

RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL PERSUASION: AN ANALYSIS  
OF DISCOURSE MARKERS IN PITA LIMCHAROENRAT'S PRE-ELECTION  
SPEECHES OF 2023 IN THAILAND



KRAIWITCH CHINAYOS

An Independent Study Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Master of Arts Degree  
in English  
May 2024

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Approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Master of Arts Degree in English  
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**Title:** RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL PERSUASION: AN ANALYSIS  
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#### ABSTRACT

The objectives of this independent study were: 1) to investigate the types of discourse markers (DMs) utilized in Pita Limcharoenrat 2) to analyze the frequencies of discourse markers used, and 3) to explore the intended meanings in four pre-election speeches. Purposive sampling was chosen for the analysis base on 21 types of discourse markers, theoretical framework of Swan (2005). The findings of the study were displayed as follows; 1) 14 of 21 types of discourse markers were utilized by Pita Limcharoenrat's speeches of four election campaigns. 2) The study founded DMs were less employed in shorter speeches than the longer. DMs *Concession and Counter Argument* had the highest frequency, appearing 19 times, followed by *Adding* and *Logical Consequence* which appeared 16 and 14 times, respectively. On the other hand, some categories of DMs, including *Similarity*, *Contradicting*, *Generalizing*, *Giving Examples* and *Persuading* were not utilized. 3) The intended meaning of discourse markers was employed to range the structure of contents, contrast and emphasize the ideas, and concede and counter-arguing classified by Swan (2005).

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Kraiwitch Chinayos

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background and Rationale of the Study**

The study of discourse markers (DMs) in political speeches has long been a subject of scholarly interest, particularly in applied linguistics (Rasheed, 2019; Ali, et al., 2020). Discourse markers are linguistic tools that structure speech, guide listeners through complex arguments, and convey different meanings (Horn & Ward, 2006). In political discourse, these markers play a pivotal role in shaping the effectiveness and persuasiveness of speech, especially in high-stakes settings such as election campaigns (Abusalim, et al., 2022).

Discourse markers (DMs) are pivotal in educational and political contexts, serving as key linguistic devices that structure communication and enhance comprehension. In educational settings, particularly within English language teaching in Thailand, DMs have been shown to aid non-native speakers in understanding and constructing coherent discourse while improving reading and writing skills in second language acquisition (Srichanyachon, 2012; Alcon, 2007). In political discourse, DMs are employed by politicians to underscore points, facilitate topic transitions, and engage audiences. The study highlights the different role of DMs in shaping political narratives and influencing public opinion, whether in everyday English political discourse (Sukhovetska, 2021), in contrasting political interviews between Persian and English (Zand-Moghadam & Bikineh, 2015), or in the deliberative processes of democracy (Rotar, 2022). Thailand's political landscape provides a compelling backdrop for this study. The country has experienced a series of political upheavals, coups, and reforms over the years ("Politics of Thailand," Wikipedia). This complex and often volatile political environment has led to multiple changes in governance structures, making the upcoming 2023 pre-election period a crucial juncture for Thailand. The elections allow the nation to move towards more stable and democratic governance. In this transformative context, rally support, and influence public opinion.

One such politician is Pita Limcharoenrat, a prominent figure in Thai politics whose oratory skills have gathered significant attention. Given the significant role of the

upcoming elections in shaping Thailand's political future, this research aims to contribute to the existing body of knowledge by focusing on a contemporary Thai political figure and analyzing the discourse markers in his pre-election speeches. In doing so, this study addresses a notable gap in the literature and offers new perspectives on the role of linguistic elements in political discourse.

The study is situated at the intersection of applied linguistics and political science, aiming to contribute to both fields and also allows for examining how these markers structure speech, guide listeners, and convey different meanings in a Thai political setting. For political scientists, the study serves as a lens through which to scrutinize the rhetorical strategies employed by politicians in a non-Western context (Mai, 2016). The study provides insights into how discourse markers can sway public opinion, build credibility, and establish authority, all crucial elements in the lead-up to an election.

Additionally, this, the study has broader implications for communication studies and media analysis. In an age where speeches are often disseminated through various media channels, understanding the linguistic differences of political discourse is essential for both the media and the electorate (Thuube & Ekanjume-Ilongo, 2017). The media can benefit from this research by gaining a deeper understanding of the rhetorical strategies employed by politicians, thereby enabling more different and critical reporting. For the electorate, understanding the use of discourse markers can empower them to become more discerning consumers of political rhetoric, capable of critically evaluating the speeches of political candidates.

This study aims to investigate in utilizing the types of discourse markers by Pita Limcharoenrat, the candidate for the election of Thailand 2023. In addition, the study also investigates the frequency of DMs usage and intended meaning that conveyed by him to the audience. With the expectation, the study with DMs framework of Swan (2005) will carry out to examine DMs through the political speeches with thorough analysis.

### Research Objectives

The following are the study's research objectives.

1. To investigate the types of discourse markers (DMs) utilized in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections
2. To analyze the frequencies of these discourse markers (DMs) in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections
3. To explore the intended meanings conveyed in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections through the functions of these discourse markers (DMs)

### Research Questions

The research objectives of this study are the following;

1. What types of discourse markers (DMs) are utilized in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections?
2. How frequently do these discourse markers (DMs) appear in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections?
3. What intended meanings can be discerned in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections through the functions of these discourse markers (DMs)?

### Research Methodology

The research methodology for this study comprises the following steps:

- 1. Selection of Speeches:** A purposive sampling technique was used to select specific pre-election speeches delivered by Pita Limcharoenrat in the lead-up to the 2023 Thai elections during April–May 2023. These speeches were chosen and downloaded from the channel Move Forward Party in Youtube. For the reason that Pita Limcharoenrat was chosen to analyze his speeches, he was the candidate of Move Forward Party and he was the prominent figure of the new wave of Thailand's politician, also his speaking or oratory skill is interesting to be the sample in the study.

**2. Content Analysis:** A content analysis was conducted on the selected speeches to identify the types of DMs used. This analysis also clarifies the intended messages the speaker aims to convey through each discourse marker. The content analysis was qualitative to understand the context and intended meaning and quantitative to count the frequency of each type of DM.

**3. Data Presentation:** The data obtained from the content analysis was presented in a descriptive form, utilizing tables to organize and display the findings. This data included tables showing the types of DMs identified, their frequencies, and the inferred intended meanings.

**4. Analytical Framework:** The analysis was conducted based on a list of DMs Swan (2005) classification. This framework provides a comprehensive categorization of DMs and serve as the basis for identifying and analyzing the DMs in Pita Limcharoenrat's speeches.

## Scope of the Study

### Scope of Content

The study focuses on the use of discourse markers (DMs) in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches in Chiang Mai, Songkhla, and Bangkok for the 2023 Thai elections. The data of the study are from Youtube channel, Move Forward Party. Specifically, the study aims to identify the types of DMs used, their frequencies, and the intended meanings conveyed by the speaker through these linguistic elements. The study employed quantitative and qualitative approaches, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. While the research was grounded in the framework of discourse markers classified by Swan (2005), it was limited to those DMs that are relevant to the context of Thai political discourse and the objectives of this study.

### Scope of Time

The temporal scope of this study was confined to the pre-election period leading up to the 2023 Thai elections. The speeches selected for analysis were those delivered by Pita Limcharoenrat within this specific timeframe. This temporal limitation is chosen to

ensure that the study remains focused and relevant to the upcoming elections, thereby maximizing its timeliness and impact.

### Definition of key Terms

There are four important terms specific to this study, as follows:

**Discourse Marker (DM):** In the context of this study, a discourse marker is a word or expression used in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches that shows the connection between what is being said and the broader context of Thai politics and the upcoming 2023 elections.

**Pre-Election Speeches:** This term refers to speeches delivered by Pita Limcharoenrat with the purpose of outlining his political vision and policy stances in the lead-up to the 2023 Thai elections.

**Types:** In this study, "types" refers to the categories of discourse markers as classified by Swan (2015). These categories were used to analyze the DMs in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches, both in terms of their frequency and their role in conveying intended meanings.

**Intended Meaning:** This term refers to the specific objectives that Pita Limcharoenrat aims to achieve in conveying his messages to the listeners through the use of discourse markers in his pre-election speeches.

### Expected Advantages of the Study

There are six expected advantages of the study as follow;

**1. Academic Contributions:** This study aims to fill a gap in the existing literature by focusing on the use of discourse markers in Thai political speeches, a subject that has not been extensively explored. It will contribute to the fields of applied linguistics and political science by providing a differed understanding of how language is used in political discourse in a Thai context.

**2. Cultural Relevance:** Given that the study focuses on a Thai political figure and Thailand elections, it holds significant cultural relevance. It will offer insights into the unique linguistic and rhetorical strategies employed in Thai political discourse.

**3. Enhanced Media Analysis:** The findings of this study could be beneficial for journalists and media analysts by providing them with a framework for understanding the linguistic difference in political speeches. This could lead to more insightful and critical reporting.

**4. Public Awareness:** Understanding the use of discourse markers in political speeches can empower the electorate to become more discerning consumers of political rhetoric. This study could serve as an educational resource for voters, enabling them to critically evaluate political speeches and make more informed decisions.

