News Discourse of the News Reports of Border Conflict

between Thailand and Cambodia through Textual Analysis

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Abstract

Using textual analysis, this paper investigates the linguistics characteristics used by Thairath and Bangkok Post, the most popular Thai-language and English-language daily newspaper to present news about border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia. The purpose is to identify linguistic characteristics employed in the presentation of the government, military and other related parties to present their standpoint regarding the border conflict from 2011 to 2013 and to investigate the functions of these characteristics in constructing the news discourse. The present study adopts John E. Richardson's textual analysis progression (2007) to analyze text on two levels: micro-level textual analysis and macro-level textual analysis. These linguistics characteristics have different communicative functions to present various standpoints of people presented in the news. It also helps text producers achieve their aims in influencing and shaping audience's perceptions in a negative and non-negative ways regarding the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia.

Keywords: textual analysis, border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia, daily newspapers in Thailand

Introduction

As most countries in the world have shared borders with neighboring countries, border conflict with neighboring countries is not uncommon. Thailand is one such country that experiences conflict. The territory adjoining Preah Vihear is categorized by its multiethnic and multilingual population and syncretic culture and history (Feigenblatt, 2012, p. 5). The use of military force to settle the conflict became the preferred method for both countries (Kasetsiri, Sothirak, Chachavalpongpun, 2013, p. viii). The tension did not only threaten bilateral relations between Thailand and Cambodia, but also caused disharmony to regional peace and stability (Kasetsiri et al., 2013, p .viii). Moreover, this tension, caused predominantly by the fallout from Thai domestic political fighting,

provoked pervasive criticism and stimulated a sense of nationalism among Cambodians and Thais (Kasetsiri et al., 2013, p. viii). From 2002 to 2007, there was a continuing argument between the two sides on whether Thailand should assent to Cambodia's decision to propose Preah Vihear as a Cambodian World Heritage site or whether the temple should be cooperatively proposed by Thailand and Cambodia (Grabowsky, n.d., p .6). The border dispute erupted in 2008 when Cambodia proposed to the World Heritage Committee's 32nd Session that Preah Vihear Sanctuary be registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Kasetsiri, 2009; Martin, 2011, p. 31; Kasetsiri et al., 2013, p. 25). The conflict breached the objectives of having a world heritage site as there was a militarily clash between Thailand and Cambodian troops near Phu Ma Khua area of Sisaket province on February 4, 2011 (The Nation 2011, 4 February 2011).

While the government of Abhisit Vejjajiva (from December 2008 to August 2011) and thereafter that of Yingluck Shinawatra faced the conflict with Cambodia, nationalists triggered the government to use aggressive tactics against Cambodia and also to discard the verdict of the International Court of Justice (Bangkok Post, January 28, 2011; The Nation, November 5, 2013 as cited in Lee, 2014, p. 52). However, political instability in Thailand resulted in a sharp rise in nationalist rhetoric and in a much more aggressive stand towards Cambodia for possession of the small plot of land adjoining the temple (John, 1994; Lintner, 2009; Murphy, 2009; Ungpakorn, 2010; Dalipino, 2011; Dressel, 2009; Feigenblatt, 2009a, 2010b, 2010c as cited in Feigenblatt, 2012, p. 20). Also, there was the evidence of military's challenge which aimed at increasing the conflict with Cambodia (there were three armed clashes in 2008, one in 2009, three in 2010, and two in 2011) (Bangkok Post, 2011 as cited in Chachavalpongpun, 2013, pp. 71-72).

Therefore, during this time of border conflict, news reports played an essential role as they could be a medium of communication for different related parties such as the government, authoritative office, military, and others in order to show how they present their standpoint regarding the border conflict. Nonetheless, the news reports may not be grounded only on facts but also on the journalism's viewpoint (Bennett, 2007). That is, the press may turn strongly critical, highlighting disagreement, and focusing on biased attraction. On the other hand, they may be supportive, highlighting agreement, and focus on solutions. Therefore, the population's perceptions of the border conflict are not only shaped by their direct experience and feeling received from other individuals but also by the newspapers.

In this regard, the textual analysis of newspapers is challenged as readers may not know whether the feeling and perceptions are influenced by linguistic patterns. In this context, the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia is worth

exploring. This study will examine headlines, subheads and body of the news in order to determine what types of linguistic characteristics are employed and to investigate the functions these characteristics serve. The study will pursue two research questions :

1) What types of linguistic characteristics are employed in the news reports of border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia?

2) What functions do the strategies serve in such a conflict?

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Erjavec (2004) stated that "the analysis of discourse as text is a form-and-meaning analysis" (p. 555). Fairclough (1995) believes that it is difficult to isolate these two features of text and meaning as "meanings are necessarily realized in forms and differences in meaning entail differences in form" (as cited in Jahedi & Abdullah, 2012, p. 60). Fairclough (1995 as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 46) explained that there are two major structures of texts to consider during analysis : the structuring of propositions and the combination and sequencing of propositions. The first structure concerns the representation of individuals and other social actors, and the analysis clauses presenting actions, processes and events. The second structure concerns the organization of these single clauses into a coherently structured sentence. Richardson (2007) developed the progression of textual analysis by examining news text from the micro-analysis of words, through sentence and onto macro-analysis of the organization of meaning across the texts. The study has applied the progression of textual analysis which can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Progression of textual analysis

Structuring of propositions	Words (lexical choice)	Micro-textual analysis
	Sentences 1) transitivity	
	Sentences 2) modality	
	Presupposition	
Combining propositions	Rhetoric	
	Narrative	Macro-textual analysis

Source: Richardson (2007, p. 47)

The analysis of specific words used in the newspaper text is the first step of text analysis. Words convey both connoted and denoted meaning to convey the inscription of society and of value judgements. Lexical choice is widely accepted as the choice of words that is not influenced by journalist's own creation but by something to do with the journalist's society (Pan, 2002, p. 51). According to Trew (1979a, 1979b as cited in Pan, 2002, p. 51) and Van Dijk (2006), perception which is embedded in lexicalization involves ideology. Van Dijk (2006) elaborated that ideology is primarily some kind of ideas—belief systems—that is manifest and shared by the members of a collectivity of social actors. In this study, the researcher examines lexical choice especially the cluster of words to explore how Thai and Cambodian sides are reported by journalists and then reveal the demonstration of "us & we, them & they" in the news reports.

