilingual users such as Singaporean English and Nigerian English (Jenkins, 2003: 22). The term ‘New Englishes’ covers a large amount of varieties in which English is an instructional medium, has developed in a non-native English speaking community, appears in many functional uses, and becomes ‘localised’ via linguistic nativisation (Platt et al., 1984: 2-3, as cited in Jenkins: 22-23). This study thus uses the term ‘New Englishes’ rather than ‘new Englishes’.

**D. Postcolonial English (PE):** This notion refers to products of varieties of English under a specific evolutionary processes tied directly to their colonial and postcolonial history. PE focuses on the developmental phenomenon which features linguistic forms with the colonial and early phases of the postcolonial histories until the maturation and separation of these dialects as newly recognised and self-contained varieties (Schneider, 2007: 3). This term is only confined to English in the Outer
Circle where a variety develops via various stages, from an imperial language to a regional language.

E. **English as a World Language (EWL):** EWL refers to four classifications of the traditional English language and New Englishes that contribute to an emergence of the term ‘English as a World Language’. They are ENL, ESD, ESL, and EFL. ‘ENL’ is English as a native language where English is used for all types of communication and in all registers and styles. ‘ESD’ (English as a second dialect) refers to the prestige language, especially in official functions. This includes distinct linguistic systems which function in a conventional diglossia, as in Scotland and – with a pidgin or creoles as the low variety – in the Caribbean, West Africa and parts of South Pacific. ‘ESL’ is English as second language where English is used in international and intranational functions. For ‘EFL’ (English as a foreign language), the use of English here is less frequent than in ESL societies (Görlack, 1988: 3-4). Such a classification is made according to linguistic structures and uses of English in each region of the world. Each type has a distinct linguistic feature due to the differences of sociolinguistic and historical matters of certain region.

F. **English as a Global Language (EGL):** This term emerges because of the two factors affecting the global status of English - geographical-historical and socio-cultural elements. Firstly, English is the voyage of a language from Great Britain to the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. Each region has different historical backgrounds in terms of accepting English in its expansion. Some country adopted English either as an official or semi-official language, so English has become a global language. Secondly, English extends to the international functions of politics,
business, safety, communication, entertainment, media, and education. These functions of the English language serve global human relations (Crystal, 2003).

G. English as an International Language (EIL): EIL is termed as language functions in international business, advertisement, news, diplomacy, travel, and entertainment. It is a current trend in English language teaching with the goal of international communication, and not in making the learners-speakers native-like per se. Furthermore, EIL employs any educated native and non-native English speakers as the norm of language model, so its performance effectiveness can be evaluated via the mutual intelligibility and an appropriate language for specific situations. In terms of language interaction, EIL goes along with the L1-L2, L2-L2 and L1-L1 patterns because it emphasises the culture of specific or foreign countries (Strevens, 1987a: 40-43). International English is thus used in the contexts of an educational and transactional language.

H. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF): The notion of ELF is used in the Outer and Expanding Circles community, where non-native English speakers communicate with each other. Moreover, ELF is not an autonomous variety of English but the situational use of the language among bilinguals or multilingual speakers. In fact, ELF is a broad term that comprises all kinds of communication among the bilingual users in the Outer and Expanding Circles, such as local realisation, extensive use of accommodation strategies, and code-switching. Further, this notion ignores native-English speaker norms because ELF users with different mother tongues aim for communicative achievement. Examples of ELF are apparent in the English uses of the EU and ASEAN nations (Cogo, 2008).
The terms ‘Varieties of English’ and ‘World Englishes’ are somewhat the most widely used concepts of Englishes as they cover the other sub-terms. They generate the emergence and diversity of non-native English in the three circles. This parallels the term ‘EWL’. Meanwhile, the terms ‘New Englishes’ and ‘Postcolonial English’ are restricted to the Outer Circle. In addition, the terms ‘EGL’ and ‘EIL’ are similar in that they represent the transactional role of English in all circles whereas the term ‘ELF’ is not extended to the Inner Circle. Overall, this study intends to use the terms ‘World Englishes’ and ‘New Englishes’ due to their popularity and emphasis on non-native characteristics.

2. **Linguistic Processes of Englishes** embody the following terms:

   A. **Variation**: Variation refers to structural changes in phonological, semantic, lexical, grammatical and stylistic features of a language from the standard variety. If Standard English is the centre, spoken English may vary in terms of different dialects, both native and non-native varieties. Moreover, English is not only used by educated users, but also by un-educated ones. Furthermore, the diversity of using English depends on ethnicity, religion, social classes, gender, and age. Additionally, the use of English varies from formality to intimacy (Richards et al., 1992: 397).

   B. **Nativisation**: Nativisation of English involves the changes in which “English has undergone as a result of its contact with languages in diverse cultural and geographical settings in the Outer Circle” (Kachru, 1985). The processes of nativisation result in an occurrence of deviation in different forms such as the mutual intelligibility of non-native English users, models of non-native varieties and new literatures in English (Kachru, 1982; Strevens, 1980; Sridhar, 182, as cited in
That is, nativisation is termed as a creative process where English is adjusted to the indigenous language and culture of non-Anglo users.

**C. Acculturation:** Acculturation is termed as a process in which changes in the language, culture, and system of values of a group occur through interaction with another group with a different language, culture and system of values (Richards et al., 1992: 3). In Englishes, acculturation is the way the English language alters in L2 environments and differs from its parent variety. Various ways of such changes depend on the needs of the new environment. When English arises in a totally new cultural and language setting, it cannot fulfil all communicative needs of L2 users. Thus, some problems will affect the users’ successful communication. The solution is that English has acculturated into expressions of L2 users’ vernaculars. This appears in linguistic innovations that include errors and deviation (Kachru, 1986: 18, as cited in Govendan, 2001: 22).

**D. Approximation:** This term is a process in which non-native learners or users estimate the use of a target language, especially in a vocabulary item or a sentence, which they know to be incorrect, but which shares enough semantic features with the desired item to satisfy the speaker such as the use of the word *pipe* for *water pipe* (Tarone and Yule, 1987: 51). In World Englishes, non-native users have been questioned whether they are approximating the English language as native users do. For example, non-native writers can produce English grammatical structure and style in creative writing similar to native writers.

**E. Contextualisation:** This notion is a process of considering a particular meaning of a sentence or utterance like sounds, words or phrases regarding the situation in which
it happens (Hornby, 2005: 316; Finch, 2000: 212). Certain English words may possess different meanings regarding their situational contexts. In World Englishes, ‘contextualisation’ involves ‘nativisation’. Both convey a strategy of adapting semantic units of English formations into non-Anglo cultures. The former refers to English in situational and cultural contexts of the Expanding Circle, but the latter is often mentioned as institutionalised varieties of English in the Outer Circle.

**F. Deviation**: This notion concerns any linguistic unit which infringes a norm of the standard variety. For example, a sentence deviant in Standard English - “I seen him instead of I saw him” (Richards et al., 1992: 105) - displays deviation as an error. In fact, deviation is a linguistic effect of the nativisation process that provides negative and positive dimensions. Such a negative aspect refers to ‘unintentional deviation’ where non-native users do not perform written and spoken English according to the native norm. There are two types of unintentional deviation: mistakes and principled (institutionalised/contextualised) formal and informal style. Meanwhile, the positive view is called ‘intentional deviation’ where creative writers and journalists attempt to show their deviant forms as a special linguistic strategy (Pandharipande, 1987: 153). The latter perspective of deviation seems to suit this study.

In conclusion, the term ‘variation’ is very broad; it implies the way the English language in native and non-native varieties is far away from the standard norm. Meanwhile, the terms ‘nativisation’, ‘acculturation’, and ‘approximation’ are similar in that they indicate strategies of adopting, adapting, and changing native-English items to non-native ones, particularly in the Outer Circle. Meanwhile, ‘contextualisation’ is a general term in which semantic elements of linguistic items shift in certain situations. This process happens in all circles, but it is restricted to the
Expanding Circle. Likewise, the term ‘deviation’ as a mistake occurs in all the circles, but it can be meaningful when it is intentionally created as a linguistic strategy in literature.

3. Literary Products of Engishes possess various overlapping terms below.

A. Commonwealth Literature: This notion refers to literature written in English by people who were colonised by Great Britain. It can be reclassified into six types of Anglo-colonial literature: (i) the Anglo-European literature of the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, (ii) the Anglo-African literature of the West, East, Central and South African cultures, (iii) the Anglo-Indian literature of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, (iv) the Anglo-Asian literature of Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, (v) the Anglo-Oceanic literature of South-Pacific countries, and (vi) the Anglo-Caribbean literature (Priessnitz, 1990: 33-37). Commonwealth literature thus confines itself to the literature by writers of the commonwealth countries, which reflects the Anglo-colonial cultures.

B. Postcolonial Literature: This term refers to written work by colonised and formerly colonised peoples. This includes literature written in various languages, and not only in the language of the colonisers (Talib, 2002: 17). Indeed, this literature deals with political and cultural independence issues – power, decolonisation, and race – of a society previously controlled over by imperial powers. It also refers to a critique of thematic expressions reshaped into discourses of colonised writers (Boehmer, 1995: 3). Hence, postcolonial literature in English results from the rise of postcolonial English that depicts the world of the colonised people after the colonisation. Postcolonial writers employ English language as a medium as well as colonial and postcolonial life as main materials. Additionally, the postcolonial theory
is used to study postcolonial literature. Consequently, this term is evident in criticism of themes, characters, and conflicts rather than a linguistic analysis and English varieties. Such discipline and orientation of this literature thus go beyond the scope of this study.

**C. New English Literature**: This term refers to a new literature that uses English language as a substance and material (Thumboo, 1990: 24). This notion is also a linguistic legacy of the British colonial period (Lowry, 1992: 283). This literature provides a new dimension of English literature and its linguistic, cultural and literary implications. It has been studied in terms of new styles of English, for example. This literature is limited to written work in which linguistic creativity implies new varieties of English.

**D. Non-Native English Literature**: Herawati (2009: 377-378) terms non-native English literature as a literary work written by non-native English speakers. It contains works that are originally written in English and those written in vernaculars which are then translated into English. Those two aspects cause merits for this literature which gives exposure to varieties of English other than the Inner Circle, provides cultural knowledge and enriching life values, and encourages the readers to voice their local cultures.

**E. World Literature in English**: World literature is coined from the expression ‘weltliteratur’ in 1827 by a German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who describes literary texts from countries and cultural traditions outside Western Europe. It encompasses literatures of Africa, America, Arab, Asia, Australia, the Caribbean, England, India, and Latin America. Some of these countries and regions
are classified as Western. This notion is, however, used to designate literature that highlights non-Western issues and themes, whether or not it is based on the context of a Western country (Clairenstein, 2012). This concept can be adapted to world literature in English. It involves literatures of all continents around the world that are both originally written in English and translated into English. This broad term holds native and non-native English literatures. In the latter, literatures of the Outer and Expanding Circles are also included, and their non-Western canons are manifested.

**F. Creative Writing:** Creative writing represents an artistic expression in a written form via the use of imaginary, narrative, and drama techniques (Thomson Writing Program, Duke University, n.d.). It contains fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scripts and screenplays. Creative writing and literature seem to be interchangeably used. Creative writing uses all literary components: themes, plots, characters, narrative, dialogues, conflicts, settings, and figurative language. Creative writing workshop has been widely taught for the literary market. Meanwhile, literature is an aesthetic product and cultural heritage of a society in oral and written forms representing a social discourse and the power of the human nature. Literature is a hierarchy for all literary writings developed in different periods of a certain society. However, the term ‘creative writing’ occurs in the contemporary period. Creative writings in English by non-native authors appear via the development of new English varieties; English is used to stand for their linguistic and thematic ideology rather than their vernaculars where some sensitive issues cannot be hidden.