**5. Policy Implications:** Politicians and policymakers could use the insights gained from this study to improve their public speaking and communication strategies, making their messages more effective and resonant with the electorate.

**6. Methodological Advancements:** The quantitative and qualitative approaches employed in this study could serve as a model for future research in similar interdisciplinary fields, offering a balanced and comprehensive methodology for analyzing both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of discourse.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Discourse markers (DMs) are the words or phrases which connect the sentences or discourses, they also support structuring the ideas especially speaking in the public. The study of discourse markers in political speeches has become an increasingly important area of research, intersecting the fields of linguistics, political science, and communication studies. This chapter aims to provide an exhaustive review of the literature pertinent to studying discourse markers in political speeches, focusing on Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections. The chapter is organized into several sections on the following;

1. Discourse Markers and Related Approaches
2. Functions of Discourse Markers in Discourses
3. Discourse Markers in Political Settings
4. Tendency of the Use of Markers Among Politicians
5. Tendency and the Creation of 'Fandom' for Political Parties
6. Tendency of Using Markers of Politicians Towards the Fandoms
7. Pita Limcharoenrat: An In-Depth Examination
8. Research Related to the Use of Discourse Markers in Different Settings

#### **Discourse Markers and Related Approaches**

The study of discourse markers (DMs) in political speeches is a growing field that has attracted scholarly attention from various disciplines, such as linguistics, psychology, and communication studies. Discourse markers serve as linguistic elements that connect clauses or sentences, providing a structural framework for the discourse (Rasheed, 2019). They also function as tools for managing conversation and aiding in text interpretation (Horn & Ward, 2006). This dual role of DMs has led researchers to employ various frameworks, such as Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics, to explore their source and functions (Ismail, 2012; Jirušková, 2012).

In the realm of political discourse, the role of DMs is particularly significant. They often structure arguments, emphasize key points, and guide the audience through the discourse (Thohir, 2016; Furko, 2017). For instance, a study by Carreon and Svetanant (2017) critically investigated the major elements of the political speeches of Thai Prime Minister Gen Prayuth Chan-ocha. The study found that the Thai political discourse is often justified using ethically modalized language, shedding light on the unique characteristics of Thai political speeches. The study corresponds to the findings of Amir Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2015), who conducted a contrastive study of DMs in Persian and English political interviews, highlighting the role of culture and language in using DMs.

The phenomenon of political 'fandom' adds another layer to this discussion. Fans of political parties or politicians often engage in activities beyond traditional political participation, such as creating fan art, memes, and even fan fiction (Snegur, 2023). Politicians are increasingly aware of their 'fandoms' and adapt their use of DMs accordingly. For example, DMs that signal inclusivity and community can strengthen politicians and fans' bonds. This result corresponds with Kashiha's (2022) findings on persuasive strategies and metadiscourse practices in political speeches.

In the Thai context, Pita Limcharoenrat has emerged as a significant figure. His educational background and international exposure make him a unique case study for using DMs in political speeches. Pita's pathway to becoming a candidate for Thailand's 40th Prime Minister has been marked by his educational achievements and political affiliations. As reported by various international media outlets, he has been embraced by young voters desperate for change (BBC News, 2023; The Guardian, 2023; The Japan Times, 2023; The New York Times, 2023). His use of DMs reflects his educational background, which includes an emphasis on critical thinking and a multicultural perspective. It makes him a compelling subject for further study, especially in the context of Ni'ma Rashid's (2020) descriptive analysis of DMs in selected political speeches.

In summary, the study of DMs in political speeches is a various field that intersects with linguistics, psychology, and communication studies. These markers are particularly noticeable in political settings, where they serve various functions, from structuring speech to influencing fandoms. The case of Pita Limcharoenrat adds a layer of

complexity, as his educational and cultural background influences his use of DMs, making him a compelling subject for further study.

### **Functions of Discourse Markers in Discourses**

The study of discourse markers (DMs) in various discourses, particularly political speeches, has been a subject of extensive scholarly attention. The functions of DMs in discourse are manifold, serving to structure speech, emphasize points, and guide the audience's interpretation (Rasheed, 2019). These linguistic elements have been studied across multiple disciplines, including linguistics, psychology, and communication studies, each contributing unique perspectives and methodologies to understanding DMs (Ismail, 2012; Jirušková, 2012).

One of the primary functions of DMs is to provide a structural framework for discourse. They connect clauses or sentences, offering a coherent and logical flow to the conversation (Rasheed, 2019; Ni'ma Rashid, 2020). This structural role is particularly significant in political speeches, where the effective use of DMs can enhance the persuasiveness and impact of the speech (Furko, 2017). For instance, a study by Rasheed (2019) explored the frequency and categories of DMs in political speeches by Donald Trump, finding that they play a crucial role in interpreting these speeches, serving both structural and pragmatic functions.

DMs also serve to manage the conversation and aid in text interpretation. They are often used to convey the speaker's attitude, manage turn-taking in conversation, and even serve rhetorical functions in persuasive discourses (Ali et al., 2020; Kashiha, 2022). A study by Ismail (2012) employed frameworks such as Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics to delve into the forms and functions of DMs in political speeches. Although the study did not specify the politicians or speeches studied, it highlighted the importance of understanding the source and functions of DMs from multiple disciplinary perspectives.

The manipulative uses of DMs in political discourse have also been explored. Furko (2017) discussed how pragmatic markers can be used manipulatively to achieve specific political goals. This study resembles with the findings of Amir Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2015), who conducted a contrastive study of DMs in Persian and English

political interviews. Their study highlighted the role of culture and language in DMs, suggesting that understanding the manipulative uses requires a differed approach considering these factors.

In the Thai context, the role of DMs in political speeches offers a unique lens through which to understand political discourse's cultural and linguistic distinction. A study by Carreon and Svetanant (2017) critically investigated the major elements of the political speeches of Thai Prime Minister Gen Prayuth Chan-ocha. The study found that Thai political discourse often employs ethically modalized language, shedding light on the unique characteristics of Thai political speeches.

In summary, the study of the functions of DMs in discourses, particularly in political speeches, is a rich and evolving field. These markers serve various roles, from providing structural coherence to enabling manipulative uses for political ends. The field draws from multiple disciplines and employs diverse frameworks, making it a fertile ground for interdisciplinary research. As political 'fandom' becomes an increasingly significant phenomenon, the role of DMs in engaging and mobilizing these unique forms of political participation will likely become an important area of future research.

### **Discourse Markers in Political Settings**

Discourse markers (DMs) in political settings have become an important point in linguistics, psychology, and communication studies. These linguistic elements serve many functions, including structuring speech, emphasizing key points, and guiding the audience's interpretation (Bozhenkova & Wang, 2023). The role of DMs in political discourse is particularly attracting, given their capacity to influence public opinion, mobilize supporters, constructing cultural identity and even manipulate the narrative.

In politics, DMs are often employed to structure arguments and emphasize key points, guiding the audience through the discourse. A study by Bozhenkova & Wang (2023) provided insights into the use of DMs in the inauguration discourse of the Russian Federation and the PRC, revealing that these markers serve structural and pragmatic functions. The study highlighted the role of DMs in interpreting political speeches, thereby underscoring their significance in this particular setting.

The manipulative uses of DMs in political settings have also been explored. Brodovskaya, et al. (2017) discussed how DMs can be strategically used to achieve specific political goals. The study revealed that DMs could subtly manipulate the audience, serving the speaker's objectives. This study corresponds with the findings of Kashiha (2022), who examined the metadiscoursal practices in political speeches. The study found that politicians often use a variety of metadiscourse markers, particularly interpersonal markers, to achieve logical appeal more often than affective appeals.

Furthermore, the use of DMs in political settings is not confined to a single language or cultural context. A study by Amir Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2015) provided a contrastive analysis of DMs in political interviews in Persian and English. The study revealed that while some DMs were common across both languages, unique markers were used in each language, highlighting the role of cultural and linguistic factors in using DMs in political settings.

In the Thai context, a study by Carreon and Svetanant (2017) critically investigated the major elements of the political speeches of Thai Prime Minister Gen Prayuth Chan-ocha. The study found that the Thai political discourse is often justified using modalized language, shedding light on the unique characteristics of Thai political speeches. This study also adds another layer to the complexity of studying DMs in political settings, as it indicates that specific cultural and linguistic factors can influence their use.

Furthermore, the role of DMs in constructing cultural identity and resistance has been explored in various contexts. For instance, the politics of dance in Iran, as a form of cultural expression and resistance, has been analyzed through the discourse markers used by the regime and its opponents, illustrating the power of DMs in the ideological struggle between tradition and modernity (Tazmini, 2021). Similarly, the examination of historical markers and their textual politics provides insights into how DMs contribute to the shaping of historical narratives and collective memory (Alderman, 2012).

Studying discourse markers in political settings is a rich and evolving field. These linguistic elements serve various functions, from structuring speech to subtly manipulating the audience. The use of DMs in political discourse is influenced by various factors, including the speaker's objectives, the cultural context, and the specific language in which the speech

is constructed and delivered. As such, understanding the role of DMs in political settings requires a multidisciplinary approach, drawing insights from linguistics, psychology, and communication studies.