The study employs an 'ideological square' strategy which performs a specific role in the contextual strategy of *positive self- representation* and its out- group counterpart *negative- other presentation* (Oktar, 2001, p. 319- 320). The strategy consists of four moves : 1) Express/emphasize information that is 'positive' about *us*, 2) Express/ emphasize information that is ' negative' about *them*, 3) Suppress/ de- emphasize information that is ' positive' about *them*, and 4) Suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about *us*.

With this approach, the researcher believes that the lexical analysis of news reports is a fundamental and crucial stage, which can depict intended information about the news regarding the border conflict to readers and hence is a clue to the underlying ideologies on the part of the media in general and journalist in particular.

Regarding to the sentence construction, the study investigates transitivity and modality. According to Halliday (1973), "transitivity is the set of options whereby the speaker encodes his experience of the process of the external world, and of the internal world of his own consciousness, together with the participants in these processes and their attendant circumstances" (as cited in Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In other words, the system of transitivity offers choices for indicating experience in terms of process types, participants, and circumstances. As stated by Richardson (2007), transitivity depicts the relationship between participants and the role they take part in the processes described in the news reports (p. 54). It can show 'who does what to whom' and types of verbal processes for example 'doing' vs 'happening' (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 44). In this regard, the study examines the participants, the process and the circumstances associated with the process described in reporting. According to Richardson (2007), transitivity can be examined by looking at "how actions are presented; what kind of action appears in a text, who does them and to whom they are done" (p. 54). In this regard, to study transitivity, the study will examine the

four principal types of verbs (Richardson, 2007, p. 54-55). The types of verbs which are: 1) verbal verbs, 2) mental verbs, 3) relational verbs, and 4) material verbs (action verbs) will be examined. Eggins (2004) explained transitivity in the following (as cited in Au-On, Trakulkasemsuk, & Vungthong, 2017, p. 23-25).

First, the verbal verb is the verb of saying. The participants of verbal verbs are Sayer, Receiver, and Verbiage. Sayer is the doer of the verbal verb, whereas Receiver is the participant to whom the verbalization is directed, and Verbiage is a nominalized statement of the verbalization or a noun presenting some kind of verbal behavior such as report, question, answer or statement. Second, the mental verb is the verb of feeling, thinking or perceiving. There are two participants: Sensor and Phenomenon. Sensor is a conscious participant who feels, thinks or perceives; while Phenomenon is what is felt, thought, or perceived by the Sensor. Third, relational verb is a kind of being or having. Relational verb can be classified into two modes: Attributive and Identifying. The key participants in the Attributive mode are Carrier and Attribute. Carrier is an entity being described, whereas Attribute is the description of the entity. In Identifying mode, two main participants are Token and Value. Token is an entity being identified, while Value is the identifier which defines the Token. Last, the material verb presents the concept of acting and happening. There are four possible participants in this type. The two key participants are the Actor and Goal. The Actor is the one who does the action, while Goal is the one who is affected by the action. Two other participants in the material verbs are Beneficiary and Range. Beneficiary is the one who profits from the process. Range is an addition of the process that is created by the use of dummy verbs, such as have, make, give, do and take.

As for the modality, this refers to judgments, comments and attitudes in the text and talk (Richardson, 2007, p. 59). Modality can show the expression of certainty versus vagueness and high versus low commitment to proposition on the part of the speaker (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 44). In this regard, the researcher explores the use of modal verbs (e.g., must, could, should) and their negations (e.g., must not, could not, should not) to see a form of 'opinioned' genres of journalism.

After examining transitivity and modality, presupposition are also analyzed in order to study the implicit claim embedded in the explicit meaning of news reports. Bekalu (2006, p. 151) noted that the term first showed in the work of the German philosopher Gottlob Frege (1892). In his writings, Frege's summarized the main claims on the nature of reference and referring expressions as follows:

- Reference expressions (names, definite description) convey the presupposition that they do in fact refer.

- For a sentence to have a truth value, its presupposition must hold.
- A presupposition of a sentence is also a presupposition of its negation.

Nevertheless, Renkema (1993 as cited in Bekalu, 2006, p. 152) explained that although the term has its origin in the philosophy of logic, the term has been viewed in much the same way as 'implied meaning' in most writings. As Richardson (2007) stated, "not all meaning is immediately 'there' in a text to be simply read from the manifest content; there are also *hidden* or *presupposed* meanings in texts" (p. 63). At this stage of analysis, the researcher employs what Reah (2002) proposed to analyze linguistic structures that are common to presupposed meaning (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 63). These structures are: 1) words that indicate the change of state verbs (e. g., start, restart, begin stop, continue) and 2) wh- questions (e.g., why, when, who).

As for the rhetoric of the news reports, the study examines the rhetorical moves used by journalists because, as stated by Thomson (2006), the journalist employs rhetorical strategies to influence others to adopt the same point of view (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 65). However, this does not mean that journalism merely works on rhetoric to seek agreement and support, as mentioned earlier, the argumentation in the news is in fact embedded with opinionated statements that shape prevailing values of a society and reflect the actions, attitudes and feelings of the journalists and others. According to Corbett (1990) and Jasinski (2001), there are many rhetorical moves recognized by rhetorical theorist (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 65). At this stage of analysis, the researcher employs three of the rhetoric moves suggested by Van Dijk (2006) and Richardson (2007) that are useful to the analysis of the news discourse to reflect sensationalism and to disclose the standpoint of journalists. First, the study analyzes hyperbole—an excessive exaggeration made for rhetorical effect. Second, they study examines metaphor—a concept that operates through transference of a similar characteristic. Last, metonym—a concept that operates through a direct form of association to substitute the name of one thing with another commonly associated with it, normally a part of it— are analyzed.