The terms ‘commonwealth literature’ and ‘postcolonial literature’ are restricted to literatures by the writers of former colonies, both in the Inner and Outer
Circles. Both are indeed the same terms but the notion of commonwealth literature is currently replaced by the notion of postcolonial literature. Commonwealth countries are now called ‘post-colonies’ which indicate more independent power. Further, postcolonial literature provides a clearer thematic trend of studies in which commonwealth countries liberate themselves to become autonomous states. However, the term ‘new English literature’ also confines itself to literature in the Outer Circle. Therefore, the two terms ‘non-native English literature’ and ‘world English literature’ cover literary works in both original English and translation from the Outer and Expanding Circles although the latter term can also be referred to writings in the Inner Circle. In contrast, ‘creative writing’ is a specific term used in the world of the publishing that focuses on original English rather than translation. All these terms are related to the concept of contact literature because the writers’ indigenous languages and cultures are interfacing with English. Consequently, Thai literature in English is regarded as new English literature, world English literature, non-native English literature, and creative writing.
## APPENDIX B: FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN THAILAND

### Instrumental Function: English as an Instructional Medium/Academic Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains</th>
<th>Types/ Details</th>
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</table>
| Private education institutions offering bilingual/English/Mini English programs | **International Schools**: Bangkok Advent, Fairview International (Songkhla), British International (Phuket), Hatyai International (Songkhla), Adventist Ekkamai (Bangkok), Bluewater International (Surat Thani), and Chiangmai International, etc.  
**Private Thai schools**: Kittiwit (Songkhla), Polwitaya (Songkhla), Tiew Pai Ngam (Bangkok), Anmuaysilp (Bangkok), Sriwikorn (Bangkok), Demonstration School of Rangsit University, and Dara Samut (Phuket), etc.  
**Methodist schools**: Praharuethai Convent (Bangkok), Bangkok Christian’s College, Saint Joseph Convent (Bangkok), Assumption (Bangkok/Samutprakarn), and Marry Wittya (Nakorn Ratchasima), etc.  
**Islamic private schools**: Attarkiyah Islamiah (Narathiwat)  
**Private vocational colleges**: Assumption Commerce (Bangkok) and Siam Business Administration (Bangkok), etc.  
**Private Thai universities**: University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce (Bangkok), Sripaithum University (Bangkok), and KasemBundit University (Bangkok), etc. |
| Public education institutions offering bilingual/English programs | **Public schools**: Anuban Chiang Mai, Anuban Krabi, Anuban Yala, Satree Wittaya 2 (Bangkok), Satree Phuket, Sapa Rajini (Trang), Hatya Wittalai (Songkhla), Udompittayanukul (Udornthani), and Hua Hin (Prachuab Kirikhan), etc.  
**State universities**: Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok), Mahidol University (Bangkok/Nakornprathom), Thammasat University (Bangkok/Pathomthani), Prince of Songkla University (Songkhla), Srinakarindwirot University (Bangkok), National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA, Bangkok), and Ramkamhaeng University (Bangkok), etc. |
### Regulative Function

<table>
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<th>Domains</th>
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</table>
| Administration and Governing  | Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
- Language for diplomatic relation  
- Language for international security and defence                                                                                     |
| Law                           | - A translation version in English and other foreign languages of legal documents for non-Thai employees.                               
- The use of interpreters for foreign clients for cases in the court.                                                                      |

### Interpersonal Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</table>
| A link language for high-ranking families/elites                       | Places where English is used as a sole medium for social activities are  
Siam Society (Bangkok), Bangkok Toastmasters Club, Rotary Club, The British Club Bangkok, and The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, etc. |
| A working language for international organisations                     | Examples of international company/organizations in Thailand (in Bangkok) are as follows:  
G.E. Capital (Thailand), Co., Ltd. (American)  
F.A.G. (Thailand) Co., Ltd (Germany)  
Q.B.E. Insurance (Thailand) Co., Ltd (Australia)  
Hong Kong Trade Development Council (Hong Kong)  
Buzzard Management Services Limited (New Zealand)  
Singapore-Thai Chamber of Commerce  
Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance (UK), etc (Bangkok Companies, 2002b) |
| A religious language                                                   | Buddhist sermons or Dharma lectures in English by Pra Srinayan Sophon and Ajarn Dr. Pathompong Poprasittinan are broadcast through the FM 88, FM 95.5, FM 107 and AM 918 Mhz stations, on Sundays from 8.00-8.30 a.m. (Bodhinanda.com, 2012).  
Islamic sermons in English or Friday prayers are held at the Haroon Mosque, Bangkok due to the attendance of many foreigners (Sunnah Student.com, 2009).  
Some churches in Bangkok provide masses on Sundays in English such as Assumption Cathedral (Catholic) and Christ Church Bangkok (Anglican and Episcopalian) (Bangkok Companies, 2002a). |
| A symbolic language of modernism                                       | Thais’ popular English or English sounding nicknames are “A, Ann, Arm, Ant, Bam, Bee, Boy, Cherry, Dream, Ex, Golf, Guy, Ice, Jay, Joy, Jap, Jip, May, Man, Milk, Nan, O, and Pat.”  
Many professionals often use English loans and specific terminology or create a hybrid of Thai-English to show their superior knowledge though they cannot speak English fluently. |
## Interpersonal Function: Media and Business Domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thai-English code-switching/bilingual programs in national television:</strong></td>
<td>‘Chris Delivery’ (Channel 5), ‘English on Tour’ (Channel 3), and ‘English Breakfast’ (ThaiPBS Channel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| *English titles in Thai national television programs:* | - Health Me Please, Strawberry Cheese Cakes, Wherever, Living in Shape, Star Stage, and Take Me Out Thailand (Channel 3)  
- Happy Morning, Modern Mom, Wake Club, Cyber City, @ Five Diary, Modern Life, Extreme Club, Boy Toys, Station Five, and Health Me (Channel 5)  
- Sports Fan, World Cinema, Big Cinema, Disney Club, and World Series (Channel 7)  
- Monday Night, Motor World, Kids Zone, Money Daily, VIP, The Look (Modern Nine TV Channel)  
- Stock Focus, Business Smart, Dr. TV, Energy Update, Property Talk, To Be Number One Variety, Golf Paradise, and Teachers Network (NBT Channel)  
- Asean Focus, Thai PBS Kids, Hot Short Films (ThaiPBS Channel) |
| **Thai-English hybrid titles in Thai national television programs:** | - Happy Life Kab Khan Reed, Priew Pak On Tour, and Tee 10 At Ten (Channel 3)  
- Home Sweet Home Ban Saen Suk, Budsaba Variety, and Dora Villa(Channel 5)  
- Choh Sanam @ Midnight, Kankluay Club, and ? Si Concert (Channel 7)  
- Super Chiew, Sponge Chalard Sud Sud, Luang Lab Upload, and Champ Chuen Champ (Modern Nine TV Channel)  
- Creative Living Roo Ruang Ban, Tiew Pai Tam Chai Fan Travel Delight, and Update Tanguuang (NBT Channel)  
- One World Loke Bai Diew Kan, World Why Vit, and Life Goes On…Rangwan Cheewit (ThaiPBS Channel) |
| **Radio**                      | **English radio programs in Bangkok:** Only “Wave FM 88 Bangkok”, an international radio station with British and American presenters and DJs, broadcasts in English only. Meanwhile, “Virgin Hitz 95.5 FM, Virgin Soft 103 FM, Easy FM 105.5, and MET 107” broadcast in both English and Thai (AngloINFO Bangkok, 2010: 1). Similarly, the stations “Radio No Problem (FM 88.0 MHz)” and “Channel V Radio (FM. 102.5 MHz)” broadcast via Thai DJs’ English and Thai Switching (Munsakorn, 2001: 8). |
| **English radio programs in Provincial Cities:** | In Pattaya, the stations “Yes2Day” and “Pattaya 105 FM” broadcast news and songs in English (AngloINFO Pattaya, 2012). Likewise, “The Rise of Great T.I.T.S” is Chiang Mai’s first English radio station on 106.5 MHz (Chiang Mai City Life, 2005). Similarly, Phuket, Pang-nga and Krabi have three 24-hour English radio stations of news and songs with native English DJs – B95 FM, Blue Wave 90.5, and Phuket Island Radio (AngloINFO Phuket, 2012). |
| **Film**                       | **Mainly English movies:**  
- ‘The King of the White Elephant’ is a black-white movie which the playwright and executive producer is Preedee Panomyong, an ex-Premier and the democratic successor of King Ananda Mahidol, was intended for a competition in the Noble Prize for Peace in the United States. It premiered in Chalermkrung Theatre (Bangkok), Singapore, and New York.  
This movie, lasting 100 minutes, presented Thai nationalism during World War II to the global society. The story is about the virtue of the Thai king, namely “King of the White Elephant” or “King Chakra”, who defeated the Burmese king “King Hongsa” while fighting on elephants. Though this film was produced with a high budget, it was unsuccessful in the American and Thai cinemas (Sukwong, n.d.).  
- “Province 77 Los Angeles” (2003) a Thai movie conducted in 90 per cent English, was produced. It is about the survival of Thai migrants in a community near Hollywood or the so-called Thai town, Los Angeles which is often jokingly considered as the 77th province of Thailand (Siam Zone, 2010). |
| **Thai movies with titles in English/Thai-English Hybrid:** | Tawipob the Renaissance” (2004) and “Beautiful Boxer”(2005), “Me…Myself Khorhai Rak Chongchareon (2007), Super Hab-Sab-Sabad (2008), A Moment in June Na Khana Rak (2009), and After School Wing Soo Fan (2010), etc. |
### Interpersonal Function: Media and Business Domains (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Songs</strong></td>
<td>Amita Tata Young (1980-) has been successful since her first album in Thai 1995 with Grammy Medias, the leading entertainment firm of Thailand. In 2004, her first English song album titled “I Believe”, under the Columbia label (Sony Music) company, made her renowned in East and Southeast Asia. In 2006 and 2008, her second and third English albums were “Temperature Rising” and “Ready for Love”, respectively (Tata Young Biography, 2011). Hugo (Chulachak Chakrabongse) (1981-) is a singer and song writer. He started his own band named ‘Sib Low’ with only Thai rock songs in 2001. Until 2005, this band ended with a total of 4 albums. In 2007, he had a chance to write a song titled ‘Disappear’ in Beyonce Knowles’s album “I am...Sasha Fierce’. This was his crucial change of singing life. His English single album under ‘Rock Nation’ of Jay Z company’ is titled ‘Old Tyme Religion’ in 2011. This album contains 12 English songs but with a Thai one. It has been distributed to the American Music Market (Heng, 2011). Thai singers with Thai-English code-switching: Bie The Star, Amary, Ice Saranyu, ETC, Bird Thongchai, Chin, and Golk &amp; Mike, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newspaper</strong></td>
<td><strong>English newspapers for teenagers with some Thai sections:</strong> Student Weekly and The Nation Junior English newspapers in provincial cities: Good Morning Chiang Mai, Chiang Mai Mail, and Chiang Mai City Life, published daily, weekly, and monthly respectively, serve the residents and visitors to the northern part of Thailand. Korat Post is a daily newspaper for readers of the northeast part of the country. In Chonburi, “Pattaya Daily News”, “Pattaya Mail and Pattaya People”, and “Pattaya Times and Pattaya Today”, published daily, weekly and bimonthly respectively and serve the local readers and foreign tourists in the eastern coast. Located 200 kilometres south of Bangkok on the Gulf of Thailand, “Hua Hin News” and “Hua Hin Observer” are daily papers for the residents and tourists in the Hua Hin and Cha-am areas. In addition, Phuket Gazette is a daily paper published in Phuket (On Thai Time, 2010).</td>
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<td><strong>English magazines distributed in Bangkok:</strong> At Leisure, Bangkok 101, Fuh Thai, and Sawaddee are life style, art-culture, and travel magazines (AngloINFO Bangkok, 2010). English magazines distributed in provincial cities: “Show Window on Life Style” is a monthly lifestyle magazine in Phuket, Krabi, and Pang-Nag (AngloINFO Phuket, 2010). Moreover, “Phuket Marine Guide” and “Phuket for Kids” are annually published (Ensign Media, 2010: 1). Further, there are “The Pattaya Guide” a free entertainment magazine, and “What’s On Pattaya”, a fortnightly tourist magazine (AngloINFO Pattaya, 2010).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advertising</strong></td>
<td>Thai products with English brands: Birdy (a canned coffee drink), Squeeze (fruit juice), Polaris (mineral water), Dutch Mill (yogurt), Paprika-Party-Lay (snacks), Oriental Princess-Tell Me-Pias-Cute Press (women’s cosmetics), Systema (toothbrush), Protex-Shower to Shower (powder), Parrot Gold (soap), Attack (laundry detergent), and Carson (socks), etc. Thai-owned businesses with names in English/hybrid Shopping malls: Central, Robinson, The Mall, Big C, Lotus, and Tops are department stores and supermarket chains (Glass, 2008: 26). Other shopping malls in Bangkok are Siam Paragon, Siam Centre Point, Imperial World, The Emporium, and Central World. In the North, there are Pavilion Chiang Mai, and OP Place. In the Northeast, there are Fairy Night Bazaar, and Save One Plaza. In the East, there are Royal Garden Plaza and Mike Shopping Mall. In the South, there are Diana Department Store, Lee Garden Plaza, Odean Department Store, and Vogue, etc. Restaurants: Well-known restaurants in Bangkok are Goodview Bar &amp; Restaurant, the Immortal Seafood, Tea House, Big Knit, Bangkok Sky, Vanilla Garden, and Stella Palace, etc (Siam Freestyle, n.d.).</td>
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Interpersonal Function: Media and Business Domains (continued)

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<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advertising</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cinemas</strong>: Leading cinemas in Bangkok and other main cities are named in English – “Major Cineplex, SFX Cinema, Major Hollywood, EGV Cinemas, and Esplanade Cineplex, Seven Box Office, Vista, and Prince Cineplex”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Educational institutions</strong>: Some private Thai universities and schools have only English names - Saint John University, North Chiang Mai University, Christian University, Saint Dominique School and Munford College.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Airlines</strong>: Airlines in Thailand are named either in English or the blend of Thai-English such as Bangkok Airways, One-Two Go Airline, Orient Thai Airline, Happy Air, Nok Air, and Nok Mini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hospitals</strong>: Private hospitals also have their English titles to attract patients - Saint Louis, B. Care Medical Centre, Paolo, Mayo, Bangkok 9 International, and Central General (Smiling in Thailand.com, n.d.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Health centres</strong>: The names of franchise health centres are Mary France Bodyline and Slim-up Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hotels</strong>: Majority of Thai hotels prefer their English names. Bangkok luxury hotels are The Oriental, Ambassador, The Emerald, The Imperial Queen’s Park, Conrad, and Shangri-La, etc. In other leading provinces, famous hotels are Green Lake Resort and Chiang Mai Hill (Chiang Mai), Banyan Tree (Phuket) as well as B.P.Samila Beach (Songkhla).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Companies</strong>: A plenty of public limited Thai-own companies are named in English - Global Connections, Quality House, GMM Grammy, Bangkok Land, True Corporation, Matching Studio, and R.S. Promotions, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C: IRA SUKRUNGRUNG'S LITERARY WORKS