### **Tendency of the Use of Markers Among Politicians**

The use of discourse markers (DMs) in political speeches has garnered significant scholarly attention for its multifaceted implications in understanding political communication. These linguistic elements serve as syntactic or semantic connectors and often strategic tools reflecting the speaker's political stance and objectives. For instance, a study in the Thai political context by Carreon and Svetanant (2017) revealed that politicians opposing the old government led by Gen Prayuth Chan-ocha employ DMs that emphasize critique and opposition. This strategic use of DMs can be seen as a form of political signaling, where the markers become tools for constructing a narrative that either challenges or supports the status.

Further, the manipulative uses of DMs in political discourse have been explored in various studies. Bozhenkova & Wang (2023) discussed the initiation discourse of the Russian Federation and the PRC, highlighting how DMs are used in high-profile political settings. This corresponds to the findings of Dolinska-Rydzek (2015), who examined language culture and politics in Russia from Gorbachev to Putin, and Sharon & Lucivero (2019), who focused on data ethics and governance in the context of expanding health data ecosystems.

The medium through which political speech is delivered can also influence the choice of DMs. Yakushkina (2020) pointed out that politicians might choose for different DMs when speaking in a televised debate instead of a social media platform. Additionally, the target audience can also influence the choice of DMs. Politicians often adapt their discourse markers to reflect with specific demographic groups, such as young voters or minority communities.

In international politics, Rondot and Chevy-Pébayle (2018) noted that DMs could serve to navigate complex diplomatic relationships. Politicians may employ DMs that signal cooperation and mutual respect when addressing international allies while using markers that convey assertiveness and independence when speaking to or about geopolitical rivals.

Patterson–Ooi & Araujo (2022) emphasized that the strategic use of DMs extends beyond individual politicians and can be seen as a broader characteristic of political discourse within a party or movement.

In summary, using discourse markers in political speeches is a complex and strategic choice that serves multiple functions. It reflects the speaker's political stance, serves as a tool for political signaling, and can be influenced by various external factors, such as the medium of communication and the target audience. The strategic use of these markers is a global phenomenon but has specific characteristics in different political contexts.

### **Tendency and the Creation of 'Fandom' for Political Parties**

The word 'Fandom' comes from the combination of the words Fanclub and Kingdom, meaning the kingdom of the fan club. It is a community or gathering of fans. The phenomenon of political 'fandom' is a fascinating development in the modern political prospect, and it has been observed in various global contexts, including Thailand. This form of engagement goes beyond traditional political participation and enters cultural production. Fans of political parties or politicians are not merely voters; they are active participants who create fan art, memes, and even fan fiction to express their support or critique (Snegur, 2023). This new form of political engagement has significant implications for how politicians use discourse markers in their speeches.

The rise of political fandom is a response to the increasing mediatization of politics. As politics becomes more attached with entertainment and popular culture, the lines between politicians and celebrities blur, creating a space for fandom to flourish. Politicians are now policy-makers and performers who need to engage their audience emotionally. It has led to a change in the way discourse markers are used in political speeches. Politicians increasingly use discourse markers that reflect with their 'fan base,' employing language that signals inclusivity, community, and shared values.

The impact of political fandom is not limited to the politicians themselves but extends to the broader political discourse. The memes, fan art, and fan fiction created by fans often include the same discourse markers used by the politicians they support,

reinforcing the messages and narratives of the political campaign. It creates a feedback loop where the language used by politicians and their fans becomes increasingly aligned, amplifying the impact of the political message.

Moreover, political fandom has also been observed to have a polarizing effect on political discourse. Fans of opposing political parties or politicians use different discourse markers, reflecting and reinforcing the ideological divide. It can lead to different political groups being divided by their beliefs and language, making meaningful dialogue and compromise more challenging.

The rise of social media has further amplified the impact of political fandom. Platforms like Twitter and Instagram allow fans to engage with politicians and each other, creating online communities bound by shared language and discourse markers. These online spaces become echo chambers where specific discourse markers are reinforced, further polarizing the political landscape.

In summary, the phenomenon of political fandom is reshaping the way politics is conducted and understood. It has changed how discourse markers are used in political speeches, with politicians increasingly adapting their language to resonate with their fans. It has amplified the impact of political campaigns and polarized the political discourse, creating challenges and opportunities for democratic engagement.

### **Tendency of Using Markers of Politicians Towards the Fandoms**

The relationship between politicians and their 'fandoms' is an evolving dynamic that has garnered increasing attention in academic circles. Politicians are becoming more accommodated to the power of fandoms and adapting their communication strategies accordingly. One of the most striking manifestations is the adapted use of discourse markers in political speeches and public addresses. Discourse markers that signal inclusivity, such as “we”, “our”, and “us”, are being used more frequently to foster a sense of community and shared identity among fans (Zavalska, 2023). This result is not merely a linguistic flourish; it has touchable impacts on various aspects of political campaigns, including voter turnout, campaign donations, and general public opinion.

Using specific discourse markers to appeal to fandoms is part of a broader trend in the personalization of politics. Politicians are increasingly seen as individual brands, and their fandoms as consumer bases to be cultivated and maintained. It has led to a shift in how political messages are crafted and delivered. Traditional political speeches focusing only on policy and ideology give way to more personalized narratives that use discourse markers to build emotional connections with the audience.

This trend has its critics. Some scholars argue that focusing on fandoms and personalized politics can detract from substantive policy discussions and contribute to the ‘celebritization’ of politics. However, others contend that this is a natural evolution of political communication in the age of social media, where the boundaries between the personal and the political are increasingly blurred.

The impact of this tailored use of discourse markers extends beyond the immediate circle of fans and can influence the broader political discourse. The media often pick up discourse markers used by politicians and become part of the public lexicon, further amplifying their impact. Moreover, specific discourse markers can also serve as a litmus test for political loyalty, with fans using the same markers to signal their loyalty to a particular politician or party.

In the Thai context, using discourse markers to appeal to fandoms is particularly interesting. Like their counterparts elsewhere, Thai politicians are becoming increasingly savvy in using language to engage with their fan bases. Discourse markers that signal opposition or critique are frequently used by politicians against the old government, while supportive people use markers to convey agreement and endorsement.

In conclusion, politicians' tailored use of discourse markers to appeal to their fandoms is a significant development in political communication. It reflects the increasing personalization of politics and has a range of impacts, from voter engagement to the shaping of public opinion. As fandoms play a more prominent role in politics, studying discourse markers and their impact will likely remain a key area of academic inquiry.

### **Pita Limcharoenrat: An In-Depth Examination**

Pita Limcharoenrat's journey to becoming a candidate for Thailand's 30th Prime Minister is a compelling narrative that intersects his educational background, political views, and media engagement. His educational journey began at Bangkok Christian College before he moved to Hamilton, New Zealand, at age 11. Living with a host family and working part-time jobs, he developed an interest in politics while watching parliamentary debates on television. After completing secondary school in New Zealand, he returned to Thailand to earn a first-class honors degree in finance from Thammasat University in 2002. This achievement led to scholarships at the University of Texas at Austin and later at Harvard University, making him the first Thai student to receive an international scholarship from Harvard. Pita's political involvement started early; he joined Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra at the UN General Assembly in 2006. After a coup in Thailand, he returned and was temporarily confined, missing part of his father's funeral. He eventually completed a joint Master of Public Policy from Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and a Master of Business Administration from MIT's Sloan School of Management in 2011. (Wikipedia, 2023).

Pita has been a vocal promoter for democratic reforms and has gathered significant support, particularly among young voters. His political vision is centered on transparency, social justice, and economic reforms, which have been well-received domestically and internationally (BBC News, 2023; The Japan Times, 2023). Media coverage has played a pivotal role in shaping public perception of Pita. His policies and speeches have been extensively covered by local and international media, including The Japan Times and The Guardian, highlighting his leadership style and vision for Thailand (The Japan Times, 2023; The Guardian, 2023).

In today's digital age, Pita has also effectively leveraged social media platforms to engage with the electorate. His strategic use of social media has been a game-changer in Thai politics, particularly in employing discourse markers that reflect with his target audience (The New York Times, 2023). This multifaceted approach to politics and public engagement makes Pita Limcharoenrat a transformative figure in Thai politics, and his candidacy for Prime Minister has been met with significant attention and scrutiny.

In wrapping up this chapter, it is essential to underscore the multifaceted nature of discourse markers (DMs) in political speeches. This subject intersects with academic disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, and communication studies. Scholars offer differing perspectives on the role of DMs, ranging from their function as linguistic connectors between clauses to their utility as conversational tools for text interpretation (Rasheed, 2019; Horn & Ward, 2006). A case in point is Pita Limcharoenrat, a candidate for Thailand's 40th Prime Minister, who employs DMs like "however" to juxtapose contrasting ideas, thereby guiding the audience's understanding. His use of phrases like "let's consider" reflects the influence of his Australian education, emphasizing critical thinking (Ismail, 2012).