Regarding the narrative of news reports, journalists draw on information they themselves produce, and on that which they are offered—by news agencies, in press conferences, press releases, previous stories on the topic and a variety of other documents such as reports and minutes (Bell, 1991 as cited in Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 33). A considerable source of the input journalist use comes from organizational sources that have "organized relationship with the press" (Van Dijjk, 1998 as cited in Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 33). Journalist newsgathering routines thus invariably tilt the balance in favor of

powerful elite sources (Bell, 1991 as cited in Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 33). Many studies have been conducted on the news narrative (Richardson, 2007). The research examines the contents of news stories and the ways that such stories are reported. Bell (1991, 1998) constructed the model of news structure which are: 1) abstract, 2) source attribution, 3) event, 4) background, 5) commentary, and 6) follow-up (as cited in Renkema, 2009). In this study, the researcher employs Bell's model as it is the model that has been developed recently and has already been applied by Kong (2006 as cited in Renkema, 2009). At this stage, the paper examines the components of news reports regarding the border conflict and counted them in terms of their occurrence in each report and total occurrence in all reports to see the extent to which these reports were similar to typical news structure suggested by Bell. Moreover, this strategy is useful to expose the news narrative used by different news agencies.

Research Methodology

Data Collection

The study analyzes news reports of the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia reported in Thailand from 2011 to 2013. Data were collected from two popular Thai-language and English-language newspapers : Thairath and Bangkok Post. Data to be analyzed were collected from the official websites of the two news agencies: 1) Thairath (www. thairath. co. th) and 2) Bangkok Post (www.bangkokpost.com). The news reports that were released from February 4, 2011 until November 30, 2013 will be analyzed because of two reasons. First, the border conflict was amplified when there was a militarily clash between Thailand and Cambodian troops near Phu Ma Khua area of Sisaket on February 4, 2011. Second, based on International Court of Justice (ICJ) website, https//:www.icj-cij. org, retrieved on April 23, 2019, the Kingdom of Cambodia submitted to the ICJ on April 28, 2011 to file a request for interpretation of the judgement rendered by the Court on June 15, 1962 and the Court recalled Cambodia's request for the case's hearing on the judgment on November 11, 2013. The researcher believes that the collection of the news reports that were released during this time period will allow the researcher to acquire linguistic features that can be analyzed under the scope of this study at their best.

The selection of newspapers in Thailand is based on the following steps. In the first step, the researcher selected the news agencies based on the readership of their origins . Based on Nielson IMS,s record collected between July 17 to June 18, 2018 nationwide, the total population was 59,418,000 people aged 4 years or more. The record shows that in the Thai-language newspaper, Thairath has the

highest readership (Thairath has a readership of 2,650,000). In English-language newspapers, Bangkok Post has the highest readership (Bangkok Post has a readership of 4,000). In the second step, the researcher chose the news being analyzed from the 'broadsheet' (so-called 'highbrow') daily newspaper that has online sources. In the third step, the researcher chose the sources from the linkage of news topic towards the conflict being analyzed using the keywords "Thai + Cambodia + border." The corpus of the database from Thairath is 44 and Bangkok Post is 139. The total number of news reports is 180.

Data Analysis

The study concentrates on headlines and the whole content of the news reports. The study employs Richardson's textual analysis progression to analyze the micro and macro levels of news texts as previously stated. The study combines various approaches to reveal what kinds of linguistic characteristics are employed in news reports and to investigate the functions these characteristics serve in the news.

Research Findings

The study examines the texts presented in the two daily newspapers in Thailand. The findings are as follows.

Micro-Textual Analysis

Lexical Choice

At this stage, the researcher examines lexical choice especially the cluster of words to explore how Thai and Cambodian sides are reported by journalists and then reveal the demonstration of "us & we, them & they" in the news reports. The frequency of lexical choices strategy that consists of four moves is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. **Frequency of lexical choices in news reports**

News Reports	Express / emphasize information that is 'positive' about *us*	Express / emphasize information that is 'negative' about *them*	Suppress /de-emphasize information that is 'positive' about *them*	Suppress /de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about *us*
Bangkok Post	64 (20.92%)	123 (40.20%)	95 (31.01%)	24 (7.84%)
Thairath	6 (20.69%)	8 (27.59%)	2 (6.90%)	13 (44.83%)

Examples of lexical choices in Bangkok Post and Thairath are as follows**:**

Bangkok Post : Express/emphasize information that is 'negative' about *them* .

"Cambodia is trying to say that some part of the map [Annex 85D] is not important in the case. But, in fact, the court used it to illustrate the temple's vicinity. Moreover, the Cambodian lawyer has accepted the 4.6 sq km area has nothing to do with the temple's vicinity," he said.

The negative issue that is associated with Cambodia concerns the map Cambodia used in the ICJ.

Thairath : Suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about *us.*

กลุ่มไม่เอาสงครามรวมตัวอนุสาวรีย์ชัยสมรภูมิ ร้องรัฐบาลต้องยุติสงครามระหว่าง ไทย-กัมพูชา ระบุ ทำให้ชาวบ้านและทหารในพื้นที่ต้อง เสียชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน ขณะที่เห็นว่าที่รัฐบาลประกาศสงครามเพียงเพื่อต้องการกลบกระแสทางการเมืองเท่านั้น (Translation : Anti-war group gathered at the Victory Monument and requested the government to end the war between Thailand and Cambodia.The group indicated that the war made locals and solider lose their lives and property. At the same time, the group saw that the government declared war just because they only want to obscure political issue.)