A. Creative Nonfiction

(2) “I Could’ve Been Tiger Woods,” *Another Chicago Magazine* (Chicago, IL) Summer 2000
(6) “Tight Fists,” *Gulf Coast* (Houston, TX) Winter/Spring 2003
(7) “My Father’s Swing,” *River Styx* (St. Louis, MO), Winter 2003
(8) “A Fat Man Thinks About Death,” *Hayden’s Ferry Review* (Tempe, AZ) Fall-Winter 2002
(10) “A Normal Thai Son,” *The Asian Pacific American Journal* (New York, NY) vol.11, no.2
(11-13)“Floating Family,” “Ink” and “Star Wars for Dinner,” *Sou’wester* (Edwardsville, IL) Fall 2003
(14)“A Normal Thai Son,” *The Asian Pacific American Journal* (New York, NY) vol.11, no.2
(16)“Spotlighting.” *Post Road* (New York, NY) no.12, 2006
(17)“On Becoming a Monk,” *Hunger Mountain Review* (Montpelier, VT) no.9, Fall 2006
(18)“A World of Adjusters,” *River Styx* (St. Louis, MO) no.73, Winter 2006
(19)“Tots-R-Us,” *The Pinch* (Memphis, TN) vol.26, no.2, Fall 2006
(20)“Under the Hand of Buddha,” *Arts & Letters* (Milledgeville, GA) Issue 17, Spring 2007
(22)“Into the Country,” *Isotope* (Logan, UT) Issue 5.2, Fall/Winter 2007
(23)“The Take Over: A Love Story,” *Nightsun* (Frostburg, MD) vol.26. Fall 2007
(24)“Thirteen Ways of Looking at Fat,” *Bellingham Review* (Bellingham, WA) vol. XXXI, Issue 60
(25)“For the Novice Bird Watcher,” *Third Coast* (Kalamazoo, MI) Spring 2009
(26)“Our Next Lives,” *Briar Cliff Review* (Sioux City, Iowa) vol.21, 2009
(27)“Constellations,” *Cold Mountain Review* (Boone, NC) vol.37, no.2, Spring 2009
(30) “Please Don’t Talk About It,” Shambhala Sun (Boulder, CO) November 2010
(31) “Noisy Neighbor,” Crab Orchard Review (Carbondale, IL) Summer/Fall 2010
(32) “The Wide Open Mouth,” Superstition Review (Tempe, AZ) Issue 6, Fall 2010
(33) “Abridged Immigrant Narrative,” Juked (Tallahassee) Spring/Summer 2011

B. Short Stories
(1) “Wang Town,” Third Coast (Kalamazoo, MI) Fall 2002
(2) “The Man with the Buddha Heads,” Crab Orchard Review (Carbondale, IL) Spring/Summer 2003
(3) “Bright Land,” Eclipse (Glendale, GA) vol.14, Fall 2003
(5) “Bridgeview Heights Mall,” Hobart (Ann Arbor, MI) Issue #8, Late 2007
(6) “Nebraska/Kansas,” Eclipse (Glendale, GA) vol.19. Fall 2008
(7) “Fattest, Ugliest, Weirdest,” Crab Orchard Review (Carbondale, IL) Summer/Fall 2008
(9) “Love-40,” New Plains Review (Edmond, OK) vol.9, no.1, Spring 2009
(12) “Happy Ends,” Fifth Wednesday Journal (Lisle, IL) Spring 2011, Issue 8

C. Poetry
(1) “When Peacocks Scream,” Witness (Farmington Hills, MI) Fall 2001
(4) “III Man Bowling Alley,” Salt Hill (Syracuse, NY) no.14, Summer 2003
(5-6) “After the First Snow” and “In Chicago’s Chinatown,” Witness (Farmington Hills, MI) Fall 2003
(7-9) “The Great Buddha on the Mountain,” no. 90; “Like or As If,” Hanging Loose (Brooklyn, NY) no. 85; “The Fork and the Spoon,” no. 80
(12) “In Thailand it is Night,” Ninth Letter (Champaign, IL) Issue 2, Fall 2004
(13) “Famous Last Words,” The Sun (Chapel Hill, NC) Issue 349, January 2005
(14-16) “Karma,” River Styx (St. Louis, MO) no.69/70, Spring 2005; “Mile Markers,” no. 65, Fall 2003; “When in Rome,” no. 63’64, Summer 2003
(18) “Languages,” *Iron Horse Literary Journal* (Lubbock, TX), vol.6, no.2, Spring 2005
(19) “A Different Coast,” *Gulf Stream* (Miami, FL) vol.25, 2006
(26) “How To Tell Your Mother There Will Be No Grandkids In Her Future,” *Georgetown Review* (Georgetown, KY) Vol. 10, Issue 1, Spring 2009
(28) “We Leave the Beaches for the Tourists,” *Autumn Sky Poetry*
   http://www.autumnskypoetry.com/number 15/ Ira_Rukrungruang.html, Number 15
(29) “Crossing the River Kwai,” *Cha: An Asian Literary Magazine*

(Department of English, University of South Florida, 2008)
APPENDIX D: THE FIVE THAI ENGLISH FICTION BOOKS’ COVERS

Three Collections of Short Stories

[Image of the cover of "Dragon's Fin Soup" by S.P. Somtow]

(http://www.amazon.com/Dragons-Other-Modern-Siamese-Fables/dp/9748303659)

[Image of the cover of "Sightseeing" by Rattawut Lapcharoensap]

(http://openlibrary.org/works/OL5732616W/Sightseeing)
SUPASIRI
SUPUNPAYSAJ

THE UMBRELLA
AND OTHER STORIES

(http://www.ebay.com/itm/UMBRELLA-OTHER-STORIES-
Supunpaysaj-Thailand-/220841713402)
Two Novels

(http://www.thaiworldview.com/lao/isan7.htm)

(http://www.amazon.com/Chalida-Salisa-Pinkayan/dp/9748303632)
APPENDIX E: LEXICAL BORROWING