The functions of DMs are manifold, extending from the organization of speech to the emphasis of key points and the facilitation of audience interpretation (Rasheed, 2019). For example, Pita strategically uses sequential markers like "firstly", "secondly", and "finally" to structure his arguments, thereby aiding in audience comprehension. In media contexts, he employs DMs such as "importantly" to highlight crucial points, a technique also adopted by news anchors (Ali, et al., 2020). In the political arena, DMs are powerful instruments for persuasion and mobilization (Thohir, 2016). Pita's use of phrases like "believe me" and "listen" are calculated choices designed to build trust and capture attention. In the Thai context, the choice of DMs can also serve as a barometer for a politician's stance towards the government. For instance, those opposing the old government led by Gen Prayuth Chan-ocha frequently use DMs like "unfortunately" to accentuate their critique (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017).

Adding another dimension to this discourse is the emerging political fandom. Supporters of politicians like Pita engage in non-traditional forms of political participation, such as meme creation, incorporating his popular DMs like "mate" or "listen up" (Snegur, 2023). Politicians are increasingly customizing their DMs to resonate with these fandoms. For instance, Pita employs inclusive DMs like "we" and "our" to fortify the connection with his supporters, which can substantially impact voter turnout and campaign contributions.

In summary, the exploration of DMs in political speeches serves as an academic attempt and a prism through which the shifting dynamics of political communication and public involvement can be understood. As politicians like Pita Limcharoenrat continue to

innovate in their linguistic choices, the consequences for democratic engagement and the broader political context are profound and expansive.

### **Research Related to the Use of Discourse Markers in Different Settings**

The study of discourse markers (DMs) has gathered considerable attention across various disciplines, including linguistics, psychology, and communication studies. These linguistic elements serve many functions in discourse, such as structuring speech, emphasizing points, and guiding the audience's interpretation (Bozhenkova & Wang, 2023; Gulati, et al., 2023). The study of DMs is not confined to a single setting but spans various contexts, including academic discourse, everyday conversation, and media communication (Sinkuniene, et al., 2020; Collis, et al., 2023).

DMs are pivotal in structuring arguments and guiding the reader in academic settings. A study by Collis et al. (2023) highlighted the importance of DMs in academic discourse, particularly in structuring arguments. It resembles with a study conducted in Saudi Arabia by Alsaawi (2022), which found that senior university students majoring in English employed DMs in their essays. However, the study also indicated that these students needed assistance with the appropriate use of DMs, suggesting a gap in educational interventions to improve the effective use of DMs in academic writing.

Media settings offer another arena where DMs are frequently employed. Sinkuniene, et al. (2020) explored the role of DMs in media communication, particularly in how they engage the audience and convey specific tones or attitudes. This study is consistent with the findings of Brodovskaya, et al. (2017), who noted that DMs are less frequent in public and formal settings like radio and television broadcasts compared to private settings. The study suggests that the context in which DMs are used can significantly impact their frequency and function.

DMs are not confined to the English language or any particular cultural context. Chvostek (2023) explored the use of DMs in different languages and found substantial differences in the use of general extenders in different discourse settings. Similarly, a study by Offen and Hotzel (2023) focused on marking strategies in various contexts. These studies

underscore the universality of DMs, even though with variations influenced by language and culture.

Moreover, DMs have been studied for their manipulative uses in political discourse. Gulati, et al. (2023) discussed how DMs can achieve specific political goals. The study agrees on the findings of Ni'ma Rashid (2020), who conducted a descriptive analysis of DMs in selected political speeches. These studies indicate that DMs can be strategically manipulated to serve specific functions, particularly in settings that require persuasion or mobilization.

In summary, discourse markers are versatile linguistic elements that serve various functions across different settings and languages. They are instrumental in structuring discourse, managing conversations, and aiding text interpretation. However, the appropriate use of DMs remains challenging, especially in academic settings, indicating a need for more focused educational interventions. The study of DMs is a rich and evolving field, drawing insights from various disciplines and offering valuable perspectives on language use in diverse settings.

The next chapter presents the processes of the study which is employed in the study. The approaches used for the study is presented in this chapter.



## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology employed in this independent study, entitled “Rhetorical Strategies and Political Persuasion: An Analysis of Discourse Markers in Pita Limcharoenrat's Pre-Election Speeches of 2023 in Thailand”. The chapter is organized into the following main sections:

1. Research Design
  - 1.1 Texts for Analysis
  - 1.2 Characteristics of Texts
  - 1.3 Method of Text Selection
2. Data Collection
  - 2.1 Quantitative Data Collection
  - 2.2 Qualitative Data Collection
3. Data Analysis
  - 3.1 Data Analysis Framework

#### Research Design

##### Texts for Analysis

Texts are the speeches during pre-election 2023 by Pita Limcharoenrat's, the leader and candidate of Move Forward Party. The speeches were conducted in formal settings in main provinces in Thailand such as Chiang Mai, Songkhla and Bangkok. The texts are online and available on Youtube website, Move Forward Party channel. The texts are aimed to persuade and mobilize voters for 2023 Thai elections in formally public setting. These speeches are rich in DMs, strategically employed to guide the audience's interpretation and to emphasize key points. The speeches were purposively selected based on their relevance to the upcoming elections and are as follows:

1. Speech at Three Kings Monument, Muang, Chiang Mai, 30 April 2023 with the duration of 7 minutes 51 seconds
- Speech at Big Debate, Park Paragon, Siam Paragon, Bangkok, 6 May 2023 with the duration of 8 minutes 22 second

2. Speech at Sapan Dam, Hat Yai, Songkhla, 7 May 2023 with the duration of 16 minutes 49 seconds

3. Final Speech at The Thai–Japanese Stadium, Wet Gymnasium 1, Bangkok, 12 May 2023 with the duration of 23 minutes 59 second. (See full texts in Appendices A–D

### **Method of Text Selection**

The speeches were selected purposively for their relevance to the 2023 Thai elections. These texts are verified and are accessible through Pita Limcharoenrat's official website and social media channels such as Youtube, Move Forward Party channel. The texts are the last four speeches on the stage before the election.

### **Data Collection**

In this study, quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Quantitative data were evaluated to determine the categories of DMs, whilst qualitative data were analyzed to determine the intended meanings of DMs in Pita Limcharoenrat's speeches.

#### **Quantitative Data Collection**

The types occurred and the frequency of each DMs in the speeches were collected with the table 1 under Swan (2005)'s classification.

#### **Qualitative Data Collection**

The intended meanings by Pita Limcharoenrat were collected from the highest frequency of DMs used in four speeches.

For each DMs, 21 record forms with specified columns are designed. Figure 1 illustrates the sample form.

Discourse Marker 1	Occurrence		Statement in Speech	The function of discourse marker and intended meaning	Frequency
	Paragraph	Line			No. of Occurrence
Focusing and Linking					
1. with reference to; talking/speaking about; regarding, as regard; as far as..is concerned; as for					

Figure 1 Discourse Markers Data Collection Form

### Procedures for Collecting Data

#### 1. Quantitative Data

##### Step 1

1. Accessed to Youtube, then search for Speeches, Move Forward Party, or directly go to Move Forawrd Party channel and looking for the videos of speeches.
2. Downloaded the speeches to the computer in files of MP4 or videos.
3. Accessed to transcription website [www.transkriptor.com](http://www.transkriptor.com) and upload the videos from the computer to this website.
4. The transcribed speeches shown in the page or website, then thoroughly checked and revise the correctness and accuracy of the transcription.
5. Put the transcribed speeches into the table.

6. Translated the transcription and re-check the correctness, grammar, accuracy word-choices and linking words by two English Teachers in Mathayomsuksa level.

7. Classified the speeches by twenty-one DMs lists of Swan (2005).

8. Counted and record the number of occurrences of each DMs.

## 2. Qualitative Data

Content analysis was conducted to determine the intended meanings of DMs.

The steps for qualitative data collection are as follows:

### Step 1

1. Interpreted the grammatical meaning or meaning based on functions of DMs by Swan (2005), including the frequency of each DMs used by Pita Limcharoenrat and write an interpretation.

2. Interpreted the intended meaning bases on the occurred frequency in DMs used by Pita Limcharoenrat and write the interpretation under the framework of Swan (2005), then report the finding in a summary form.

## Data Analysis

### Data Analysis Framework

The data analysis frameworks are illustrated as below;

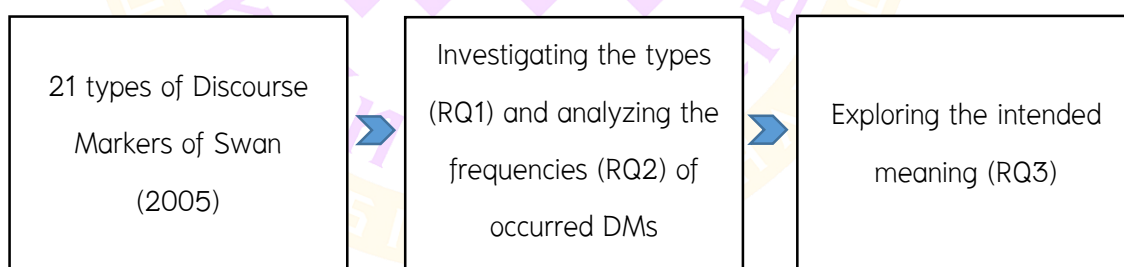


Figure 2 Data Analysis Framework

Data analysis in this study are quantitative and qualitative.