The negative issue that is associated with the Thai government is about a hidden political issue the government used to declare war.

In Bangkok Post, although having a heterogeneous group of readers (any readers who have English language skill), the lexicalization that involves ideology shows negative-other presentation. Whereas in Thairath, although having less heterogeneous group of reader (only readers who have Thai language skill), the lexicalization that involves ideology shows negative self-presentation.

Sentence Construction

Regarding the analysis of sentence construction, the researcher studies transitivity and modality.

Transitivity

Richardson (2007) explained that transitivity forms the representation, describing relationships between participants and roles they play in the processes described (p. 54). The study examines choices that present an event's participants and choices that the event itself is presented (Richardson, 2007, p. 54). According to Eggins (2004 as cited in Au-On et al., 2017), the process can be classified as follows (pp. 23-25).

As previously stated, the verbal verb is the verb of saying. The participants of verbal verbs are Sayer, Receiver and Verbiage. Sayer is the doer of the verbal verb, whereas Receiver is the participant to whom the verbalization is directed, Verbiage is a nominalized statement of the verbalization or a noun presenting some kind of verbal behavior such as report, question, answer or statement.

The Sayer participants in all news reports are applied for various purposes. For example, they are used to describe the current situation, to show cooperation between countries, and show Thai authority's negativity towards Cambodian's doing. The purposes that were found in the news reports reveal the various ideational meanings of social actors portrayed in the news. Both Thailand's and Cambodia's parties were represented as the parties which acted in both negative and non-negative ways. Below are the examples of Sayer participants in the news reports.

Bangkok Post : *Adisorn Pokmontri, an ambassador-level official, <u>said</u> the Thai and Cambodian governments wanted to settle the case amicably as bilateral relations between the two countries were gradually improving.*

Thairath :*นายอภิสิทธิ์ <u>กล่าวว่า</u> ไม่ควรจะมี และเราไม่เป็นฝ่ายเริ่มต้นก่อนอยู่แล้ว หากเกิดเหตุต่างๆ ขึ้น เราต้องชี้ให้เห็นอยู่แล้วว่า กัมพูชา ใช้วิธีนี้ตลอดในการยกระดับของปัญหา (Translation :Mr.Abhisit <u>said</u> that it should not have had and we were not the one who started it.If something happens, we will have to point out that Cambodia always uses this strategy to escalate the level of problem.)*

Below are the examples of Receiver participants in news reports which show the participants to whom the verbalization is directed. Here, Receiver participants are expressed in a passive construction. Such transitive choices mostly involve a degree of submission or negativity. However, it is important to note that the

Receiver participants which are "was told", "would not be mentioned", "will be told", "were mentioned", "were told", "ถูกกล่าวซ้ำ" or "is repeatedly stated" rarely occurred in the news reports as illustrated in Table 2 and Table 3.

Bangkok Post : *Meanwhile, the Senate's committee on corruption investigation and good governance promotion <u>was told</u> by a lawyer that Thailand could refuse to comply with any new ruling of the ICJ.*

Thairath :ทั้งนี้ สุภชัยให้สัมภาษณ์กับ "ทีมเศรษฐกิจ" ว่า "แต่การทำธุรกิจต่างบ้านต่างเมืองคงไม่ใช่เรื่องง่าย ปี พ.ศ.2546 เกิด เหตุการณ์จลาจลในกัมพูชา จากความเข้าใจผิดกรณีนางเอกไทยที่<u>ถูกกล่าวหา</u>ว่าพาดพิงกัมพูชา โรงแรมรอยัลพนมเปญถูกเผา พร้อมกับสถานทูต ไทยและธุรกิจของคนไทยอีกหลายแห่งในพนมเปญ" *(Translation :In this regard, Supachai gives an interview with "economic team" that "but to do business abroad is not easy .In 2003, the turmoil occurred in Cambodia from the misunderstanding towards Thai actress who <u>was accused of</u> passing judgement on Cambodia. Royal Cambodia was destroyed by fire along with the Thai Embassy and other businesses owned by Thai people in Phnom Penh.")*

The Verbiage participants in the news reports are applied to report numerous past and current situations in the news reports. Below are examples of Verbiage participants.

Bangkok Post : *The court granted bail to Mr Panich, a Democrat MP for Bangkok, and Ms Narumol, one of two female detainees, on condition that they stay in Cambodia and <u>report</u> to the authorities there when summoned.*

Thairath :สถานีโทรทัศน์ของกัมพูชา<u>รายงาน</u>ยืนยันผู้แทนทหารของกัมพูชาและไทย สามารถเจรจาบรรลุข้อตกลงหยุดยิงแล้ว *(Translation : Cambodian television station <u>reported</u> and confirmed that the representatives of Thai and Cambodian military were able to negotiate and made a cease-fire agreement.)*

Second, the mental verb is the verb of feeling, thinking, and perceiving. There are two participants: Sensor and Phenomenon. Sensor is a conscious participant who feels, thinks or perceives, whereas Phenomenon is what is felt, thought, or perceived by the Sensor. In this study, the examples of Phenomenon participants in news reports cannot be found; however, Sensor participants are applied for two main purposes which are to show participants' thought and perception toward the current conflict, the ICJ's verdict, and other related situations in negative and non-negative ways. Below are examples of Sensor participants in news reports.

Bangkok Post : *He <u>was concerned</u> that anti-government, nationalistic forces were exploiting and politicising the ICJ issue.*

Thairath : ไทย-กัมพูชารบพุ่ง ชาวบ้านน้อยใจ "คนเสี่ยงตายไม่ใช่เรื่องธรรมดา" *(Translation: Thai-Cambodia fight. Villagers are offended "Risking people's life is not normal.")*

Third, relational verb is a kind of being or having. Relational verbs can be classified into two modes which are Attributive and Identifying. The key participants in the Attributive mode are Carrier and Attribute. Carrier is an entity which is being described, whereas Attribute is the description of the entity. In Identifying mode, two key participants are Token and Value. Token is an entity which is being identified, while Value is the identifier which defines Token.