Table 6.1: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Buddhist Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chedi</td>
<td>Together the two adolescents left the priests’ quarters and entered the compound of the Chedi,… (SDC, Chapter 5, p.96)</td>
<td>Pagoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sangha</td>
<td>Yet, in his fortieth year, my husband had turned from me, left me sleeping, crawled out of the mosquito net, climbed the hill, entered the sacred brotherhood of sangha. (DFS, The Steel American, p.65)</td>
<td>Priesthood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sati</td>
<td>He found her alone, sitting on a plastic stool, not meditating or Vipassana-ing to achieve sati as he knew it, but injecting into her vein some deadly liquid. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 260)</td>
<td>Consciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>dekwat</td>
<td>All in all the dekwat seemed happy… (SDC, Chapter 5, p.95)</td>
<td>Temple boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>gutti</td>
<td>In front of Luangpor Boon, Kum and his youngest son crouched on the wooden floor of the gutti and performed the namsakara. (SDC, Chapter 15, p. 292)</td>
<td>Little hut for monks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>prapiksu</td>
<td>“I have been waiting to see how many young men would become pra or prapiksu this season.” (SDC, Chapter 15, p. 292)</td>
<td>Monks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Culinary Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>luk chin</td>
<td>Joey, stuffed with luk chin in chilli sauce, had gone to sleep with his Walkman, … (DFS, Lottery Night, p.47)</td>
<td>Fish or meat balls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gaeng massaman</td>
<td>She was preoccupied with picking the peanuts out of her gaeng massaman and arranging them over her rice plate in such a way that they looked like little eyes, a nose, and a mouth. (DFS, Chui Chai, p.86)</td>
<td>Thick highly seasoned red Indian curry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>khao man gai</td>
<td>“…..— they make a khao man gai that’ll have you coming in your Calvins.” (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.191)</td>
<td>Rice cooked with oil and eaten with slices of boiled chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kaotom</td>
<td>“A shower, a change of clothes and then a bowl of ‘kaotom’ might do you a world of good, master.” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.724)</td>
<td>Rice porridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.3: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Items of Clothing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>panung</td>
<td>It was the morning after the last Russian left. I had left my panung in the cave. <em>(DFS, <em>The Steel American</em>, p.65)</em></td>
<td>A kind of sack-like dress for ladies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>phakomaah</td>
<td>…., being hosed down by a country boy wearing nothing but a phakomaah. <em>(DFS, <em>Dragon’s Fin Soup</em>, p.14)</em></td>
<td>A loincloth used by men for many purposes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.4: Independent Lexical Borrowing (Human Characteristics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siaw</td>
<td>You might not know that he and I were born in the same village and became ‘siaw’, bonded with a vow of brotherhood. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 7, p.353)</em></td>
<td>Friend (North-eastern Thai dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>manus tang dao</td>
<td>“But I am not mad. I am quite, quite sane, and I have been taken over by a manus tang dao.” <em>(DFS, <em>Fiddling for Water Buffaloes</em>, p.170)</em></td>
<td>An extraterrestrial being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>huana</td>
<td>When they saw their huana standing in front of them instead of the teacher, some of them joked, taunted and giggled. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.71)</em></td>
<td>Classroom leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mohfarang</td>
<td>The staff quarters had been refurnished and air-conditioned to render comfort to mohfarang. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 34, p. 696)</em></td>
<td>Foreign doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sophaeni</td>
<td>‘A woman, kid. You know what that is? Pa took me to a sophaeni tonight…’ <em>(STS, <em>At the Café Lovely</em>, p.36)</em></td>
<td>Prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>taanaiyai</td>
<td>Meanwhile the fourth Cholbury man whom the disowned son had taken in taanaiyai’s bedroom, spent six hours hiding in the walk-in wardrobe until the great man returned to meet his nemesis. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 38, p.732)</em></td>
<td>Chief lawyer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Independent Lexical Borrowing (Other Domains)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>baankhunluang</td>
<td>The two Oxanians were sitting leisurely in the living room of baankhunluang. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p. 647)</em></td>
<td>Thai nobleman’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sala</td>
<td>…. Grandfather and Grandmother had tea in the sala of the old house. <em>(CLD, Chapter 3, p.52)</em></td>
<td>Public rest-house, pavilion/gazebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>moobaan</td>
<td>…. you should be taking the media people to tour the moobaan in five minutes. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.511)</em></td>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Independent Lexical Borrowing (Other Domains), continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>soi</td>
<td>The <em>soi</em> came to an abrupt end and there was a lone elephant,… <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.14)</em></td>
<td>Alley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>klong</td>
<td>We were still on the <em>klong</em>,… <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.1)</em></td>
<td>Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kaen</td>
<td>I have more sanuke playing my <em>kaen</em>… <em>(SDC, Chapter 4, p.67)</em></td>
<td>Reed mouth-organ found in Northeastern Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pinai</td>
<td>The shrilling of the <em>pinai</em>, the pounding of the <em>taphon</em>, the tinkling of marimbas and xylophones rang in the chui chai music. <em>(DFS, Chui Chai, p.98)</em></td>
<td>A kind of wind instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taphon</td>
<td><em>(DFS, Chui Chai, p.98)</em></td>
<td>A two-faced drum played by striking with the hands and capable of producing eight tones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>baht</td>
<td>He announced “29,999,999 <em>baht</em>.” <em>(CLD, Chapter 12, p.149)</em> There was no need to remind me that she had been offered 5,000 <em>baht</em> for a two-year contract at a brothel in Chiang Rai. <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.70)</em></td>
<td>Thai currency Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>satang</td>
<td>“Oh, nonsense. It’s just an old plastic bowl that you bought for 25 <em>satang</em>” <em>(DFS, The Steel American, p.77)</em> Buy cheap, sell high, pay little and hang on to every <em>stang</em> is their motto, don’t you know? <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.94)</em></td>
<td>A copper Thai coin equals to one hundredth of a baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>namaskara</td>
<td>Dani turned away as soon as he had a whiff of the rustic scent of konbaannok, the country bumpkins, as each of them came closer to him to do the namaskara. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.482)</em></td>
<td>The act of raising of both hands palm against palm in an attitude of showing respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>wai (n)</td>
<td>“Hello, Khun Wannee,” replied Auntie Jin in a mellifluous voice as she returned the <em>wai</em>. She often complained that parents these days didn’t teach their children to <em>wai</em> correctly. <em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p. 37)</em></td>
<td>Saluting by placing the hands palm against palm and raising them to face or forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wai (v)</td>
<td><em>(CLD, Chapter 2, p. 37)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>chok muay</td>
<td>“…and speaking of <em>chok muay</em>…” <em>(DFS, Lottery Night , p.38)</em></td>
<td>Thai boxing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>patetfalang</td>
<td>This must be he who has lived in <em>patetfalang</em>, the children suspected. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, pp. 278-279)</em></td>
<td>Foreign country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Muang</td>
<td>At daybreak the teacher came to the Surins’ hut to accompany Kum and his son to <em>Muang</em>, where they would put the boy on train. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.90)</em></td>
<td>Major city of a province in Thailand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Independent Lexical Borrowing (Other Domains), continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>tuk-tuk</td>
<td>…I rode back to Bob’s apartment with him in a <em>tuk-tuk</em>. <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.13)</em></td>
<td>A small motor-tricycle used as a taxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>samlor</td>
<td>She hadn’t seen a samlor for many years… <em>(CLD, Chapter 8, p.107)</em></td>
<td>Tricycle/pedicab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>sanuk</td>
<td>I have more sanuke playing my kaen. … <em>(SDC, Chapter 4, p.67)</em></td>
<td>Fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maen</td>
<td>“Maen” the boy admitted and snuggled up to her for protection. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 283)</em></td>
<td>Accurate, sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>khii laad</td>
<td>I had begun to <em>khii laad</em> the moment I heard the voice of Shri Narayan Dass. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.55)</em></td>
<td>To shit on oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>huakhai</td>
<td>….and did I really think I was the only <em>huakhai</em> who knew English on this godforsaken Island? <em>(STS, Farangs, p.8)</em></td>
<td>Dickhead (slang)/fool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Rad</td>
<td>“<em>Rad!</em>” said Joey. “Totally,” I said in English, impressed in spite of myself. “The illusion is complete,” Joey said, switching to Thai. “I’ve known her all my life, and I still can hardly tell she isn’t a woman,” I said. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 41)</em></td>
<td>A curse for a woman who is unashamed to do something, especially for lure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>heng</td>
<td>There’s some kind of weird rumor going around that the soup today is especially <em>heng</em>, and I’m not about to go back and there and tell them I’m going to be handing out in checks. <em>(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.33)</em></td>
<td>Lucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>samana</td>
<td>“The <em>samana</em> has been organized by the Defence Institute in cooperation with the American Anti-Communist Agency,” <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 272)</em></td>
<td>Seminar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.5: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Buddhist and Superstitious Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wat</td>
<td>On a pleasant morning in April I go three doors down to Wichu’s house and we walk to <em>Wat Krathum Sua Pla</em>, the temple where the annual district draft lottery will be held. <em>(STS, Draft Day, p.53)</em></td>
<td>Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>The permission came in the form of a group of people from the Palace carrying, among other things, a <em>kot</em>, a pagoda-shaped object about the height and size of an average Thai. <em>(UOS, The Umbrella, pp.7-8)</em></td>
<td>Pagoda-shaped coffin for only royal family members and prestigious government officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wan Phut</td>
<td>Wednesday, in Thai, is <em>Wan Phut</em>...the day of Buddha. My parents feel that dragon’s flesh should only be served on that day of the week that is sacred to the Lord Buddha... <em>(DFS, Dragon's Fin Soup, p.8)</em></td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pang pueut lok</td>
<td>“The one that was never excavated from the site is the <em>pang pueut lok</em>, the Buddha revealing the three worlds.” <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.144)</em></td>
<td>The Buddha revealing the three worlds (the name of Buddha image)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vipassana</td>
<td>…Perhaps you can also undertake meditation. Mediation or <em>Vipassana</em> is a form of mental culture to achieve mindfulness, clarity and knowledge. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.115)</em></td>
<td>Meditation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>palangkam</td>
<td>“It’s all very well that we firmly believe in <em>palangkam</em> (the force of karma)” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 23, p.584)</em></td>
<td>The force of karma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ngaan wat</td>
<td>“There’s a * ngaan wat.<em>… I soon find out that a * ngaan wat</em> is a temple fair,… <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.119)</em></td>
<td>Temple fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>luke-sith</td>
<td>There’s a temple where he can stay as a <em>luke-sith</em>, an acolyte. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.90)</em></td>
<td>Acolyte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>khao song</td>
<td>The exorcist was in the throes of a <em>khao song</em>, foaming at the mouth and spewing forth sublimely incomprehensible utterances as the spirits of celestial beings held his or her soul in thrall. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.55)</em></td>
<td>Foaming at the mouth and spewing forth sublimely incomprehensible utterances as the spirits of celestial beings held his or her soul in thrall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>phii tai hong</td>
<td>My aunt immediately engaged an exorcist to appease the <em>phii tai hong</em>. That is, the vengeful ghost of someone who has died violently. <em>(DFS, In the House of the Spirits, p.2)</em></td>
<td>The vengeful ghost of someone who has died violently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>phii krasue</td>
<td>The boys encounter a <em>phii krasue</em>, which is a monster consisting of a decapitated head with trailing guts, slithering around using its tongue as a pseudopod. <em>(DFS, In the House of the Spirits, p.2)</em></td>
<td>A monster consisting of a decapitated head with trailing guts, slithering around using its tongue as a pseudopod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>jao thii</td>
<td>The <em>jao thii</em>, for example, who inhabits the spirit house at the end of our front lawn,… <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.143)</em></td>
<td>The guardian or inhabitant of the spirit house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>saan-phraphum</td>
<td>One by one they were being made to wear, in front of the <em>saan-phraphum</em> or spirit house,… <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.144)</em></td>
<td>The spirit house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maehaeng</td>
<td>“Doesn’t it look like a good, kind woman? I say she’s the Goddess of Rain. Over there is <em>Maehaeng</em>, the Mother of Drought, mean-looking but weakening.” <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.36)</em></td>
<td>The Mother of Drought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.5, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pipramae</td>
<td>In the process the village mute became a <em>luke-pi</em>, a son of the sacred spirit known as <em>pipramae</em>, the spirit of the mother goddess. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.43)</em></td>
<td>The spirit of the mother goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>kwan</td>
<td>He recalled an ancient Esarn belief: One should know the time to leave this world when one hears an owl hoot, calling for one’s ‘<em>kwan</em>’ or soul. <em>(SDC, Epilogue, p. 747)</em></td>
<td>Soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>piprapor</td>
<td>“<em>Piprapor</em>, the male godly ghost,” … “<em>Piprapor</em>, the divine father ghost,” <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.51)</em></td>
<td>The divine father ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mohpifa</td>
<td>The <em>mohpifa</em> (spiritual healer) said so. … A black mole on the scrotum brought death to wives. <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.56)</em></td>
<td>The spirit healer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>luke-pi</td>
<td>In the process the village mute became a <em>luke-pi</em>, a son of the sacred spirit known as pipramae, the spirit of the mother goddess. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.43)</em></td>
<td>A son of the goddess mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kokpipalok</td>
<td>The pyre had been made in a glade of the remaining woodland, known locally as <em>kokpipalok</em> (the woods where ghosts haunt) … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p.425)</em></td>
<td>The woods where ghosts haunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>sukwansukwan</td>
<td>However, most Napotians were grateful to have Kumjai, Kiang, Tongdum and Panya in Napo and a <em>sukwan</em>, a soul-calling rite, was organized. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.438)</em></td>
<td>A soul-calling rite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.6: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Culinary Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>awsuansuan</td>
<td>I sniffed his fingers. It smelled like <em>awsuan</em>: oysters simmered in egg yolk. <em>(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.36)</em></td>
<td>Oysters simmered in egg yolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanom chan</td>
<td>Other Thai desserts, green and white stacks of <em>kanom chan</em>, and tiny tents of banana leaves hiding <em>kanom morkang</em> followed behind. <em>(CLD, Chapter 12, p.147)</em></td>
<td>Thai dessert with green and white stacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanom morkang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai dessert in a tiny tent of banana leaves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.6, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4     | playang           | Kum spent part on a kilogramme of playang (smoked fish),…  
(SDC, Chapter 4, p.65) | Smoked fish |
| 5     | kaokaibai-kaprow  | Now the waiter brought the dishes of kaokaibai-kaprow (chicken stir-fried with basil, chilli, garlic, soy sauce and monosodium glutamate and served on rice) and the MSG-spiked meelukechin (noodles with meatballs).  
(SDC, Chapter 14, pp. 257-258) | Chicken stir-fried with basil, chilli, garlic, soy sauce and monosodium glutamate and served on rice |
| 6     | kao jaow/kao niaw| Designed to cook white rice (kao jaow) with water, the sort of rice consumed in most parts of Siam and the world, rice cookers are not for Esarn sticky rice (kao niaw), which is steamed.  
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 27, p.639) | White rice  
Sticky rice |
| 8     | somtam/pladaek   | “Yes, we know. She can eat very hot somtam (papaya salad) and pladaek (Esarn picked fish) just like us,” said Piang who had cooked for Elizabeth during the previous visits.  
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.570) | Papaya salad  
Esarn picked fish |

Table 6.7: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Human Characteristics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | dek khaya      | We’d putter by the city dump at twenty, twenty-five kilos an hour and some of the dek khaya, the garbage children whose families lived in shanties on the dump….  
(STS, At the Café Lovely, p.31) | Garbage children |
| 2  | chaolay        | …. surrounding the island with a naval patrol so the chaolay – the sea gypsies – could not come to their rescue.  
(STS, Sightseeing, pp.86-87) | Sea gypsies |
| 3  | konsuan        | At that moment the lady of the house saw a konsuan (gardener) pruning too heavy-handedly a variegated shrub.  
(SDC, Chapter 6, p.121) | Gardener |
| 4  | miano          | “…You’d want to keep one or two miano (mistresses) too!”  
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, pp.421-422) | Mistresses |
| 5  | mialuang       | For you, your first wife, or as the Siamese say mialuang, is the hotel or hotels you manage.  
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 21, p.523) | First or major wife |
| 6  | naamaa         | “Yes, for a fee an agent known in Siamese as ‘naamaa’ (horse face) has approached me. He’ll do all the form filling and walking so that the driving license could be issued without fail.”  
(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.494) | Horse face  
(Agent) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt(s)</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>konbaannok</td>
<td>Dani turned away as soon as he had a whiff of the rustic scent of <em>konbaannok</em>, the country bumpkins, as each of them came closer to him to do the namaskara. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.482)</em></td>
<td>The country bumpkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kratoey/ katoey</td>
<td>The transvestite or <em>kratoey</em> promised Bruce a blissful time. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 263)</em> Oh, it’s a paper called ‘<em>Katoey</em>: Transvestitism in the Resonating Contexts of Contemporary Thai Society. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.40)</em></td>
<td>Transvestite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>maebaan</td>
<td>Ah, these are what they call <em>maebaan</em>, the master recalled and was surprised that he could remember the vernacular title of the housekeepers. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 3, p.320)</em></td>
<td>Housekeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Deemaak</td>
<td>“<em>Deemaak. Very good indeed,</em>” complimented Dani before leaving for the marquee that teacher Anucha, …<em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 20, p.502)</em></td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>luk phuchai</td>
<td>“Courage!” she whispered. “Be a <em>luk phuchai!</em>” <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.188)</em></td>
<td>Courage/ brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>raengkin</td>
<td>“You know what Rankin sounds like in Siamese? It sounds like <em>raengkin</em>, which means ‘eaten by vultures’ Hee! Hee!” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 11, p.389)</em></td>
<td>Eaten by vultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>pudi-ungrit / pudee-ungrit</td>
<td>Being encouraged by the noble tone and sign of breeding known in Siam as <em>pudi-ungrit</em> (English noble man), the persistent peddler responded eagerly: “Yes, very nice rubbings, sir.” <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.117)</em> Anucha joined them, sitting down naturally cross-legged close to Charles, and shook hands with the <em>pudee ungrit</em> (well-bred Englishman), … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.571)</em></td>
<td>English noble man Well-bred Englishman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>keeka</td>
<td>“They called me <em>keeka</em> (shitty slave),” contributed a young man who has worked in an animal feed factory. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 7, p. 345)</em></td>
<td>shitty slave, low-class servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mohfalang</td>
<td>And people from poorer villages have moved to live in Napo because of better conditions and the hospital known far and wide for having <em>mohfalang</em> (foreign doctor) … <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 34, pp. 691-692)</em></td>
<td>Foreign doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.8: Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Animal Terms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No(s)</th>
<th>Nativised Item(s)</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Luke-naam</td>
<td>When a temple boy whose name was Luke-naam (mosquito larva) had brought a bowl of water and a razor, the benign priest beckoned the young man to be near him. (SDC, Chapter 15, p.292)</td>
<td>Mosquito larva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jung</td>
<td>What do you care about Carl Gustar Jung? Who the hell was he anyhow? She chuckled at the thought that the word “jung” meant mosquito in Thai. (CLD, Chapter 13, p.160)</td>
<td>Mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 4</td>
<td>mah, achanai</td>
<td>“…You know, a literary word for ‘mah’ (horse) is achanai, or achanaya, meaning intelligence or knowledge.” (SDC, Chapter 1, p.30)</td>
<td>Horse, Intelligence (or knowledge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kapom</td>
<td>In the hut of the Surins, the two oldest children were playing on the porch, amusing themselves with a kapom, a large lizard that they had caught that afternoon. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 286)</td>
<td>A large lizard (North-eastern Thai dialect)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Other Domains)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Baan</td>
<td><em>Baan</em> something is two stylish Siamese teak houses joined together by a spacious open porch with another section in between to serve as bar and kitchen, quite different from the huts of the Napotians. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 26, p.628)</td>
<td>Baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hongsuam</td>
<td>His was the only hut in Napo that had a <em>hongsuam</em>, a toilet. (SDC, Chapter 5, p.71)</td>
<td>Toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Baan Somwang</td>
<td>However, some of the rewards included a celebrated retirement with a hefty pension to <em>Baan Somwang</em> (The House of Fulfillment) … (SDC, Chapter 6, p.118)</td>
<td>The House of Fulfilment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Baan Vimarnman</td>
<td>…one could not deny that the Pengpanichs’ <em>Baan Vimarnman</em> (A Home in Heaven) was indeed a divine place for angels and supreme heavenly beings. (SDC, Chapter 6, p.120)</td>
<td>A Home in Heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>baansongsiam</td>
<td>…. <em>baansongsiam</em>, Siamese style house, should be air-conditioned, have modern bathrooms and good plumbing. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 22, p.564)</td>
<td>Siamese style house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>baanyai</td>
<td>“His new house, known to all as <em>baanyai</em> (big house), is opposite Jek Ching’s shop.” (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 271)</td>
<td>Big house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tang</td>
<td>All traditional Thai instruments were played on the floor, or on a <em>tang</em>, a slightly raised wooden table. (CLD, Chapter 3, p.46)</td>
<td>A slightly raised wooden table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No(s)</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>Meaning(s)</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kiangbin</td>
<td>But they remained there to feed their eyes on the well-dressed man who had flown in kiangbin, a flying machine. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 278)</td>
<td>A flying machine (airplane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tuyen</td>
<td>And for comfort I heard that they have tuyen, (refrigerators) and kiangpup-aakud (air-conditioners) which I have not yet seen but believe that when one has these things one cannot do without them later on in life. (SDC, Chapter 15, pp. 292-293)</td>
<td>Refrigerators Air-conditioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Prem</td>
<td>…, the parents decided on ‘Prem’ meaning joy, to be his name. (SDC, Chapter 1, p.28)</td>
<td>Joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nit</td>
<td>They all have nicknames like that. Nit means ‘tiny’, too, like lek. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.115)</td>
<td>Little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lek</td>
<td></td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>phuttachat</td>
<td>Everyone sees ghosts all the time in Thailand anyway, but they loved to congregate at Blue House, especially on the veranda which overlooked the garden and which was always permeated with the sickly-sweet odor of phuttachat, a night-blooming jasmine. (DFS, In the House of the Spirits, pp.2-3)</td>
<td>A night-blooming jasmine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>yaplong</td>
<td>The Jek has a horse, and the horse must eat grass, and it likes yaplong, a special kind of grass, very much. (SDC, Chapter 5, p.77)</td>
<td>A special kind of grass in Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ton yang</td>
<td>Under a tall indigenous gum tree known as ‘ton yang’, he sat in the lotus position, eyes closed, meditating to overcome hunger and thirst. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 10, p.368)</td>
<td>A tall indigenous gum tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>Then she crawled away and at a respectful distance rose to her feet, and off she went to dig kha (galingale), cut a few sprigs of baimakood (aromatic lime leaves), and a handful of takai (lemongrass). (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 282)</td>
<td>Galingale Aromatic lime leaves Lemon grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>baimaa-kood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>takai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sawatdee wai</td>
<td>Sawatdee, Uncle,” I said, greeting him with a wai, bending my hand extra low for effect, ... (STS, Farangs, p.10)</td>
<td>Greeting Bending one’s hand for greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kobkhun</td>
<td>Though thanking was not a done thing for many Siamese, the grateful Saxonized Napotian had to mention it. “Kobkhun to you both for doing everything for the teachers and for us.” (SDC, Chapter 22, p.579)</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kroong-thep</td>
<td>I went to Kroongtep, the Celestial City, ... (SDC, Chapter 5, p.86)</td>
<td>The CelestialCity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>changwat</td>
<td>The lady of the house explained that her husband had gone to the changwat (provincial city) to take part in a seminar… (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 272)</td>
<td>Provincial city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Reduplicating Lexical Borrowing (Other Domains), continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>sabai</td>
<td>“And when your mother moved up on that stage, so beautiful with silk around her waist and one shoulder showing from the sabai, they were under her spell…” (CLD, Chapter 3, p.53)</td>
<td>A Thai traditional costume for a lady to be worn between her waist and shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>kiah</td>
<td>Feet in rubber flip-flops, in the wooden sandals the Jek call kiah. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.121)</td>
<td>Chinese wooden sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ramwong</td>
<td>Children who had hung around had been asked to do a circling dance, the ramwong, in front of the shop where one of the former dancers was now standing. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 274)</td>
<td>Circling dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sai Fon</td>
<td>“ Sitting on the floor wasn’t such an ordeal then. All right. Let’s play ‘Sai Fon’ “ Streams of Rain. (CLD, Chapter 3, p.51)</td>
<td>Streams of rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>“Me too, Dawson,” he giggled and then turned to his audience: “You know Dawson sounds like in Siamese?”… “Short penis. Ha! Ha!” (SDC, Chapter 11, p. 388)</td>
<td>Short penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>sinsod</td>
<td>Everything from the food to the exact value of the sin-sod, dowry. (CLD, Chapter 12, p.143)</td>
<td>Dowry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Manora</td>
<td><em>Manora</em> was a mythological half-bird woman, a winged divine kinary who resided among her kind in the woods of Mount Meru on top of which gods and goddesses lived. (SDC, Chapter 7, p.184)</td>
<td>A mythological half-bird woman in Thai literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>yaabaa</td>
<td>“…I heard that most drivers take yaabaa (amphetamine tablets) to keep them awake…” (SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p.482)</td>
<td>Amphetamine tablets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX F: LOAN TRANSLATION