Quantitative data analysis focuses on the types and frequencies of DMs in the selected speeches. The types of DMs by Swan (2005) are followed;

1. Focusing and linking—with reference to, regarding, as regards, as far as ....is concerned; as for;
2. Balancing a contrasting point—on the one hand; on the other hand; whereas; while;
3. Emphasizing a contrast—however; nevertheless; nonetheless; mind you; yet; still; in spite of this/that; despite this/that;
4. Similarity—similarly, in the same way; just as;
5. Concession and counter—argument
  - 5.1 Concession: it's true; certainly; of course; granted; if; may; stressed auxiliaries.
  - 5.2 Counter—argument: however, even so; but, nevertheless, nonetheless; all the same; still;
6. Contradicting—on the contrary; quite opposite
7. Dismissal or previous discourse—at least; anyway; anyhow; at any rate; in any case
8. Change of subject—by the way; incidentally; right; all right; Now; Ok;
9. Return to the previous subject—to return to the previous point (formal); as I was saying;
10. Structuring—first (ly); first of all; second (ly); third (ly) etc.; lastly; finally; to begin with; to start with; in the first/second place; for one thing (informal); for another thing (informal);
11. Adding—moreover (very formal); furthermore (formal); in addition; as well as; on the top that (informal); another thing is (informal); what is more; also; besides; in any case
12. Generalizing—on the whole, in general, in all/most / many/some cases; broadly speaking; by and larger; to a great extent; to some extent; apart from....; except for....
13. Giving examples—for instance; for example; e.g.; in particular;

14. Logical consequence–therefore (formal); as a result (formal); consequently (formal); so; then;

15. Making things clear; giving detail–I mean; actually; that is to say; in other words;

16. Softening and correcting–I think; I feel; I reckon (informal); I guess (informal); in my view/opinion (formal); apparently; so to speak; more or less; sort of (informal); kind of (informal); well; really; that is to say; at least; I afraid; I suppose, or rather; actually; I mean;

17. Gaining time–let me see; let’s see; well; you know; I don’t know; I mean; kind of; sort of

18. Showing one’s attitude to what one is saying–honestly; frankly; no doubt

19. Persuading–after all; look; look here

20. Referring to the other person’s expectation–actually; in fact; as a matter of fact; to tell the truth; well;

21. Summing up–in conclusion; to sum up; briefly; in short Quantitative data based on the sorts of DMs present in the chosen discourses. Intentional meaning is classified and displayed in Table 1.

**Table 1 Type and frequency for quantitative analysis**

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency
1	Focusing and linking	with reference to, regarding; as regards; as far as ....is concerned; as for;	

Qualitative data analysis employs content analysis bases on the occurred frequency to identify the intended messages conveyed by Pita Limcharoenrat to the audience. The amounts or frequencies of DMs used in the speeches can be interpreted to the intended meaning in particular the high frequently used of DMs is also interpreted to be the main purpose in the speeches. The data is based on the sorts of discourse markers found in the selected discourses. The intended meaning is grouped and given in Table 2.

Table 2 Intended meaning for qualitative analysis

No.	Types of DMs	Statement in Speech	Intended Meaning
5.1	Concession	During the stressed same time that auxiliaries. I was in the region; a child ran up to me and told me that he is still wished to remain in this country and did not want to go. Can you cancel my military conscription?	Pita focused on the question of whether it's possible to cancel the military conscription for the child who expressed a strong desire to remain in the country.

For the next chapter, is the result of data collections, types and frequencies of DMs used, including the intended meaning conveyed by Pita Limcharoenrat are presented in the table and explanations.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

Chapter 4 serves as the cornerstone of this study, presenting the empirical findings derived from the analysis of discourse markers in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections. This chapter uses quantitative and qualitative methodologies to shed light on the types, frequencies, and intended meanings of discourse markers employed by Pita Limcharoenrat. The data presented here offer an understanding of the candidate's rhetorical strategies and political persuasion tactics. This chapter is structured first to present the quantitative findings, followed by the qualitative insights, and finally, a synthesis of the overall results. The objective is to provide a comprehensive view that aligns with the research questions posited in the initial chapters. The full speeches are introduced in Appendices A–D.

**Research Question 1 and 2: What types of discourse markers (DMs) are utilized and how frequently do these discourse markers (DMs) appear in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections?**

A comprehensive analysis was conducted to address the first and second research questions regarding the types of discourse markers (DMs) utilized in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections. The findings have been systematically summarized and presented in Table 3. This table delineates the various categories and specific types of DMs that Pita Limcharoenrat employed in his speeches, offering a structured overview that aids in understanding his rhetorical choices.

**Table 3 Results of types and frequencies of Pita's four speeches**

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	S1	S2	S3	S4	Frequency
1	Focusing and linking	because, regarding, that's, as far as	-	3	-	1	4
2	Balancing a contrasting point	but, whereas, while	-	1	-	2	3
3	Emphasizing a contrast	still however, nevertheless	2	1	5	3	11
4	Similarity		-	-	-	-	0
5	Concession and Counter Argument	It's, certainly, so, of course, however, but, nevertheless	-	3	1	15	19
6	Contradicting		-	-	-	-	0
7	Dismissal or previous discourse	at least	-	-	1	-	1
8	Change of subject	now, all right, ok	1	-	2	1	4
9	Return to the previous subject		-	-	-	-	0
10	Structuring	first, firstly, second, third, finally	2	3	2	2	9
11	Adding	also, moreover, as well as, besides, another, furthermore	-	3	7	6	16
12	Generalizing	in general	-	-	-	-	0
13	Giving examples	for instance	-	-	-	-	0
14	Logical consequence	therefore, because, so, consequently	-	5	2	7	14
15	Making things clear or giving detail	that's, I mean, actually, that is to say	-	1	1	1	3
16	Softening and correcting	I think, I feel, well, really, I suppose	-	2	1	-	3
17	Gaining time	well, I mean, let me see	-	1	1	-	2
18	Showing one's attitude to what one is saying		-	-	-	-	0
19	Persuading		-	-	-	-	0
20	Referring to the other person's expectation		-	-	-	-	0
21	Summing up	therefore, in conclusion	-	1	1	-	2
<b>Total</b>			<b>5</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>91</b>

According to Table 3, based on the results presented in Table 4, Pita Limcharoenrat's use of discourse markers (DMs) in his pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections is both varied and strategic. The data highlights the selective employment of

specific types of DMs across the four speeches. For instance, the most frequently used type of DMs is those for “Concession and Counter Argument”, which appear 19 times across the speeches, particularly dominating in Speech 4. Another notable category is “Logical Consequence”, with a total frequency of 14, which also features prominently in the longer Speech 4. The DMs that emphasize a contrast, categorized as “Emphasizing a contrast”, are also not negligible, appearing 11 times across all four speeches.

In the shorter speeches, Speeches 1 and 2, fewer types of DMs are utilized, with an emphasis on markers that serve to structure the speech (“Structuring”) and those that emphasize contrast (“Emphasizing a contrast”). In contrast, the longer speeches, Speeches 3 and 4, display a more diverse and different use of DMs. Categories like “Adding” and “Logical Consequence” come into play more frequently, indicating a more complex narrative structure.

It is interesting to note that some categories of DMs, such as “Similarity”, “Contradicting”, “Generalizing”, “Giving examples”, and “Persuading”, were not used at all in any of the speeches. This result focuses on an argumentation rather than simple agreement or persuasion tactics. Overall, Pita Limcharoenrat's use of DMs suggests a well-thought-out strategy to guide the audience through complex arguments, particularly in the longer speeches where the diversity and frequency of DMs are more pronounced.

For the frequency of discourse markers (DMs) in Pita Limcharoenrat's is influenced by the length and complexity of each speech. Across all four speeches, 91 instances of DMs were identified, distributed unevenly among various categories. The category “Concession and Counter Argument” had the highest frequency, appearing 19 times. It was followed by “Logical Consequence” and “Adding”, which were noted 14 and 16 times, respectively. “Emphasizing a Contrast” was another significant category with 11 instances. Interestingly, these categories primarily feature in the longer speeches, Speeches 3 and 4, indicating a greater need for different argumentation and logical flow in these presentations. When comparing the shorter speeches (Speeches 1 and 2) to the longer ones (Speeches 3 and 4), it is evident that the frequency of DMs increases with the length of the speech. For example, while Speech 1 contains only 5 instances of DMs, Speech 4 boasts a notable 38 instances.

Speeches 2 and 3 fall in with 24. This result suggests that the longer the speech, the greater the variety and number of DMs employed.

Some categories of DMs, including “Similarity”, “Contradicting”, “Generalizing”, “Giving examples”, and “Persuading”, were absent, indicating that these types of markers were either not deemed necessary or not strategically chosen for these particular speeches. The data shows that Pita Limcharoenrat employs discourse markers more frequently and diversely in longer speeches, using them to build complex arguments and maintain logical coherence.