Below are examples of Carrier participants of Attributive mode that were given certain Attribute in various ways. For example, to describe a situation or entity, to attack Thai nationalist group, and to show cooperation with the international community. Theses purposes that were found in the news reports reveal negative and non-negative descriptions of different participants portrayed in the news.

Bangkok Post : *Phnom Penh is still silent on the discovery of the landmines on the border.*

Thairath : เราต้องทำหน้าที่ของเราให้ดีที่สุดก่อน และต้องขอความกรุณาว่า เวลาที่พูดจากับประชาชนขอให้อิงกับข้อเท็จจริง เพราะอย่างน้อยที่สุดยืนยันได้ว่า รัฐบาลไม่ได้มีผลประโยชน์ในทางที่จะไปสร้างเสียหายของไทยเลย แต่พยายามกล่าวหากันมาตลอด ทั้งๆ ที่ไม่เป็นความจริง *(Translation :We must do our duty the best we can and must request to use fact when speaking with people. Because, at least, the government does not have any benefit in the way that causes problems in Thailand. But what has been accused all this time is not true.)*

Below are examples of Token participants of Identifying mode that were given certain Value in negative and non-negative ways in news reports. For example, to identify entity, to attack Cambodia, and to emphasize peace.

Bangkok Post: *"For both governments, Phnom Penh and Bangkok, the common ground is peace," he said.*

Thairath : ขณะที่การปะทะยัง ไม่หยุด จึงเป็นความพยายามขยายผลของกัมพูชา ที่จะยกระดับเรื่องนี้เข้าสู่เวทีนานาชาติ *(Translation :The fight has not been stopped. This is an attempt by Cambodia to escalate the issue to the international level.)*

Last, the material verb presents the notion of acting and happening. There are four possible participants in this type. The two main participants are Actor and Goal. Actor is the one who does the action, whereas Goal is the one who is affected by the action. Two other participants in the material verbs are Beneficiary and Range. Beneficiary is the one who benefits from the process. Range is an addition

of the process which is constructed by the use of dummy verbs, such as have, make, give, do, and take.

Below are examples of Actor participants who does the action in news reports. From the findings numerous Actor participants are portrayed in the news. Different parties from both Thai and Cambodian sides were represented as the Actors who acted in both negative and non-negative ways.

Bangkok Post : *He maintained his position that Thailand should* <u>*withdraw*</u> *its membership of the ICJ, which is to deliver its judgement in October on Cambodia's request for an interpretation of the 1962 ruling over the Preah Vihear temple.*

Thairath : นายอภิสิทธิ์ เวชชาชีวะ นายกรัฐมนตรี ได้ให้หลักการว่า ความสัมพันธ์ที่ดี<u>ต้องรักษาไว้ และต้องไม่ให้กระทบกระเทือนเช่นกัน</u> นั้น (Translation : *Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva, the Prime Minister, gave principles that good relationship* <u>*must be kept as well as it must not affect too.*</u>)

Below are examples of Goal participants affected by the action in news reports. Similar to the findings of Actor participants, numerous Goal participants are portrayed in the news. Different parties from Thailand,s side were mostly represented as the parties which is affected by the action or situation in the news in a negative way.

Bangkok Post : *At least five people- three Cambodians and two Thais-have been confirmed* <u>*killed*</u> *and scores of others wounded in the skirmishes which caused damage to the world heritage-listed Preah Vihear temple.*

Thairath : ส่วนประชาชนชาวบ้านก็แตกตื่น <u>วิ่งหนีตาย</u>หัวซุกหัวซุน <u>หลบลูกกระสุนปืนใหญ่และระเบิด</u> (Translation : *The villagers freaked out,* <u>*ran away from death,*</u> *and* <u>*hid*</u> *from big bullets and bombs.*)

Whereas, the Beneficiary participants cannot be found in the news reports, below are examples of Range participants in news reports constructed by the use of dummy verbs, such as have, make, give, do, and take to show an extension of the process.

Bangkok Post : *Gen Thanom went on: "Foreign experts have inspected the Khao Phra Viharn area and given the view that it is impossible, when* <u>*the question of the watershed is taken into consideration,*</u> *for the temple to be in Cambodian territory. The judges never came here to look at the terrain."*

Moreover, from the findings of transitivity revealed in the news reports, the verbs are used for different purposes to construct sentences in the news. Table 2

illustrates the number of process types of transitivity found in Bangkok Post. At this stage, only the verbs classified based on the types of verbal verbs, mental verbs, relational verbs, and material verbs mentioned earlier are considered.

Table 2. Number of transitivity in Bangkok Post

Types	Number of Findings	Percentage
Verbal Verbs	will say (1), can say (2), cannot say (1), say (9), would say (1), do not say (1), says (27), has said (4), said (611), can explain (1), explained (3), had explained (1), states (2), stated (1), did not mention (4), not to mention (1), had not mentioned (2), would not be mentioned (1), did not mention (1), must tell (1), was told (2), had told (1), will be told (1), told (41), report (3), reported (1), asked (77) Total = 800	22.40%
Mental Verbs	don't think (1), did not think (13), think (3), was decided (1), had decided (1), argued (6), argue (6), has argued (2) argues (1), love (1), want (25), wanted (29), wants (17), does not want (3), did not want (8), do not understand (3), did not understand (1), could not understand (1), should understand (1), would understand (3), will be able to understand (1), must understand (1), may understand (1), understand (5), do not know (2), don't know (4), did not know (2), knows (1), know (7), will know (1), knew (2), were very concerned (1), were moderately concerned (1), was also concerned (2), concerned (1), was concerned (3), is concerned (1), concerned (1), am concerned (1), are concerned (1), are still concerned (1), would like (10), don't like (1), would agree (1), agree (7), will agree (1), agreed (28), had agreed (5), has agreed (4), have agreed (10), was agreed (2), realise (4), hope (6), hopes (5), hoped (5), wish (1), learnt (1), had learnt (1), see (3), will see (4), would see (1), would not see (1), should see (1), can see (3), did not see (1), should not even recognise (1), could look (1), may look (1), should look (1), looks (1), looked (2), is looking (2), perceived (1), believe (9),	8.73%