### Table 6.18: Word-for-Word Translation (Distinctive Thai Items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>elephant-trekking business</td>
<td>…where his uncle Mongkhon ran an <em>elephant-trekking business</em>. <em>(STS, Farangs, p.7)</em></td>
<td>A kind of tourism business in Northern Thai which is now found around the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>the annual district draft lottery</td>
<td>On a pleasant morning in April I go three doors down to Wichu’s house and we walk to Wat Krathum Sua Pla, the temple where <em>the annual district draft lottery</em> will be held. <em>(STS, Draft Day, p.53)</em></td>
<td>The yearly draft of for soldiers (national service) of a district that is held at the temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Heart-stopped building</td>
<td>The day my grandfather went into the hospital I saw a patient who had died being wheeled into what Thais literally call the “<em>Heart-stopped building</em>”. <em>(UOS, The Umbrella, p.3)</em></td>
<td>Mortuary Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>rent-free land</td>
<td>Though the pay was merger, the <em>rent-free land</em> and their share from selling coconuts kept them content. <em>(UOS, Sisi, pp.76-77)</em></td>
<td>The land available for rent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Temple of Dawn</td>
<td>O, to get to the place, you zigzag through the world’s rauchest traffic, then you fly along this madcap figure-eight expressway, cross the river where stone demons stand guard on the parapets of the <em>Temple of Dawn</em>, … <em>(DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.101)</em></td>
<td>The famous temple in Bangkok that is used for tourism promotion. It short name is Wat (temple) Arun (Dawn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pre-breakfast and post-afternoon nap cars</td>
<td>But many children and school boys and girls in uniforms who rode on the <em>“pre-breakfast” and “post-afternoon nap” cars</em> would wave back. <em>(UOS, Iridescent Memory, p.96)</em></td>
<td>Public vehicles which run early in the morning and in the early and late afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>red-ants’ nest</td>
<td>At one time a gang of teenagers tied the Tadpole to a tree and set a large <em>red-ants’ nest</em> on the victim. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.41)</em></td>
<td>A nest which is full of biting red ants (Thai children like to tease their friends with this nest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>money-making ministries</td>
<td>The reports that many politicians have been fighting tooth and nail for cabinet posts and top jobs in the <em>money-making ministries</em> continue to take most of the front-page space of the newspapers. <em>(SDC, Chapter 7, p.144)</em></td>
<td>Certain ministries with a great deal of yearly budget (for easy corruption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>hill-tribe</td>
<td>Rit, the fair <em>hill-tribe</em> boy of Chiangrai, had to die a horrible death, while I stayed safely in the darkness of my room. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.125)</em></td>
<td>A group of hill people in Northern Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, and China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No(s)</td>
<td>Nativised Item(s)</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>Meaning(s)</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>rice winner</td>
<td>Many of those fortunate refrigerator owners may be those <em>rice winners</em> who have worked in Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Singapore and the Middle East. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 27, p.639)</em></td>
<td>The rice farmers in North-eastern Thailand who have better life after working as labours overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kite-flying wind</td>
<td>The northerly, known as the <em>kite-flying wind</em>, was mild even for the multimillionaire who wore a white safari suit and a Panama hat and frak glasses against exposure to the Esarn sun. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.662)</em></td>
<td>The wind for playing kites in Thailand, especially during March and April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>street-side fried chicken stalls</td>
<td>…I thought of the vendors in town with their <em>street-side fried chicken stalls</em>, … <em>(STS, Cockfighter, p.180)</em></td>
<td>Fried chicken stalls on street side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>canal taxi</td>
<td>We all prostrated ourselves, made the appropriate offerings, and took the <em>canal taxi</em> back to civilization. <em>(DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p. 146)</em></td>
<td>Express boat (for a journey via canals in Bangkok)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>begging trip</td>
<td>Once I went there after returning from one of the <em>begging trips</em>,… <em>(SDC, Chapter 4, p.66)</em></td>
<td>A journey for begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>begging-bowl</td>
<td>In their living quarters, the acolyte emptied the contents of the <em>begging-bowl</em> and the containers, arraying them for the monk. <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.101)</em></td>
<td>An equipment a monk used for begging (alms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>taste bud-cheating stuff</td>
<td>I must remember to say: ‘Please do not put MSG in my food’ every time I ask for Siamese or Chinese dishes from now on. Too much of this <em>taste bud-cheating stuff</em> gives me headaches and skin rash. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p.258)</em></td>
<td>Substance that does not allow one to know the actual favors of food <em>(Monosodium Glutamate)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>high-ranking thief</td>
<td>You, little ones, must not dare, must not speak out against evil, against invisible crooks, <em>high-ranking thieves</em>, punitive murderers, untouchable drug traffickers, awesome godfathers, charming kick-back takers, <em>sinister producers</em>, powerful-vote buyers, besuited extortionists, influential bribers and the bribed. <em>(SDC, Chapter 14, p. 291)</em></td>
<td>Wealthy thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>sinister producer</td>
<td></td>
<td>A gangster who brings bad luck or danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pock-marked monkey face</td>
<td>Look at his hideous <em>pock-marked monkey face</em> and large pointed ears next time you see him here or on television. <em>(SDC (Book II, Chapter 20, p.498)</em></td>
<td>A person with white face like a Rhesus monkey’s one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>noisy propaganda</td>
<td>It was said that in villages all over Isan such high steel posts with loudspeakers have been set up so that the people could listen to Radio Siam. “Starting at six o’clock in the morning, the blaring broadcast can start your day. Most of us silently endure and accept the <em>noisy propaganda</em> as a matter of norm or a drastic measure that you cannot avoid,” said Primo. “But if this kind of forced listening takes place in a civilized society, the noise pollution alone will cause outcries from the people. You would not put up with it.” <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 26, p.631)</em></td>
<td>Noise pollution from the project of morning radio programs that force villages to listen to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.18, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>multi-uncle</td>
<td>…; but as soon as my family had been able to afford a toilet, back in the late fifties, my grandmother had an exorcist brought in to propel my <em>multi-uncle</em> on the next world. (DFS, Lottery Night, p. 39)</td>
<td>Ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>multi-Great-Uncle</td>
<td><em>Multi-Great-Uncle</em> wasted his other question on trying to find out whether he would regain his manhood and be able to experience an orgasm… (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p. 10)</td>
<td>Ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>short-time hotel users</td>
<td>Though I could be tempted to write about sex workers, kept women, drag queens, bar-goers, sauna frequenters, adulterers, and <em>short-time hotel users</em>… (SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.660)</td>
<td>Temporary hotel guests, especially those who have sexual activities in motels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>little car toilet</td>
<td>The traffic in Bangkok is so bad that they sell <em>little car toilets</em> so you can go and do what you have to do, while you’re stuck at a red light for an hour. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.109)</td>
<td>A small lavatory for a car while being in traffic jam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.19: Word-for-Word Translation (Asian English Items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>water-taxi</td>
<td>We had to park the Mercedes at the Oriental Hotel and catch a <em>water-taxi</em>. (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.143)</td>
<td>A boat for passengers along Chao Phraya River in Bangkok (or other rivers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>water-bus</td>
<td>…; it seemed to me that she was catching the <em>water bus</em> to Chinatown. (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.199)</td>
<td>A boat for passengers along Chao Phraya River in Bangkok (or other rivers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lottery-dreamer</td>
<td>The scream was waking up all the <em>lottery-dreamers</em>. (DFS, Lottery Night, p. 53)</td>
<td>Lottery buyers who dream of being rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>powerful-vote buyers</td>
<td>You, little ones, must not dare, must not speak out against evil, against invisible crooks, high-ranking thieves, punitive murderers, untouchable drug traffickers, awesome godfathers, charming kick-back takers, sinister producers, <em>powerful-vote buyers</em>, besuited extortionists, influential bribers and the bribed. (SDC, Chapter 14, p. 291)</td>
<td>A politician who gives money to those who vote for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>the supernatural and spirits of dark things</td>
<td>Do not disturb evil, the wicked, the powerful crooks, the blatant thieves, <em>the supernatural and the spirits of dark things</em>. … Eyes were not to see, ears not to hear, and mouths not to speak against them. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.37)</em></td>
<td>Black magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>the Spirits of the Universe</td>
<td>Having thus said, Tatip cupped his trembling hands on his chest to symbolize a blossoming lotus flower, a votive offering in worshipping <em>the Spirits of the Universe</em>. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.137)</em></td>
<td>All sacred things like powers or souls in the universe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re-born</td>
<td>She was <em>re-born</em> as a majestic bo tree with resplendent gold and silver leaves. <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p.7)</em></td>
<td>Reincarnate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>afterlife</td>
<td>This yearning led to her belief in spirits, mystical beings, and the <em>afterlife</em>. <em>(CLD, Chapter 1, p.7)</em></td>
<td>Re-birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>soul-destroying sight</td>
<td>The <em>soul-destroying sight</em> was more than the silent son could endure. <em>(SDC, Chapter 4, p.65)</em></td>
<td>The sigh for chasing ghosts or spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>the 227 tenets</td>
<td>But once you liberate yourself from those hindrances which I have just mentioned it is easier to observe the 227 <em>tenets</em> to which every monk should adhere. <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p.294)</em></td>
<td>Sacred precepts for Buddhist priests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Eight Precepts</td>
<td>I’m sure your <em>Eight Precepts</em> don’t step you taking tea. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.122)</em></td>
<td>Sacred precepts for Buddhist commoners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>soul-beckoning mantra</td>
<td>…, chanting a <em>soul-beckoning mantra</em> that pertained to souls that had left the bodies in fright or due to pain and calamity. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.438)</em></td>
<td>Sacred words for calling a spirit or ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>the rain-begging rite</td>
<td>The <em>rain-begging rite</em> was their last hope when human resources failed. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 27, p.649)</em></td>
<td>The praying ritual for rainfall (in Northeastern Thailand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>next world</td>
<td>…; but as soon as my family had been able to afford a toilet, back in the late fifties, my grandmother had an exorcist brought in to propel my multi-uncle on the <em>next world</em>. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.39)</em></td>
<td>Future life after death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>the Ruler of the Earth and the Sky</td>
<td>Meanwhile the adults spoke of more rites and sacrifices to gain mercy from the <em>Ruler of the Earth and the Sky</em>. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 28, p.651)</em></td>
<td>God (Nature in Buddhism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>soul-binding rites</td>
<td>When an old man called him ‘son’ he was pleased, and he gladly accepted invitations to wedding ceremonies, <em>soul-binding rites</em>, and parties in which he would sit cross-legged on the floor among the peasants as if he had always been one of them. <em>(SDC, Chapter 3, p.61)</em></td>
<td>The rites of tying thread around a child’s wrist and bestow a blessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>the Karmic Force</td>
<td>Therefore I personally take it as a task to map this unmapped change in the psyche or mental topography in Monsoon People and its sequel, <em>The Karmic Force</em>. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 27, p.642)</em></td>
<td>Reciprocal deeds, law of cause and death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.20, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>the Fellowship of the Order</td>
<td>He began with the Four Resources on which the ordination was based. “You, the new piksu, shall not commit sexual intercourse, even with animals; for if you practise such, you will no longer be allowed to continue the Fellowship of the Order, a follower of the Buddha...” <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p.298)</em></td>
<td>The disciple of Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>the Goddess of Rain</td>
<td>“Doesn’t it look like a good, kind woman?” I say she’s the Goddess of Rain. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p.36)</em></td>
<td>The Rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>sacred circle</td>
<td>“Joey! Let go!” “Stay inside the sacred circle, you idiot!” <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p. 52)</em></td>
<td>A circle marked for a sacred space in a ritual for protecting one from ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>long-back louse</td>
<td>Old Cook called Boon “the long-back louse” which, in Thai actually means a lazy who’d rather sleep than do anything else.” <em>(UOS, The Happy Ne’er-Do-Well, p.69)</em></td>
<td>A very lazy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>the Might of the Corrupt</td>
<td>If he had said to the grasping khamnan that paying peasants to raise their hands to elect him was pernicious and vile it would have been a different matter, for he would have dared to challenge the Might of the Corrupt. <em>(SDC, Chapter 2, p. 48)</em></td>
<td>The Power of Corruption</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.21: Fixed Collocations (Rank-Bound Translations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>the Goddess Moon</td>
<td>And Panya softly breathed into his kaen to the tune of: O, the Goddess Moon that shines… <em>(SDC, Chapter 4, p.67)</em></td>
<td>The Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sub-human beings</td>
<td>What could the teacher achieve by telling us, dumb children of sub-human beings… <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.134)</em></td>
<td>Very bad persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX G: HYBRIDISATION