**Research Question 3: What intended meanings can be discerned in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections through the functions of these discourse markers (DMs)?**

The third research question explores the intended meanings conveyed through DMs in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections. This inquiry focuses on understanding these linguistic elements' strategic and ideological implications within the broader context of political rhetoric. The results are illustrated in Tables 4–7. A comprehensive summary and interpretation of the findings from Tables 5–7 will be provided after the presentation of the last table.

Table 4 Results of intended meaning of Speech 1

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
3	Emphasizing a contrast	still	2	“Hey, what's up? And this is the voice of Prime Minister, in parentheses, <b>still</b> be a candidate.”	Casual tone to appear relatable; acknowledges not yet elected as Prime Minister.
8	Change of subject	now	1	“Who <b>still</b> remembers the first button? Transform from intruders to pioneers, change the land law amnesty, and create special cultural zones for our ethnic brothers and sisters.” “I'm <b>now</b> at Sam Kasat in Chiang Mai. What party are you affiliated with?”	Reminds of initial transformative efforts; outlines policy goals on land and culture. Location provides context; question aims to understand political alignment of the audience.
10	Structuring	Firstly Finally	2	“ <b>Firstly</b> , I want to thank the people of Chiang Mai for giving us, the Future Forward Party, more than 250,000 votes.”	Acknowledgment of support; aims to strengthen rapport with constituents from Chiang Mai.

Table 4 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“ <b>Finally</b> , who has an orange pen to overthrow the regime? Show it quickly.”	Likely metaphorical; rallying call for collective action against the current government.

Table 5 Results of intended meaning of Speech 2

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
1	Focusing and linking	because regarding that's	3	<p>“<b>Because</b> Move Forward Party believes that embracing diversity can become a strength, not a weakness.”</p> <p>“<b>Regarding</b> conflicts, Move Forward Party also has; however, it's about how an organization or society handles them. Is there enough maturity? Is there a safe space for expression?”</p>	<p>Clarifies the party's stance on diversity; presents it as a source of strength.</p> <p>Acknowledges the presence of internal conflicts but emphasizes the importance of mature, open dialogue.</p>

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“That’s what they are trying to ask, so I will answer this question on three levels.”	Prepares the audience for a structured, multi-layered response to a posed question.
2	Balancing a contrasting point	but	1	“If you say you want creativity but enforce only one way of thinking,”	Criticizes the contradiction in promoting creativity while imposing a singular viewpoint.
3	Emphasizing a contrast	however	1	Regarding conflicts, Move Forward Party also has; <b>however</b> , it’s about how an organization or society handles them. Is there enough maturity? Is there a safe space for expression?	Acknowledges the existence of internal conflicts within the Move Forward Party, while emphasizing the importance of mature handling and open dialogue.

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
5	Concession and Counter-argument	certainly however but	3	<p>“<b>Certainly</b>, there will be conflicts at every level—society, company, family.”</p> <p>Regarding conflicts, Move Forward Party also has; <b>however</b>, it’s about how an organization or society handles them. Is there enough maturity? Is there a safe space for expression?</p> <p>“If you say you want creativity <b>but</b> enforce only one way of thinking, and exile those who think differently, you can't turn differences into strengths.”</p>	<p>Recognizes that conflicts are an inevitable part of any collective, whether it's in society, a company, or a family.</p> <p>Acknowledges the existence of internal conflicts within the Move Forward Party, while emphasizing the importance of mature handling and open dialogue.</p> <p>Criticizes the contradiction of encouraging creativity while imposing a singular way of thinking, arguing that such an approach will not turn diversity into strength.</p>

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
10	Structuring	first second third	3	“The <b>first</b> level is societal, the <b>second</b> is within the workplace, and the <b>third</b> is personal.”	Outlines a framework for discussing an issue, categorizing it into three distinct levels: societal, workplace, and personal, possibly to address the complexity and multiple dimensions of the issue.
11	Adding	also	2	“Regarding conflicts, Move Forward Party <b>also</b> has; however, it’s about how an organization or society handles them. Is there enough maturity? Is there a safe space for expression?”	To show that the move forward party also has the conflicts in the organization.
				“I <b>also</b> think that, in terms of labor laws, what they call "hiring practices," whether it's in interviews or	To add more the opinion for the previous idea.

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
14	Logical consequence	therefore because so	5	<p>whatever, I'm not sure if there are discrimination laws or rules for such practices. It's something that needs further examination.”</p> <p>“<b>Therefore</b>, a society that doesn't discriminate and manages conflicts maturely is the way forward for Thailand, which is what Move Forward Party is striving for.”</p> <p>Answer directly, “<b>because</b> I believe it's time for Thai society to accept diverse political opinions with maturity.”</p> <p>“<b>Because</b> Move Forward Party believes that embracing diversity can become a strength, not a weakness.”</p>	<p>Advocacy for a non-discriminatory and mature society.</p> <p>Call for openness and maturity in political discourse.</p> <p>Endorsement of diversity as a strength, not a liability.</p>

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“ <b>Because</b> if we allow expressions, it opens the door for trial and error, leading to freedom, innovation, and creativity.”	Advocacy for free expression as a catalyst for innovation and growth.
15	Making things clear or giving detail	that is	1	“That’s what they are trying to ask, <b>so</b> I will answer this question on three levels.” “ <b>That’s</b> what they are trying to ask, so I will answer this question on three levels.”	Expressing the attention in answering the question. Intent to provide a comprehensive answer by discussing multiple aspects or layers of the issue.
16	Softening and correcting	I think	2	“At the company level, <b>I think</b> , well, currently, the sentiment of the times has changed...”	Suggesting that current attitudes or perspectives within the corporate environment have evolved. Expressing an opinion on the specific aspect of labor laws related to how employees are recruited.

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“I also <b>think</b> that, in terms of labor laws, what they call “hiring practices,”...”	Expressing an opinion on the specific aspect of labor laws related to how employees are recruited.
17	Gaining time	well	1	“At the company level, <b>I think, well,</b> currently, the sentiment of the times has changed...”	Expressing the view that current attitudes or conditions within the corporate environment have evolved.
21	Summing up	therefore	1	“ <b>Therefore,</b> a society that doesn’t discriminate and manages conflicts maturely is the way forward for Thailand, which is what Move Forward Party is striving for.”	Arguing that the ideal future for Thailand is one where there is no discrimination and conflicts are handled maturely; this is the goal of the Move Forward Party.

Table 6 Results of intended meaning of Speech 3

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
3	Emphasizing a contrast	still	5	<p>“I'm lucky to have eaten more than one boiled egg, so I <b>still</b> remember what was said.”</p> <p>“Bring the southern leaders to Songkhla. Many people <b>still</b> don't understand how committed the Move Forward Party is to the people of Hat Yai.”</p> <p>“Kotom used to ride a motorcycle and eat sticky rice with chicken. He is <b>still</b> here.”</p> <p>“Who's been to the new Sadao</p>	<p>Suggests that the speaker is grateful for their experiences, which help them remember important past conversations.</p> <p>Urges the necessity of showcasing the party's commitment to southern regions, highlighting that it's not well-understood.</p> <p>Highlights the unchanged, relatable nature of a person (Kotom) as a way to establish familiarity or credibility.</p> <p>Criticizes inefficiencies in</p>

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				checkpoint? It's been built for two or three years and <b>still</b> hasn't opened to this day."	infrastructure development, pointing out the unopened Sadao checkpoint as an example.
				"Last year, I took a train from Hat Yai to Padang Besar, crossing into Penang. The platform is <b>still</b> the same old platform, dear brothers and sisters."	Comments on the lack of development or improvement in the train platform, perhaps as a broader comment on stagnation.
5	Concession and counter-argument	so	1	"Good thing I ate three boiled eggs, <b>so</b> I can remember where I was in my speech. Are you kidding me?"	Uses humor to cover a momentary lapse in memory, suggesting that eating boiled eggs helps with recollection.
8	Change of subject	alright	2	" <b>Alright, alright,</b> excuse me Pi Pod. I'll take a moment to receive a garland."	Acknowledges someone (Pi Pod) while indicating they'll briefly pause to participate in a ceremonial act.

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
10	Structuring	first	2	“I'm Pita, <b>first</b> on the party list.”	Clarifies the speaker's position within a political party, emphasizing their prominence.
11	Adding	also	7	“Excuse me, I need to go pick up some salak fruit <b>first</b> .”  “Dad (Pita) <b>also</b> loves Som (the fans), folks.”  “And Dad (Pita) <b>also</b> loves Fah (the fans), folks.”	Uses a casual excuse for a brief pause or departure, perhaps invoking local culture with the mention of 'salak fruit.'  Expresses affection for his supporters (referred to as Som), adding a personal, familial tone by using “Dad”.  Reiterates the love and affection for another group of fans (Fah), maintaining the familial and personal tone.