Types	Number of Findings	Percentage
	didn't believe (1), do not believe (1), don't believe (1), believed (20), believed (18), was believed (1), are believed (1) Total = 312	
Relational Verbs	seem (3), seems (3), seemed (4), have (268), has (297), did not have (6), does not have (3), had (263), is (456), am (5), are (208), was (401), was not (20), were (213), were not (9) Total = 2,159	60.44%
Material Verbs	fight (22), fighting (3), take (52), takes (6), took (23), taken (23), run (1), running (2), solve (11), solved (2), resolve (12), send (12), sent (26), walk (4), walked (1), play (7), played (3), invite (3), withdraw (46), withdrawn (3), reject (9), rejects (1), rejected (16), killed (13) Total = 301	8.43%
Total	3,572	100%

Table 3 illustrates the number of transitivity found in Thairath .At this stage, only the verbs classified based on the types of verbal verbs, mental verbs, relational verbs, and material verbs mentioned earlier are considered.

Table 3. Number of transitivity in Thairath

Types	Number of Findings	Percentage
Verbal Verbs	กล่าว (state) (49), กล่าวว่า (state that) (38), กล่าวหา (accuse) (4), บอกว่า (say that) (10), พูด (say) (30), อธิบาย (explain) (1), แจ้ง (inform) (4), ชี้แจง (clarify) (10), หารือ (discuss) (42), อ้างว่า (claim that) (4), ระบุ (identify) (22), ประกาศ (announce) (3), ออกแถลงการณ์ (make a statement) (1), ถามว่า (ask that) (16), รายงาน (report) (20) Total = 254	17.74%
Mental Verbs	คิด (think) (6), ไม่คาดคิด (do not expect) (1), ตัดสินใจ (decide) (4), ต้องการ (want) (21), เข้าใจ (understand) (2), ไม่เข้าใจ (do not understand) (1), วิตก (is worried) (3), วิตกกังวล (is worried) (2), ไม่วิตกกังวล (is not worried) (1), เห็นชอบ (agree) (1), เห็นด้วย (agree) (1), มุ่งหวัง (expect) (1), สิ้นหวัง (is despaired) (1), ผิดหวัง (is disappointed) (1),) หวังว่า (hope that (3), หวัง (hope) (3), ไม่หวัง (do not hope) (1), คาดหวัง (expect) (1), มุ่งหวัง (expect) (1), รู้ว่า (know that) (1), ไม่รู้ว่า (do not know	9.57%

Types	Number of Findings	Percentage
	that) (1), เห็นว่า (see that) (14), มอง (see) (7), มองว่า (see that) (2), เห็นชอบ (agree) (1), เชื่อ (believe) (9), เชื่อมั่น (believe) (5), ยัน (determine) (15), ยืนยัน (confirm) (25), น้อยใจ (is offended) (2) Total = 137	
Relational Verbs	ดูเหมือน (seem) (1), เป็น (is) (284), อยู่ (is) (114), คือ (is) (46), มี (has) (335), ไม่มี (does not have) (40), ยังไม่มี (still has not had) (11) Total = 831	58.03%
Material Verbs	ตอบโต้ (fight back) (3), รักษา (protect) (26), ต่อสู้ (fight) (1), สู้ (3), ปะทะ (confront) (23), ยิงปะทะ (fire) (2), ไม่นำมา (does not bring) (1), ไม่ถูกนำมา (is not brought) (1), นำมา (bring) (2), วิ่ง (run) (3), เดินทาง (travel) (55), เดินหน้า (move forward) (6), เดินได้ (can move on) (1), หนีตาย (escape from death) (2), วิ่งหนีตาย (run away from death) (1), อพยพหนีตาย (evacuate to run away from death) (1), อพยพหนี (evacuate and run) (2), อพยพ (evacuate) (5), วิ่งลงหลุม (run to a shelter) (1), วิ่งเข้า (run into) (1), แก้ไข (solve) (8), ส่งผล (cause) (11), ส่งเข้าตรวจสอบ (send to investigate) (2), ส่ง (send) (11), เชิญ (invite) (6), อัญเชิญ (summon) (2), ถอน (withdraw) (18), หลบ (hide) (1), รวมตัว (gather) (3), เรียกร้อง (request) (2), เปิดเผย (reveal) (5), ไม่ขอเปิดเผย (do not reveal) (1) Total = 210	14.66%
Total	1,432	100%

From the findings, transitivity depicts the relationship between participants and the role they play in the processes described in the news reports in numerous ways. Moreover, this study reveals transitivity processed most in the news reports as shown in Table 4. Bangkok Post and Thairath employed relational verbs the most at 60.44 **%** and 58.03 **%** respectively .The verbal verbs were applied in the second highest rank at 22.40 **%** and 17.74 **%** respectively. The mental verbs and material verbs were applied with similar frequencies.

Table 4. **Number of transitivity in news reports**

Types	Bangkok Post	Thairath
Verbal Verbs	22.40%	17.74%
Mental Verbs	8.73%	9.57%
Relational Verbs	60.44%	58.03%
Material Verbs	8.43%	14.66%

In conclusion, the findings of transitivity reflects various ideational meanings used in sentence construction which can help journalists achieve their goals in the news discourse.