### Table 6.26: Thai Item as Modifier (NN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>plataphien mobile</td>
<td>“Everyone knows,” the thaokae said… “that a plataphien mobile has fish in it.” <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.161)</em></td>
<td>A mobile made of fish-shaped ornaments made from palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>phubphieb position</td>
<td>“This isn’t going to work,” I whispered to my grandmother, who was kneeling in the phubphieb position with her palms pressed together… <em>(DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p.176)</em></td>
<td>The position of sitting on one side with feet drawn to the body and pointing backwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>namasakara position</td>
<td>Then asked the acolyte to cup the palms of his hands in the namasakara position in readiness for the bestowing of the precepts. <em>(SDC, Chapter 6, p.114)</em></td>
<td>The position of salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>puangmalai wreath</td>
<td>I lifted my pressed palms to my lips and murmured a prayer to the Lord Buddha, then hung a puangmalai wreath of jasmine petals across the tombstone. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night , p.50)</em></td>
<td>A garland wreath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dhamma dialogue</td>
<td>Pra Prem received them in the sala where he had been holding a dhamma dialogue with a small group of elders. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p.425)</em></td>
<td>Expounding the Buddhism Doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>chui chai music</td>
<td>The shrilling of the pinai, the pounding of the taphon, the tinkling of marimbas and xylophones rang in the chui chai music. <em>(DFS, Chui Chai, p.98)</em></td>
<td>The music for a particular Thai dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>namaskara gesture</td>
<td>The moribund men then raised their hands cupped to resemble a lotus flower and touched their bending foreheads with the tips of their fingers to perform a namaskara gesture. <em>(SDC (Book II), Chapter 10, p.368)</em></td>
<td>The gesture for salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>saisin cord</td>
<td>A length of saisin cord wound round and round the nearby trees and through the pressed the palms of all the celebrants in the ritual. <em>(DFS, Lottery Night, p.54)</em></td>
<td>sacred white cord in Buddhist rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>khao man gai place</td>
<td>“The khao man gai place,” he said, “is down that alley a ways.” <em>(DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p.193)</em></td>
<td>The area where chicken rice are being sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>khaopansa season</td>
<td>In the khaopansa season, the three-months of the Buddhist Retreat, the Napotians learnt Luke-pi would be ordained. <em>(SDC, Chapter 15, p.292)</em></td>
<td>Buddhist Lent season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>yang tree</td>
<td>When he reached a yang tree under which an old man was sitting, Kumjai said… <em>(SDC, Chapter 5, p.85)</em></td>
<td>Rubber tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.29: Thai Item as Head (AN Type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>English Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>half farang</td>
<td>She referred to the many children of mixed blood in Thailand: half Chinese, half Indian, and half farang. (CLD, Chapter 3, p. 44)</td>
<td>One with half-Thai and European caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>damned farang</td>
<td>: “I know your secret- your other life of a damned farang born again to pay off the horrible karma.” (SDC, Chapter 5, p. 81 )</td>
<td>Cursed farang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>flabby farang</td>
<td>At first Dani pretended that he was engrossed in the news to avoid conversing with the flabby farang. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 4, p. 327)</td>
<td>Flabby westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>poor farang</td>
<td>…, he reprimanded himself: One should be compassionate to the poor farang all alone tonight of all nights. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 13, p. 411)</td>
<td>Poor westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>meddling farang</td>
<td>“You must leave,” the menacing manager ordered the meddling farang. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p. 672)</td>
<td>Meddling westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>defiant farang</td>
<td>“You’re disturbing these people.” The bouncers moved in to remove the defiant farang by grabing his arms. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 30, p. 672)</td>
<td>Defiant westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>senile khamnan</td>
<td>Yes, when the senile khamnan passed away, the boy went to the house of the dead to see the corpse. (SDC, Chapter 2, p. 38)</td>
<td>A senile head of sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kind farang</td>
<td>Before turning back, the kind farang touched the boy’s shoulder and slightly squeezed it for a moment. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 119)</td>
<td>A kind westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>friendlier farang</td>
<td>But then the friendlier farang turned and came back to him and put a one hundred baht banknote into his shirt pocket. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 118)</td>
<td>A friendlier westerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>traditional phasing</td>
<td>She wore a traditional phasin of black silk. (DFS, Lottery Night, p. 52)</td>
<td>Traditional Thai lower garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>buoyant khamnan</td>
<td>After a while, he wordlessly left the tearful family for the headman’s house and with his heart still overwhelmed with sorrow, he confronted the buoyant khamnan. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p. 427)</td>
<td>Buoyant head of sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>different pang</td>
<td>They date from the late Ayutthaya Period; they’re about an inch or so tall, and there are 55 in all, each one representing a different pang or attitude of the Lord Buddha. (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p. 144)</td>
<td>Different attitude of feature of the Lord Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>giant maengdaa</td>
<td>“You know what they look like on the home planet, up there? They look like a giant maengdaa.” “What’s that?” said Mary. “It’s sort of a giant cockroach,” I said… (DFS, Fiddling for Water Buffaloes, p. 175)</td>
<td>A big water cockroach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>obedient luke-sith</td>
<td>Impressed, she wondered: “What for?” &quot;For being an obedient luke-sith.” (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 122)</td>
<td>An obedient acolyte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>unconscious luke-gop</td>
<td>Still the unconscious luke-gop had not come back to life. (SDC, Chapter 2, p. 40)</td>
<td>An unconscious tadpole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Nativised Item</td>
<td>Excerpt</td>
<td>English Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>hard-earned yaplong</td>
<td>Then she swam after it, pushing it out to the farthest part so that no one, yes, no one could collect the hard-earned yaplong. (SDC, Chapter 5, p. 77)</td>
<td>Hard-earned grass in the water land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>old kroo</td>
<td>Then came a rumour that your old kroo had been supporting the communists in our area. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 130)</td>
<td>An old teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>graceful wai</td>
<td>The dance ended and she prostrated herself before the audience of two, pressing her palms together in a graceful wai. (DFS, Chui Chai, p. 88)</td>
<td>Graceful Thai way of greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>narrow soi</td>
<td>…and BMWs double-parked all the way down the narrow soi, … (DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soups, p. 6)</td>
<td>Narrow alley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>small kaen</td>
<td>…, holding a notebook in one hand and a small kaen in the other. (SDC, Chapter 4, p. 67)</td>
<td>Small reed mouth-organ (a musical instrument of north-eastern Thailand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>little luke-pi</td>
<td>To comply with their wish, the little luke-pi took the family’s buffaloes out of the village at a different time from the others and to a separate part of the plain. (SDC, Chapter 2, p. 44)</td>
<td>A little child of ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>meek dekwat</td>
<td>“Yes, Honourable Brother, I shall follow the Eight Silas and undertake Vipassana,” the meek dekwat readily confirmed his acceptance; and thrice he made the namaskara. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 115)</td>
<td>A meek temple boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>customary namaskara</td>
<td>Major Ayumonkol Monkolkulthorn kneeled in front of the priest and performed the customary namaskara three times on the wooden floor. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 14, p. 428)</td>
<td>Customary salutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>urbane kon-ungrit</td>
<td>So it seemed that the two men would have gone their separate ways if the budding poet had not happened to go the way where the urbane kon-ungrit had parked his car. (SDC, Chapter 7, p. 155)</td>
<td>Urbane English people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>crestfallen konsuan</td>
<td>She lectured him in a less noble tone of voice as if she intended to make the crestfallen konsuan never do that again. (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 121)</td>
<td>Crestfallen gardener</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX H: REDUPLICATION

#### Table 6.44: Reduplication for Giving Double Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nativised Item</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | mute, mute, mute | “He’s *mute, mute, mute.*”  
“As mute as a tree.”  
*(SDC, Chapter 1, p.32)*                                                                 |
| 2  | burning, burning, burning | The fire was engulfing China town, the roller-coasters of Santa Cruz were blazing gold and ruddy against the setting sun, and even the Forbidden City was on fire, even the great portrait of Chairman Mao and the Great Wall and the Great Inextinguishable Middle Kingdom itself, all *burning, burning, burning,…*  
*(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.32)*                                                                 |
| 3  | giving, giving and giving | All the time it is *giving, giving and giving,* and there is very little coming back to nourish me.  
*(SDC, Chapter 5, p.109)*                                                                 |
| 4  | Teacher, teacher | *Teacher, teacher,* you should be careful in giving out books to your students, and you should never tell anyone that they must try to reach for the light.  
*(SDC, Chapter 6, p.133)*                                                                 |
| 5  | Mick! Mick! | At such a time, the servant would wonder at the sound of lamenting in English. Often times, it would be just: *Mick! Mick! Oh, Mick!*  
*(SDC (Book II), Chapter 32, p.678)*                                                                 |
| 6  | nothing, nothing | He was trying to block his bloody nose with a handkerchief though he wanted to say: “It is *nothing, nothing* at all. I have taken many blows before.”  
*(SDC, Chapter 14, p.264)*                                                                 |
| 7  | Good! Good! | “If you catch a chicken, I’ll make kaengkai.”  
*“Good! Good!”* said the oldest son, for whom chicken curry was a rare treat.  
*(SDC, Chapter 14, p.281)*                                                                 |
| 8  | muoi, muoi | *“Muoi, muoi,”* he said, “the flesh just won’t give.”  
*(DFS, Dragon’s Fin Soup, p.11)*                                                                 |
*(SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, p.712)*                                                                 |
| 10 | Money! Money! | Ah, the money. *Money! Money! Bloody Money!* Everyone is after my bally money.  
*(SDC (Book II), Chapter 17, p.467)*                                                                 |
APPENDIX I: NATIVISATION OF RHETORICAL STRATEGIES

7.2.1 The Use of Native Similes and Metaphors

Example A
If Elizabeth had been with him, she would have been following him like his shadow as Prem progressed from site to site. Now he pondered her routine work with Dani in the Heavenly City. You must not mind Danny’s hubris and contentious nature, my dear Lizzie, Prem mentally wrote another letter. Deep down, believe me, he is a decent human being. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, 487)

The underlined simile means following someone all the time. Prem wants Elizabeth to follow Dani all the time wherever he is. Dani is the key person of the school project budget; however, some of his features do not impress Elizabeth. Prem thus needs to write a letter to Elizabeth in order to persuade her to pay attention to this simile.