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
					Shares personal music preference to establish local or cultural connection, possibly to gain relatability.
				“And I <b>also</b> tell him that the only artist from Songkhla that I listen to is Pi Pod from Moderndog.”	Temporarily switches to Thai to discuss a specific local issue: a promise to improve the community within eight years.
				“Just one moment in Thai please. For the community, they <b>also</b> promised that in eight years they would build a good community.”	Emphasizes that the speaker, as a Prime Ministerial candidate, has specific
				“So, we've reached this point, and I must say that Pitha Limcharoenrat, the 30th Prime Ministerial	

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				candidate of Thailand, <b>also</b> has promises for the people of Hat Yai.”	commitments for the people of Hat Yai.
				“The song, “The Promise at Hat Yai,” <b>also</b> speaks of promises at a platform. This song was written in the year 2537 (1994).”	Draws a cultural connection by referencing a song about promises made in Hat Yai, giving historical context to the speech.
14	Logical consequence	Therefore because	2	“ <b>Therefore</b> , whenever we reach the government, transportation between provinces and within Songkhla will be seamless under the name of Prime Minister Pitha Limcharoenrat, definitely, dear brothers and sisters.”	Ensure and promise to the people that the transportation will be seamless in the future.
				“When talking about Kun Yiew, the Pyramid, or Brother Pod Modern Dog, it's	Refer to people who have abilities and creativities in Songkhla

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				<b>because</b> people in Songkhla are exceptional and creative.”	Province, that is necessary to mention.
15	Making things clear or giving detail	that is	1	“They say they guarantee everything will be good; everything is expensive and wages are low. Everything is just going down, down, down, except one thing is rising, and <b>that is</b> drug abuse, folks.”	Criticizes the failure of current or previous administrations to improve the quality of life, pointing out increasing drug abuse as an exception.
16	Softening and correcting	really	1	“Do any of you remember that over the past eight years, someone made a promise in Hat Yai, saying to choose something peaceful. So, is it <b>really</b> peaceful or is it dead silent?”	Questions the effectiveness of past promises made about peace in Hat Yai, suggesting that the situation may be stagnant rather than peaceful.
17	Gaining time	let’s see	1	“Wow! So many people came. <b>Let’s see</b> if Songkhla can take it.”	Expresses excitement about the turnout and playfully

Table 6 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
21	Structuring	in conclusion	1	“ <b>In conclusion</b> , let's do it like the Prime Minister's advisors, no more speeches, let's just sing.”	challenges the capacity of Songkhla to handle the crowd. Suggests ending the event in a light-hearted manner, poking fun at the more traditional approaches of political advisors.

Table 7 Results of intended meaning of Speech 4

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
1	Focusing and linking	regard	1	“What we want <b>regarding</b> water is not to have droughts, carry water to people, and during the rainy season, help people escape floods.”	Outlines a vision for water management, including prevention of droughts and floods.
2	Balancing a contrasting point	while	2	“ <b>While</b> we are discussing this, there is Khun Yok, who is only 15 years old,	Draws attention to the specific case of a young person detained

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				currently detained under Article 112.”	under a controversial law, linking it to larger discussions.
				“ <b>While</b> the royal status and power should be above politics and under the constitution, what the new generation, or even you, must face, isn't it because of our generation that has been constantly politicizing the institution and framing dissenters?”	Questions the older generation's role in politicizing royal institutions and the impact this has on the younger generation.
3	Emphasizing a contrast	still yet	3	“At the same time, when I was in the area, kids ran up to me saying they <b>still</b> have dreams of living in this country, don't want to move abroad, can we abolish conscription for them?”	Shares an anecdote to advocate for the abolition of conscription, based on the aspirations of the younger generation to remain in their country.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“Therefore, I am ready today to serve as Prime Minister for all Thais, whether or not you agree with me, I will <b>still</b> be your Prime Minister.”	Expresses commitment to serve as a leader for all citizens, regardless of political affiliations or disagreements.
				“What many people don't know is that our collective dreams are simple <b>yet</b> diverse.”	Acknowledges the diversity of aspirations among the population but highlights their essential simplicity.
5	Concession and counter-argument	if still	15	“If you are from Chiang Mai or Chiang Rai, our dream is simply to have clean air to breathe.”	Targets specific geographical areas, stating that their basic aspiration is clean air, thus shedding light on environmental issues
				“If you are someone in Thailand without land of your own to cultivate, Our dream is simple: just to have	Speaks to landless individuals, stating that their simple dream is

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				land of our own to cultivate.”	to own land for cultivation, thus touching on social and economic issues.
				“If you are from the Eastern region, all we ask is for air that doesn't stink of mines or rubbish factories.”	Highlights the environmental concerns in the Eastern region, specifying the issue of air pollution from mines and waste processing facilities.
				“If you are listening and you are from the Northeast region, what we want regarding water is not to have droughts, carry water to people, and during the rainy season, help people escape floods.”	Addresses concerns in the Northeast about water management, specifically tackling droughts and floods.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				“If you are from the upper Northern region, it probably concerns forest fires.”	Targets the upper Northern region, identifying forest fires as their primary concern, again highlighting environmental issues.
				“Meanwhile, if you happen to be an older generation in this country, what you dream of is just that the government will take better care of you than just providing a boiled egg after your retirement.”	Speaks to the older generation, emphasizing that their minimal expectations are for better governmental support in retirement, beyond just basic provisions.
				“If you are the same age as me, at the age of being a father, we hope it will end with our generation.”	Addresses peers who are of parenting age, suggesting that they share a hope that societal issues can be resolved by their generation.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				<p>“If you are a young person of the new generation listening, you probably want to abolish the conscription and take back our lives, follow our dreams, and start our own careers.”</p>	<p>Speaks to the younger generation, noting their desire for more personal freedom and the abolition of mandatory conscription, so they can pursue their dreams and careers freely.</p>
				<p>“Until now, when giving speeches, they still say, ‘Come out in large numbers, they will overthrow.’ ‘Come out in large numbers, and they will destroy the palace.’”</p>	<p>Criticizes scare tactics used in speeches by others, implying that rallying in large numbers will lead to dire consequences like overthrowing the government or damaging the palace.</p>
				<p>“If anyone feels agitated, angry, or hateful toward what the new generation is doing, we need to</p>	<p>Encourages self-reflection, especially among older generations, regarding the</p>

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				look back at ourselves sensibly and responsibly. It is because of what we did in the past, politicizing institutions and framing the new generation.”	politicization of institutions, suggesting that this has framed or influenced the actions of the new generation.
				“If we can do this, we will be able to solve old problems, face new challenges, and lead Thailand toward the future.”	Optimistic statement expressing that by addressing the root causes of current issues, Thailand can move towards a brighter future.
				“I understand, there are <b>still</b> many people who once agreed with the coups. You don't trust politicians who come from elections, and you also don't believe that the parliamentary system can actually solve the country's problems.”	Acknowledges public mistrust in politicians and the parliamentary system, possibly stemming from past political instability or coups.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				Until now, when giving speeches, they <b>still</b> say, 'Come out in large numbers, they will overthrow.' 'Come out in large numbers, and they will destroy the palace.'	Criticizes scare tactics used in speeches by others, implying that rallying in large numbers will lead to dire consequences like overthrowing the government or damaging the palace.
				"Let's distribute land to people who have been fighting for 35–50 years, <b>still</b> don't have their own land to farm, and have been burdened with over 80,000 legal cases during the government's tenure." "Therefore, I am ready today to serve as Prime Minister for all Thais, whether or not you agree with me, I will <b>still</b> be your Prime Minister."	Advocates for land distribution to marginalized communities who have been fighting for their rights for decades and have faced legal burdens. Declares readiness to serve as an inclusive leader for everyone, irrespective of whether they agree with him or not.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
8	Change of subject	now	1	“You don't have to worry, the torch is <b>now</b> in my hands, it will never be extinguished.”	Promises to carry on the mission or ideals steadfastly; suggests that under his leadership, the values he stands for will not fade away.
9	Structuring	first	2	<p>“To pull Thailand out of political turmoil, I see two moves in my vision. The <b>first</b> is to put an end to the cycle of coups d'état.”</p> <p>“And we have to do three things together. <b>First</b>, reform the military so that it is under civilian control, effective but small, has welfare, respects human rights, and employs professional soldiers to defend against external threats and to stop meddling in domestic affairs.”</p>	<p>Outlines a plan to stabilize Thailand by ending the repetitive cycle of military coups.</p> <p>Elaborates on the first step of the plan, advocating military reform to place it under civilian control and focus on external defense rather than domestic politics.</p>

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
11	Adding	also	6	<p>“Dad (Pita) <b>also</b> loves Som (fan club),”</p> <p>“And Dad (Pitha) <b>also</b> loves Fah (fan club).”</p> <p>“And Dad (Pita) <b>also</b> loves all the people.”</p> <p>“We <b>also</b> want decentralization in our country; people born in that province can solve its problems themselves.”</p>	<p>Affirms love and appreciation for a specific fan club, likely to build rapport and emotional connection.</p> <p>Same as above but for a different fan club.</p> <p>Expands the expression of love and appreciation to include all people, emphasizing inclusivity.</p> <p>Advocates for decentralization as a way to allow local communities to address their own issues.</p>

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				"I understand, there are still many people who once agreed with the coups. You don't trust politicians who come from elections, and you <b>also</b> don't believe that the parliamentary system can actually solve the country's problems."	Acknowledges public distrust in the political system but implies the need for change.
				Up to this point, we must <b>also</b> dare to face new challenges."	Calls for courage to address new issues, suggesting a pivotal moment for action.
14	Logical sequences	therefore so	7	" <b>Therefore</b> , the next leader of Thailand must be someone with initiative to develop the country further."	Emphasizes the need for a proactive leader focused on national development.