Modality

Here, the researcher studies the use of modal verbs)such as must, could, should and their negations (such as must not, could not, should not) to see a form of 'opinioned' genres of journalism. Table 5 shows the frequency of modality found in the news reports.

Table 5. **Frequency of modality in news reports**

News Reports	Must	Must not	Could	Could not	Should	Should not
Bangkok Post	64 (25.30%)	4 (1.58%)	88 (34.78%)	12 (4.74%)	65 (25.69%)	20 (7.90%)
Thairath	124 (76.54%)	7 (4.32%)	16 (9.88%)	2 (1.23%)	11 (6.79%)	2 (1.23%)

As for the English news reports, Bangkok Post employs modality that shows vagueness (could, should, could not, and should not) slightly higher than commitment (must and must not). As for Thai news reports, Thairath employs modality that shows commitment (must and must not) much higher than vagueness (could, should, could not, and should not).

Presupposition

After examining sentence constructions, presupposition is analyzed in order to study the implicit claim embedded in the explicit meaning of news reports. As Richardson (2007: 63) stated, "not all meaning is immediately ·there ·in a text to be simply read from the manifest content; there are also hidden or presupposed meanings in text". The researcher employs what Reah (2002) proposed to analyze linguistic structures common to presupposed meaning (as cited in Richardson,

2007, p. 63). These structures are: 1) words that indicate the change of state verbs (such as start, stop, continue) and 2) wh-questions (such as why, when, who).

Words that Indicate the Change of State Verbs

Table 6 illustrates the words that indicate the change of state verbs (such as start, restart, begin, stop, continue).

Table 6. Words that indicate the change of state verbs

News Reports	Start	Restart	Begin	Stop	Continue
Bangkok Post	25 (30.12%0	0 (0%)	15 (18.07%)	18 (21.69%)	25 (30.12%)
Thairath	21 (28%)	0 (0%)	5 (6.67%)	41 (54.67%)	8 (10.67%)

In Bangkok Post, the words that indicate the change of state, start and continue, are found the most frequently. Whereas, in Thairath, the word that indicates the change of state, stop, is found the most frequently. Below is an example of the word, start that indicates the change of state verbs. Here, the collocation of the words suggests who started the event, which event happened earlier, and which event happened next in Bangkok Post, the example of the word that indicate the change of state is shown below.

Statement : *"Cambodian troops <u>started</u> firing into Thai territory and we fired back," he said. "We retaliated and gave them what they deserved."*

Below is an example of the word, stop, that indicates the change of state verbs. Here, the collocation of the words suggests which party or which situation had to stop or be stopped.

Statement : *ขอพธม. <u>หยุด</u>ใส่ร้าย สมคบ 'ฮุนเซน' แก้ปมไทย-กัมพูชา (Translation : Ask People's Alliance for Democracy to <u>stop</u> framing that Thai Government conspires with Hun Sen to solve the conflict between Thailand and Cambodia.)*

Wh-Questions

Next, from the data in Bangkok and Thairath, wh-questions which are presented as wh-question and as conjunction are examined. Table 7 shows the number of wh-questions found in the news reports.

Table 7. **Wh-questions found in news reports**

News Reports	What	When	Where	Why	Who
Bangkok Post	62 (15.98%)	84 (21.65%)	34 (8.76%)	15 (3.87%)	143 (36.86%)
Thairath	25 (60.98%)	2 (4.88%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.44%)	13 (31.71%)

In wh-questions, 'who' is used the most by Bangkok Post at 36.86%. As for Thairath, 'what' is used the most at 60.98%. In Bangkok Post, examples of wh-questions are as follows.

Statement : *When asked whether what was agreed yesterday was in response to the call by the United Nations Security Council for a permanent ceasefire, Asean chair and Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa said: "It is what it is. A ceasefire is a ceasefire, as long as things are quiet."*

The wh-questions employed above are actually being used to ask one question : the explicit request to explain the issue that was agreed. Yet, the answer with wh-questions that was employed remains implicit. In Thairath, the example of wh-questions is as follows.

Statement :*ก่อนที่ศาลยุติธรรมระหว่างประเทศ หรือศาลโลก จะอ่านคำพิพากษาวันที่ 11 พ.ย.นี้ว่า คงต้องเฝ้าติดตามสถานการณ์ว่าจะมีอะไรเกิดขึ้น (Translation : Before the International Court of Justice or World Court is going to read the verdict on this November 11, it is necessary to follow the situation to see <u>what</u> is going to happen.)*

The wh-question employed in this statement embeds the presupposition that the situation prior to the ICJ's verdict is apparently about the future that they want to know.

Macro-Textual Analysis

Rhetoric Moves

The researcher employed three of the rhetoric moves suggested by Van Dijk (2006) and Richardson (2007) that are useful to the analysis of the news discourse to reflect sensationalism and to disclose the standpoint of journalists. Table 8 shows the use of hyperbole, metaphor and metonym in the news reports.

Table 8. **Use of hyperbole, metaphor, and metonym in Bangkok Post, The Nation, Thairath and Daily News**

News Reports	Hyperbole	Metaphor	Metonym
Bangkok Post	√	√	√
Thairath	√	√	√

As shown in Table 8, Bangkok Post and Thairath employ all three rhetoric moves . In Bangkok Post, the examples of rhetoric moves are as follows.

Hyperbole: *"Even if Cambodian troops storm our village, we will fight."*

Metaphor: *Maj Gen Tharakorn said he backed the Thai-Cambodian Regional Border Committee's (RBC) agreement that soldiers on both sides should live together in a peaceful manner "like brothers", holding talks or making phone calls to discuss border-related issues.*

Metonym: *On Saturday, Phnom Penh accused Thailand of using chemical weapons against Cambodian troops in the fighting, which has forced the suspension of border trade and triggered the evacuation of thousands of residents.*

In Thairath, the examples of rhetoric moves are as follows.