Example B
“Khim, sit straight up right now, and stop playing with your food,” snapped Auntie Jin. Like a puppet drawn by the string of Auntie Jin’s command, Chalida’s back immediately straightened and her face lifted. (CLD, Chapter 2, p. 31)

…Dany does not spare me even on my birthday. Now I know why he wants me near him. To him, I am a boxer’s punchball. It cannot hit back. He does not know yet that this punchball has a way of hitting back, not only at him but also at most of my tormentors. I can make use of them as extra characters in my book, which I have been carrying in my head all this time. I can command them, making them my puppets. Danny’s reference to the English aristocrats has given me an idea. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, pp. 459-460)

The word ‘puppet’ used as the underlined simile and metaphor is similarly found in the Thai and English cultures. In Thai, this expression has been used as the Thai marionettes which mean those who are controlled or nominated by others with more influential power. In the story ‘CLD’, the character ‘Khim’ or ‘Chalida’ is compared to a puppet because she is commanded by Antie Jin. Likewise, the character ‘Prem’ in the novel ‘SDC’ is writing a story book, so he is making his friend, Dani, a puppet. Prem creates and controls his characters.
Example C
“Got everything ready then?” Prawit cunningly asked, his shrewd eyes sparkling treacherously. “Any problems in obtaining the US visa?”
“No, not me respectable MP. I am good man from Esarn, easy like peel banana and put in mouth,” the MP happily used a worn-out smile. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p. 456)

The character ‘MP’ (a member of parliament) is compared to the underlined Thai simile that resembles an English idiom, namely ‘it is a piece of cake’ which means a very easy action (English Online, 2008). In the Thai culture, bananas symbolise objects that are commonly found in the country and are easy to eat. Thus, this character deserves the use of this simile; he has not found any obstacle to apply for the visa for entering the States as he is a politician.

7.2.3 Transcreation of Proverbs, Idioms and Old sayings

Example D

When Khamnan Singhon heard that millions of baht were coming to the Surins, he turned up at the party and circled the hovel like a shark that had sensed blood in disturbed water. Refusing to sit and drink with the down-trodden, Singhon barked: “I don’t like city people coming here, making a deal over my head with you lot! Not over my head! You hear? You! Kiang! You are a wounded dog out of the jungle not so long ago!”(SDC (Book II), Chapter 15, p.449)

The headman, Khamnan Singhon, feels dissatisfied with the money pouring into the village through the Surins (Prem), so he expresses such underlined idioms to Kiang, Prem’s brother. These idioms imply that this headman is not singled out for the budget though he is the key person of the village. These idioms are similar to another in Thai – looking over one’s head. All ironically conveys the statement that ‘a certain person is not important or neglected for a certain situation’ (Kroobannok, 2009).

Example E

“No need. Speak English no need for MP. One Siamese Prime Minister cannot say ‘thank you’ in English but can do thesis for a degree, quote English book and French book. And Siamese people call him Doctor all time. He go Australia and England too. Siamese people bow and wai him, lick his foot No need speak English. Action goo der than talk.”(SDC (Book II), Chapter 18, p. 489)

The idiom ‘lick one’s foot’ means one flatters his or her boss or someone with higher authority for getting promoted or gaining favour. It is compared to this Thai person, MP, who praised the Thai Prime Minister after he had bought a Doctorate degree.
Example F
Having been pramae’s son for almost fifty years now, Luke-pi could draw solace from his belief in her protection, that should see him through to the full karmic cycle. ‘When will that be?’ he often wondered. He recalled an ancient Esarn belief: One should know the time to leave this world when one hears an owl hoot, calling for one’s ‘kwam’ or soul. (SDC, Epilogue, p. 747)

The underlined saying taken from a north-eastern Thai legend presents Prem’s life reminder. Prem was nearly shot dead while teaching at the project school. Hence, he thought that he had survived through the assistance of the goddess mother, pramae. However, Prem expresses such an old saying as a marker of the karmic life cycle, namely ‘death’ which he cannot escape from. The Thai people believe that an owl represents the Lord of Death’s vehicle; the owl hoot calls one’s soul means death is coming.

Example G
All of the lamps were lighted. The whole house was in chaos. Nothing had been done yet. Preparation for the arrival of babies was not made long in advance for fear of alerting evil spirits. … The midwife cut the umbilical cord with a tapered piece of bamboo. After the premature baby’s first feeble wail, an elderly servant helped wrap her in cloth to prevent a chill from setting in. Another attendant wiped the base of the baby’s tongue with tiny flakes of gold leaf mixed in honey. This old custom was thought to protect the baby from throat and mouth infections; some people also believed it would give the child mellifluous speech in the future.

Since Grandma had only just enough time to take off her theatre-going attire, Grandpa now noticed that she had given birth while wearing her full set of jewellery. He smiled as he took them off and dropped them, piece by piece, into the bowl of bath water for the baby. Doing so, he honoured another old belief that the child would grow up in prosperity.

The cleansed baby was wrapped once more and placed in a small wicker basket. The midwife rocked the basket gently in her arms and cried out according to the tradition. “Three days, a child of the spirits. Four days, a child of humans. Whose child is this? Come forth and take it.” Strangely, the child’s parents are not supposed to say that the baby is theirs. A kind-hearted female relative or family friend, who had born at least one healthy child, should have been there to say that the baby was “hers” and then “buy” the infant from the midwife. But because Mother’s particular time of birth was unexpected, no one meeting these requirements was present. Some female servants who could have qualified did not think it would be proper for them to claim the child. The room was silent. (UOS, Jewels in the First Bath, pp. 25-28)

This extract is full of the old Thai sayings on ‘birth’ and ‘spirits’. Told by the character ‘Grandma’, the sayings are divided into two parts: prohibition and procedure. The former concerns a good preparation before a baby’s birth. The latter contains the baby’s mouth and throat health, putting accessories in the baby’s bath, as well as the midwife and the purchasing mother’s taking action on behalf of the baby’s real mother. These forbidding and preferable features yield the Thai belief as they mean that the baby is safe from being threatened by ghosts which signify the sickness.
Example H
Even so, food was not scarce; it had never been in what we then called the land of Rice-in-the-Fields and Fish-in-the-Canals. This is the country where people greeted each other with the question cum invitation “Have you eaten any rice and fish yet?” (UOS, A Book and a Needle, p.34)

A character’s thought patterns toward Thailand’s crisis during World War II are tied to the underlined old saying and the common Thai greeting, namely “Have you eaten any rice and fish yet?” These expressions mirror Thailand’s rich agricultural landscape; the country’s food has never been scarce but it diminished during the war.

Example I
So, they find her by the side of the road with her internal organs missing. And I’m there, too – all the boys are, at dawn – peering down, daring each other to touch. It’s not a rape or anything, they tell us. Nothing like the other girl. Someone has seen a cowherd near the site, and he’s the one they arrest. He’s an Indian, you see. If there’s anyone the locals despise more than the Chinese, it’s the Indians. They have a saying: If you see a snake and an Indian, kill the babu. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.123)

The underlined saying is transcreated through an incident told by the character ‘Nicholas’, who had been living in Thailand. Nicholas looked at the murdered body of a young girl along with other Thais. Later he found out that an Indian was suspected as a murderer due to the absence of a Chinese defendant, namely Si Ui. In a Thai’s view, a snake is less dangerous than a babu. A snake tries to only bite a man, but a babu has many tricks and frauds. However, this context does not provide a snake but it pictures an Indian cowherd living in Thailand, and Nicholas did not know the exact murderer yet.

Example J
My bedroom looked out over this veranda, and shortly after my great-grandmother’s death (the servants having gossiped for days about a black cat having leapt out of her funeral pyre) I did have occasion to see her, hovering in mid-air, at the window,... I was always terrified of my great-grandmother when I was little... In death, she was even more frightening. (DFS, In the house of the spirits, p.3)

The old saying ‘a black cat leaps out of a corpse in a coffin’ is adapted to this context. It means this corpse or a ghost has very strong power of haunting; this black cat brings bad luck. The character ‘I’ encounters this saying directly, so he is very scared of his great-grandmother’s corpse. This is evident in his awful memory of her.
The underlined saying is connected to perspectives of the characters “my senior mother and my brother”. ‘My (senior) mother’ believed that her beauty contest was unsuccessful due to her bad stars or the so-called fate, thus she wished to be lucky in her next life. This belief does not shake the mind of the character ‘my brother’. He dreamed of being a movie dubber, so he thought that this job was possible for him. In this saying, the notion of stars or horoscope is significant for a Thai’s life. Some Thais are credulous, so they often blame their stars when facing obstacles or failing.

The proverb ‘inviting an enemy into one’s house’, the theme of the selected scene, means any affairs that trigger other countries (communities) to have a quarrel or a battle or a war with our country (a community) (The Royal Institute, 2011). It is used in the post-World War II setting in Thailand. The Japanese soldiers in the Thai people’s eyes are those who have such features as highlighted. The Japanese army, Britain’s and America’s enemy, was allowed (or invited itself in this context) to be stationed in Thailand (a house in this context) to fight against Britain and America in the war. This dissatisfied Thailand’s allies, and later a large amount of food was required to repair relations between Thailand and her former allies.
7.2.4 The Use of Culturally Dependent Speech Styles (Indirectness)

Example M
The district where Chalida lived had always been occupied by the elite of Thai society – peripheral members of the royal family and old, aristocratic families. This part of town, referred to as the “old city” centered around the Grand Palace, the largest and most magnificent of the royal residences, where King Rama I resided when he founded the Chakri dynasty and constructed this new capital city. Bangkok had its root here, where the palaces, government and administrative buildings, and homes of the elite were located. Gradually the city radiated from this core until it became and expansive, bustling metropolis. (CLD, Chapter I, p. 11)

The underlined word with its clues refers to the ‘Pranakorn district’ which is now located in Bangkok. The writer indirectly provides this district name in this context because of a presentation of historical, linguistic and literary strategies. Historically the previous status of the Pranakorn district was ‘Pranakorn province’ or the then Bangkok province. Since 1972, Pranakorn province has become a district as Bangkok was changed into ‘Bangkok Metropolitan’, a special administrative province. However, the word ‘metropolitan’ is equivalent to ‘Mahanakorn’ in Thai; the word ‘maha’ (big, grand) is combined with ‘nakorn’ (city) that is linguistically based on ‘Pranakorn’. Hence, this district of the character ‘Chalida’ is the foremost area of the present Bangkok dynasty. Literarily, the writer characterises Chalida and her family with regard to the importance of this district. Thematically, Chalida’s life is tied to her family’s controversial, political issues which took place in this area.

Example N
“Phetch ‘n’ Carry,’ we like to call him at the Post. He owns the virtual whorehouse concession; pays quite a pretty penny for it in protection, I understand.”
“Protection?” I said. “From what?”
“Prostitution is still illegal here in the sex capital of the world.”
“But surely it’s different, fucking a computer…victimless crime and all that…”
Bob laughed. “Bangkok”, he said is not like other cities. (DFS, The Last Time I Died in Venice, p. 190)

The underlined terms display the indirect rhetorical strategy in this extract. Dr. Phetch is supposed as a famous journalist in Thailand. His prostitution business needs ‘protection’. This looks very short but it is the indirect version - ‘protection payment’ or ‘bribes’ paid to police for turning a blind eye to the illegal business of the prostitution. Dr. Petch and other brothel owners in the country are forced to make this payment. The
phrase ‘the sex capital of the world’ is given by the foreign media. It sounds insulting but it is a very indirect word that refers to Bangkok.

Example O
From the hiding place, Luke-pi heard human voices coming from afar, and the sound of footballs on dry leaves told him that many men were approaching. A moment later they came into view, choosing to sit down under the very tree in which Kiang had set his trap, forming a circle to play a dice. As they gambled, the Tadpole could see a few faces, the sad eyes focused on the accursed dice as if hypnotized. The tragedy weighed heavily on them, but once in a while the silent one heard the swearing and the curses. At one point the khamnan got up due to the call of nature. Unfortunately the corruptive power made his way towards the thicket in which the secret observer was hiding. The leaves and the branches and the tall grass could not conceal him completely from evil. This sudden encounter caused the ringleader to change his mind. Turning back, the Wraith of the Masters stopped the game. The men left soon after, leaving the tranquillity of Changlaiwood to the secret watcher in the wild. (SDC, Chapter 2, p. 49)

Indirectness is used for the two main characters: Prem and the khamnan (headman). Prem knows that the khamnan bribes many people in the village to vote for his position. Later the corrupt khamnan revenges the bribed by asking men to gamble as he has the ‘Wraith of the Masters’ or the corrupt policemen. That is, the gamblers can borrow the khamnan’s money, so they are indebted to the khamnan. Further, they have to pay the khamnan for the protection from being caught by the policemen. In this incident, Prem (Luke-pi) follows his brother named ‘Kiang’ to trap birds in the bush. He is asked to hide himself in the thicket to wait for the prey. Eventually, he hears a group of gamblers playing dice near the hiding place. In this regard, the writer uses the word ‘the silent one’ to refer to ‘Prem’, who quietly watches the gambling. Then, the word ‘the corruptive power’ indirectly refers to the khamnan, who walks to the gamblers. The sentence ‘the secret observer was hiding’ represents Prem, who has been silently observing the khamnan’s behaviour. At this point, the expression “the leaves and the tall grass could not conceal him completely from evil” conveys the wickedness of the khamnan that is known to Prem. However, the gambling leader found that the khamnan is approaching, so he and the others stop the game and leave this bush. This is because these gamblers are the khamnan’s debtors and they have to pay the khamnan for the illegal protection. This situation has been observed by Prem who is characterised
through the word ‘the secret watcher’. As a whole, all these indirect words and sentences are recreated as the linguistic and literary strategies for developing the paradoxical characterisation between Prem and the Khamnan.

7.2.6 Translation of Other Figures of Speech in the Thai Culture

Example P
Chalida heard the khanmaak procession arriving through her opened windows, distant at first then deafening like an approaching train. Hidden behind the curtain, she saw Ton and his parents lead the entourage of guests and ceremonial offerings…
Deep pounding of drums alternated with the low chants of men and high-pitched calls of women, all rolled with random bouts of joyous laughter. Straw trays piled with bananas, symbols of fertility in marriage, and green melons and palm leaves, both signifying harmony, bobbed up and down as the bearers danced to the rhythm of the drums, their arms stretched out, chanting and talking all the while. Platters held orange balls and strands of tongyip and tongyod, sweet Thai desserts, their golden color symbolizing prosperity. Other Thai desserts, green and white stacks of kanom chan, and tiny tents of banana leaves hiding kanom morkang followed behind. (CLD, Chapter 12, p.147)

This extract mirrors the background of Chalida’s marriage proposal made by the third party from the groom’s side (Ton). This proposal is conducted via the so-called khanmaak procession in the Thai tradition. Many items used for this ceremony and brought by the groom are displayed with their symbolism in the underlined sentences.
In this regard, the auspicious Thai sweets ‘tongyip and tongyod’ are used because of their feature and their names (‘tong’ means ‘gold’). Likewise, another sweet, namely ‘kanom morkang’, is also relevant due to its gold colour. Additionally, khanom chan represents the couple’s life to be higher ranked and promoted. The word ‘chan’ means ‘classes and ranks’ (Kanomthaiclub, 2008). These desserts are served to monks and guests in the ceremony.

Example Q
The lottery begins. All the boys in the monk’s quarters fall silent. We listen to a booming voice in the pavilion announce… Sorachai Srijamnong: Red…Surin Na Nakhon: Black…The crowd is silent with every red, uproarious with each black. (STS, Draft Day, p.63)

The colours ‘red’ and ‘black’ are derived from the ‘red and black tickets’ which are to be picked by Thai men aged 21. The red tickets are chosen by those who are drafted while the black ones imply freedom for the young man. In this story those who
pick the red tickets bring forth nothing but silence and sadness in the pavilion; meanwhile, those with the black tickets are applauded and acclaimed by the crowd.

Example R
They make good money, and Boon displays it blatantly by wearing a gold necklace nearly as thick as his thumb, with nine gold-trimmed Buddha pendants. *(UOS, The Happy Ne'er-Do-Well, pp. 73-74)*

The underlined expressions symbolise the rich people; they are universal symbols, anyway. The Thai proverb “one with money is considered ‘a younger’ but those with gold are called ‘an elder’” means a person with lots of gold and money is wealthy and thus automatically gains respect. Thus, the character ‘Boon’ shows off his wealth with his gold accessory because he and his wife earn a lot of money.

Example S
Toon’s mother had died when she was very young. Then her father, Ta Sa, remarried, but after bringing two boys into the world the second wife also died. Since then, there was not a woman who would marry Ta Sa, fearing that they might share the same fate because he had a black mole on his scrotum. The mohpifa (spiritual healer) said so. And now everyone in Napo knew, and believed it. A black mole on the scrotum brought death to wives. *(SDC, Chapter 3, p. 56)*

The phrase ‘a black mole on one’s scrotum’ symbolises misfortune. This is a belief in north-eastern Thailand. It is evident in the novel ‘SDC’ – Toon, Prem’s primary school classmate, whose father named ‘Ta Sa’ has such a special feature of his sexual organ, brought death to her mother and step-mothers.

Example T
‘Tell the girl to put on some clothes,’ Uncle Monkhon growled. ‘It’s unholy.’
‘Aw, Uncle,’ I pleaded. ‘We didn’t bring any with us.’
‘Need I remind you, boy, that the elephant is our national symbol? Sometimes I think your stubborn farang half keeps you from understanding this…’ *(STS, Farangs, p.10)*

The underlined expression is expressed by Uncle Monkhon to the half-western boy who finds it okay that the western girl is only wearing a bikini for an elephant-trekking. Half-nudity on an elephant’s back seems to violate the image of Thailand. An elephant is an auspicious animal for the kings in wars and the royal affairs in the old days, so it then symbolises the Thai Kingdom. Hence, it is true that Uncle Monkhon’s warning to the half-nakedness and elephant-trekking tourism can disdain the holy animal of Thailand.
“What the most of the Bangkokians thought of the villagers showed in his words and his face even though I did not think why we should be ashamed – there were so many people in the world who did not eat the same as the Bangkokians and none of them were ashamed – what the people in the capital thought should not be overlooked. I stopped working and thought about it for a long time. My English is poor, I only finished the secondary school in my town. Even in my own language one cannot say I am well educated. But with the encouraging from my friends I stumbled through it. If you readers found it good, give your admiration to all the persons who encouraged me, if you found it bad, blame me” (Prajuab Thirabutana, 1973: 7-8).
(2.1) Philosophy and religion

(2.1.1) Animism and theism

Example 8
“Thailand is a country with more ghosts than people. The belief in the omnipresence of spirits comes from animism, the dominant tribal religion in the region in the days before the inhabitants of the peninsula were converted to Buddhism by the missionary zeal of King Asoka”  (DFS, In the House of Spirits, p.2)

Example 41
So his parents and several elders gathered to beg the ghost not to take this boy from his impecunious parents, who needed another helping hand in the rice fields. (SDC, Chapter 2, p.40)

Example 9
“What if they’re not in this room? What if they’re stolen? I said.
“Phra Isuan will rearrange the fabric of reality,” said Mudge, “and make whatever has happened un-happen. After all, he is the God of Destruction.”  (DFS, Diamonds Aren’t Forever, p.138)

Example 10
“The gates of the sky swung open and I saw winged apsaras on lotus pads, singing in endless praise of Phra Indra, King of Heaven”  (DFS, Lottery Night, p.57)

Example 11
Phra Yesu, the Christian god, who was an incarnation of the god Vishnu, made his disciples drink his blood from a silver cup called the Holy Grail. It was a magic blood which could heal the universe. But Phra Yesu was attached to material things and could not free himself from the sexual desire for Mary Magdalene, who was an incarnation of Maya, the deceiving one, who tempted Buddha under the Bo tree. So Phra Yesu was made to suffer crucifixion instead of being granted enlightenment. And the silver cup was lost. (DFS, The Steel American, pp.71-72)

(2.1.2) The relation of man to God

Example 25
Mother said the refugees were a bad sign. ‘God’s trying to tell us something,’ she said. “God’s probably saying ‘Hey, sorry, but there won’t be a health club or a community garden or a playground or a pool or any of those other things you suckers thought you were getting when you first came to the development. I’m gonna give you some Cambodian refugees instead. They’re not as fun, but hey, life’s not a store, sometimes you don’t get what you pay for.’”(STS, Pricilla the Cambodian, pp.96-97)

Example 27
“I see. It’s a bargain you’ve made with your god.” That was easy to understand. I had tried to deal with the Four-Faced Brahma for winning lottery numbers, but I never seemed to be able to come up with the right offering. Or perhaps it was his way of telling me that my special powers were not meant to benefit myself, but the whole village.
“But it’s not good for you,” I said. “What you’re wearing wasn’t designed for the tropics. Your god would surely understand.”
“I’m afraid not,” said the Steel American. “He’s a hard god. Harder than the steel I gird myself with.”  (DFS, The Steel American, pp.67-68)

(2.1.3) Views on life and death as well as after-life

Example 4
Still, death could not separate Kanitha from her beloved daughter. She was re-born as a majestic bo tree with resplendent gold and silver leaves. Many more deaths and re-births she would experience before the story ended. She always returned to her daughter, who continued to be sick with grief. Only when Auey found true happiness did Kanitha liberate her own spirit from this endless cycle of re-births and finally achieve peace in relinquishing her worldly attachments. (CLD, Chapter I, pp.4-7)
Example 28
She believed that her youngest son would be taken from home to live in a far-off place because he had taken baby birds from their nests. “You have been cursed by the mother birds, and thus you will always be homeless, travelling from place to place all your days” (SDC, Chapter 11, p.235)

Example 36
Good for your karma. Buy bird, set bird free, shorten your suffering in your next life. (DFS, The Bird Catcher, p.108)

(2.1.4) Ethics and morals

Example 37
Wichu asks me if I’m nervous. I tell him that I am. Wichu says he’s not nervous at all. It’s strange, he says, I’m feeling calm right now. Relaxed What will happen will happen. (STS, Draft Day, p.57)

Example 38
In the evening, in a crowded restaurant in High Street, sitting opposite each other, Elizabeth leaned forward to whisper: “Have you heard of Witty’s death?”
“Witty? No?
“It was so horrid. He was found dead in the back of his Mercedes, his throat slit from ear to ear, his chest stabbed countless times. The youth who caught said it was self-defence; he was sexually assaulted after the lawyer had driven him to a dark lane in Soi Tonson. The newspapers had a field day, divulging his private life, you know, his relationship with teenagers, his harem, and a penchant for dressing up as a beauty queen. They dragged his wife and the adopted sons and those guiltless houseboys through mud and mire.”
“Poor Witty, I’m so very sorry. His karma has caught up with him so soon. But I didn’t expect it to be so horribly cruel,” the former monk muttered sadly. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 25, p. 618)

Example 39
“...The Agriculture Minister claimed that he did not see anything wrong in Suan Vichitra Reforestation’s tactics, asserting that Suan Vichitra Reforestation was a legitimate investment which corresponded with the government’s professed policy of increasing commercial forest so as to cover 40 per cent of the country’s arable area. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister’s Secretary-General Pornpat Kittipong described eucalyptus as Siam’s future leading cash crop. Both the Agriculture Minister and the PM’s Secretary-General were unaware of any wrongdoings in the Company’s massive operation, which has enabled Suan Vichitra to have more land than most companies in Siam.” Prem stopped for a few seconds before adding an imprudent crack: Money can make some greedy men blind. (SDC (Book II), Chapter 24, p.596)

(2.2) Concepts of nature

Example 54
Having thus said, Tatip cupped his trembling hands on his chest to symbolize a blossoming lotus flower, a votive offering in worshipping the Spirits of the Universe. Closing his eyes, he began to mumble a magical mantra that began with:
Om loka waree aakasa fai
sankara panapai satawa pupa nai
nati mahasamud kodi... (SDC, Chapter 6, p. 137)

(2.3) Notions of government

Example 15
September 6th was the day when Thais commemorated the people's struggle for democracy and justice, and mourned the massive loss of life from the violence years before...The mere mention of that date still brought tears to the eyes of parents who had lost sons and daughters in the turmoil of that rainy night in the capital in 1969. (CLD, Chapter 5, pp.66-67)

Example 16
“As far as I’m concerned, I don’t give a damn. The July Revolution! The 1947 Coup! The 1958 Coup! The 1971 Coup! The 14th October 1973 Massacre! And now another massacre! All I can say is get on with it. Kill each other off! The more the better!”... (SDC, Chapter 10, pp.229-232)
Example 17
As Anucha predicted, the third massacre occurred. The events that led up to the killing spree on the 18th-19th of May 1992 are: (SDC (Book II), Chapter 36, pp.704-727)

(2.4) Literature

Example 1
My husband said, “Remember the story of King Vessandar, who gave away his very children – those most precious to him – to a mere beggar, because he’d managed to free himself even from love itself, that most persistent of desires. It was only when he had relinquished even love that he was free to be reborn as the Lord Buddha.” (DFS, The Steel American, pp.78-79)

Example 3
Manora was condemned to death by burning. While a pyre was being prepared for the immolation, Manora pleaded for her sequestered wings so as to complete her adornment in order to perform the last rite – the kinnary’s Dance of Death. (SDC, Chapter 8, pp.184-186)

Example 45
The jasmine story… She smelled of jasmine. The scent of the flower seeped through her pores and her breath. When she left a room, the fragrance remained, sweet and exhilarating. That was how the family knew she couldn’t be a human, but an angel who had mistakenly been sent to walk this earth. She wasn’t a mortal carrying the burden of sins, but an immaculate soul meant to live in the heavens. “So the family was afraid; afraid the gods would discover Jasmine, realize their mistake; and take her away…So they tried in every way to mask her perfection.” (CLD, Chapter 3, pp.54-57)