Hyperbole : *คณะของ สุวิทย์ คุณกิตติ รมว.ทรัพยากรธรรมชาติและสิ่งแวดล้อม เดินทางไปหารือนอกรอบกับคณะกรรมการมรดกโลกที่ประเทศฝรั่งเศสอีกกระทอก เดิมทีสุวิทย์ตั้งใจจะถอนตัวเพราะกำหนดการหารืออยู่ในช่วงหาเสียงเลือกตั้งพอดี และเกรงว่าจะเป็นความรับผิดชอบผูกพัน ตกเป็น*เหยื่อ*ความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองไปฉิบ* (Translation : *The group of Suwit Khunkitti, the Minister of Natural Resources and Environment travel to discuss with the World Heritage Committee in France again. Before, Suwit wanted to withdraw because the meeting schedule is during an election campaign and he was afraid that it would be a binding responsibility, which could result in becoming a victim of political conflict.)*

Metaphor : *ในวันงานเปิดตัวโรงแรมอย่างเป็นทางการ เมื่อสัปดาห์ที่ผ่านมา คณะบุคคลสำคัญๆของกัมพูชาได้เข้าร่วมแสดงความยินดี … จนทำให้บรรยากาศการเปิดตัวอย่างเป็นทางการของ โซฟิเทล พนมเปญ โภคีธราครั้งนี้*ราวกับเป็นการ สังสรรค์กระชับความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสองประเทศ* (Translation : *In the official opening day of hotel last week, a group of important people of Cambodia came to congratulate …This time, it made the atmosphere of the official opening day at Sofitel Phnom Penh Pokeethra look like the celebration of relationship between the two countries.)*

Metonym : *หาก "ไทยรัฐออนไลน์" ลองไปสอบถาม*ตาสีตาสา ยายมียายมา หรือแม้แต่ลูกเด็กเล็กแดง *รับรองทุกคนต้องบอกเป็นเสียงเดียวกันว่า "อยากกลับบ้าน"* (Translation : *If "Thairath Online" tries to ask any local people or even young children, everyone will say that they "want to go home.")*

Narrative

In this study, the researcher employs Bell's model as it has been developed recently and has already been applied by Kong (2006) (as cited in Renkema, 2009). Bell (1991, 1998) constructed the model of news structure which are: 1) abstract, 2) source attribution, 3) event, 4) background, 5) commentary, and 6) follow-up (as cited in Renkema, 2009). Figure 2 presents the model of news structure of each news agency.

Figure 2. Model of news structure of each news agencies

Bangkok Post	Thairath
↓	↓
Abstract	Abstract
↓	↓
Event	Event
↓	↓
Source Attribution	Source Atribution
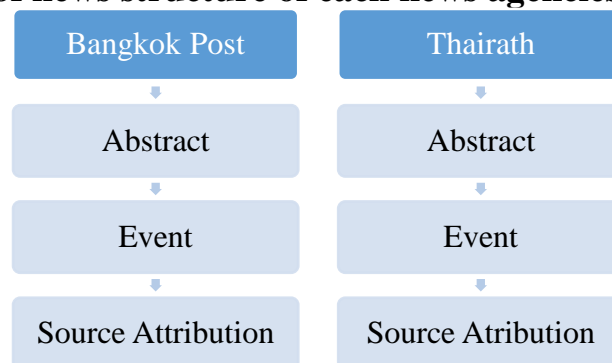
Both news agencies do not follow Bell's model of news structure. However, they both share a similar news structure, with both beginning with abstract, event, and source attribution. In the abstract, journalists typically provide a brief explanation of the situation. In the event, they typically describe what happened or what will happen. Then, in the source attribution, they typically provide a quotation or reported speech from an elite source (expert testimony, authorities or personal testimony). Most reports do not provide background, commentary or follow-up steps. If the journalists have further information, they typically write a follow-up article.

Conclusion and Discussion

Based on textual analysis, the news discourse of the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia is proposed not only to convey particular meaning, but also to influence public perception toward the conflict. Journalists from both daily newspapers employed different linguistic characteristics to serve different functions in the news reports of the border conflict. The analysis reveals that the journalists choose what they want to present in their news writing. Their texts can be strongly critical, highlighting negative statements and disagreements, and focusing only on wrongdoing. On the other hand, their texts can indicate non-negative statements, highlighting agreements, and focusing on peaceful solutions.

In general, both newspapers presents both negative and non-negative statements toward government, military, and related people in Thailand and Cambodia. The dissimilar coverage of the same issue represents the various points of view held by the individual journalists, which are rooted in their ideological position. Discursively speaking, their different ideologies are instantiated in their choice of lexicons, transitivity, modality, and some specific propositions in their news narratives covering the border conflict.

Moreover, this study underlines that various news reports reflects the media's own ideologies. The process of this news production is closely in accordance with the underlying ideological positions presumed by the individual news organization, which are closely related to the political beliefs, cultural values, and institutional practices. Journalists have guidelines from editors about how to cover stories. These guidelines are effective because editors hold sway over what becomes news and which reporters advance in the organization. Over time, the journalists tend to adjust their styles to fit harmoniously with the expectations of their news agencies (Bennett, 2007: 168). The tone, editorial voice, and format makes one news market different from another. This level of formula reporting is as agreeable as it is unavoidable in any kind of news agency that follows a standard operation of news production. The power of news reports is primarily concerned with certain institution's discourse domination through exercising the power of language and communication that fundamentally has the capability to control people's minds.

Recommendations

As this study focuses only the textual analysis of news reports covering the border conflict, future researchers could investigate related social and cultural practices around the circumstances of this conflict. The researcher suggests that further studies may explore other approaches of examination to have a well-rounded analysis of the news discourse of the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia.

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