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				<p>“<b>Therefore</b>, the next leader who will solve old problems must be ready to cut the cycle of coups and restore faith in Thailand's democratic system.”</p>	<p>Argues that the next leader must address systemic issues, particularly breaking the cycle of military coups, to restore faith in democracy.</p>
				<p>“<b>Therefore</b>, the next Prime Minister and leaders must be able to work within a democratic system that has a King as the symbolic head. They should delicately handle royal power and status to improve relations between the King and the public.”</p>	<p>Advocates for leaders who can navigate Thailand's unique political landscape, emphasizing the need for respectful interaction between democratic leadership and the monarchy.</p>
				<p>“<b>Therefore</b>, I am ready today to serve as Prime Minister for all Thais, whether or not you agree with me, I will still be your Prime Minister.”</p>	<p>Declares readiness to serve all citizens, regardless of political alignment, in a unifying role.</p>

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
				<p>“Therefore, respected and loved partners, friends, and everyone, on the 14th of May, go to the booth, choose Move Forward, and make Thailand different.”</p>	<p>Urges people to vote for the Move Forward Party as a vehicle for change in the upcoming elections.</p>
				<p>“This is good, having more than one boiled egg, so I remember where my speech is.”</p>	<p>A humorous way to indicate the speaker is well-prepared and focused on delivering their speech.</p>
				<p>“Let's start anew in educational reform, so that our younger generation can graduate and be competitive in the global arena.”</p>	<p>Calls for comprehensive educational reform to ensure that the younger generation is equipped with the skills to compete globally.</p>

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Types of DMs	DMs	Frequency	Statement in speech	Intended meaning
15	Making things clear or giving detail	actually	1	“I understand, there are still many people who once agreed with the coups. You don't trust politicians who come from elections, and you also don't believe that the parliamentary system can <b>actually</b> solve the country's problems.”	The speaker acknowledges that some people have lost faith in democratic processes and elected politicians, perhaps favoring military intervention as a form of governance.

According to Table 4, the results of the analysis of intended meaning in Speech 1 reveal the utilization of various discourse markers (DMs) to guide the audience through the speaker's message. The speaker employs contrasting emphasis through the word “still,” which serves two purposes: first, to casually note that they are yet to be elected as Prime Minister while maintaining a relatable tone, and second, to remind the audience of the initial transformative efforts taken, focusing on land law amnesty and cultural zones for ethnic groups. The term “now” is used to switch subjects and context, highlighting the speaker's location in Chiang Mai and attempting to gauge the political alignment of the audience. Structuring elements like “Firstly” and “Finally” help acknowledge constituents' support in Chiang Mai and serve as a rallying call for collective action against the current regime, respectively. The speech employs these DMs effectively to build rapport, clarify intentions, and call for action.

In addition to Table 5, the analysis of intended meaning in Speech 2 highlights the strategic use of various discourse markers (DMs) to articulate and strengthen the speaker's message. Focusing and linking markers like “because”, “regarding”, and

“that's” are used to clarify the Move Forward Party's positions on embracing diversity as a strength and advocating for open dialogue. A balancing marker, “but”, is employed to critique the hypocrisy of promoting creativity while enforcing a singular way of thinking. The speaker also uses markers to emphasize contrast and counter-arguments, acknowledging that conflicts are inevitable in any collective but emphasizing the importance of mature, open dialogue for conflict resolution.

Structuring markers divide the discussion into multiple layers or dimensions, offering a comprehensive framework for understanding the issue. Markers indicating logical consequences, such as “therefore” and “because”, advocate for a non-discriminatory, mature society and call for an open, mature approach to political discourse. Markers for softening and correcting, like “I think”, express the speaker's own opinions less assertively. Lastly, the marker “therefore” sums up the Move Forward Party's ultimate goal: creating a society without discrimination, where conflicts are managed maturely. Overall, the speech employs a carefully chosen array of DMs to articulate its key messages, outline its policy positions, and engage with its audience effectively.

Regarding Table 6, the analysis of Speech 3 demonstrates a judicious use of various types of discourse markers (DMs) to convey messages and connect with the audience. The frequent use of the marker “still” emphasizes contrasts in various scenarios, such as highlighting the party's lack of recognized commitment in southern regions and criticizing inefficiencies in infrastructure. Concession and counter-argument markers like “so” are used for humor, as seen when the speaker jokes about eating boiled eggs to remember the speech.

The DM “all right” signals a subject change, often used when the speaker is interrupted for ceremonial acts or needs to pause. Structuring markers like “first” clarify the speaker's prominence within the political party and provide a lighthearted excuse for taking a break from the speech. The marker “also” adds layers of meaning, expressing affection for fans and adding personal anecdotes to bolster the speaker's credibility and relatability.

The marker “that is” is employed to give further detail, specifically when the speaker criticizes the administration for its failures, pointing out rising drug abuse as a stark exception

to their claims. “Really” is used to question and correct perceptions, as when questioning the efficacy of past peace promises. The DM “let’s see” serves to gain time and infuses excitement and challenge regarding the event turnout. Finally, “in conclusion” is used to signal the end of the speech, but with a humorous twist, mocking the formal tendencies of political advisors. Overall, the speech strategically employs a range of DMs to balance serious political commentary with humor, personal anecdotes, and cultural references, enhancing its depth and accessibility.

For Table 7, it presents an in-depth analysis of discourse markers (DMs) in Speech 4, a comprehensive discourse that touches upon various critical socio-political issues facing Thailand. The speech adeptly utilizes DMs to help structure the discussion and lead the audience through various topics. For instance, the DM “regard” is used to clarify a broad vision for water management, emphasizing the necessity of preventing droughts and floods.

In addressing controversial topics like the detention of youth under Article 112, the DM “while” is employed to balance contrasting viewpoints. This technique helps the speaker question the older generation's role in politicizing royal institutions. Likewise, DMs like “still” and “yet” highlight the younger generation's aspirations, such as their desire to abolish conscription.

The speaker also uses DMs to focus on specific issues affecting various geographical areas in Thailand, using “if” and “still”, localized concerns like clean air and land ownership are brought to the forefront. In a departure from the issue-based discussion, the term “now” marks a transition where the speaker assures the audience of his steadfast commitment to the mission.

Another notable use of DMs is seen in the section outlining a plan to end the cycle of military coups in Thailand. The term “first” emphasizes the initial steps, including military reform to bring it under civilian control. Furthermore, the DM “also” is repeatedly used to express love and appreciation for specific groups and to advocate for decentralization.

The speech concludes with a bold declaration of readiness to serve as an inclusive leader, irrespective of public opinion. Using discourse markers in the speech is strategic and effective, providing a structured approach to address many intricate socio-political issues.

In comparing the use of discourse markers (DMs) in shorter speeches, Speeches 1 and 2, with the longer ones, Speeches 3 and 4, it is apparent that the speaker, Pita, employs DMs more strategically and diversely in the longer discourses. In speeches that span less than 10 minutes, DMs tend to be more straightforward and concentrated, often serving as simple transitional elements or basic connectors between ideas. However, in the longer speeches that exceed 10 minutes, Pita demonstrates a several use of DMs to weave a complex narrative across various socio-political issues. Here, DMs are not just connectors but also tools for emphasis, contrast, concession, and even for changing the subject. They serve better to guide the audience through intricate arguments and thematic shifts, providing both depth and breadth to the discussion. Overall, the longer the speech, the more sophisticated the deployment of DMs, allowing for a more layered and structured presentation of idea.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the focus shifts to synthesizing key findings and insights from the comprehensive analysis conducted. This final chapter aims to summarize significant results, discuss broader implications for political discourse and communication, and explore potential avenues for future research. Recommendations for enriching the understanding of the strategic use of discourse markers in shaping public opinion and political landscapes will also be presented.

#### **Summary of the study**

In summary, this research aimed to investigate discourse markers (DMs) in the political speeches of Pita Limcharoenrat, a candidate in Thailand's 2023 elections. Three primary objectives guided the study: to identify the types of DMs used, to examine their frequency, and to explore their intended meanings within the context of political rhetoric. Four speeches were selected for analysis using a purposive sampling method. The first two speeches were less than 10 minutes long, while the latter two exceeded 10 minutes.

The first research question revealed 14 of 21 DMs were utilized in four speeches, they were also used for various functions, including emphasis, concession, and structuring. This variety suggests that DMs serve multiple roles in shaping the discourse and guiding the audience's interpretation.

The second research question showed an interesting trend: the frequency of DMs increased in the longer speeches in particular the DMs “Concession and counter argument”, “Adding”, and “Logical consequence” respectively were top three that utilized by Pita Limcharoenrat. This finding also implies that the length of a speech may influence the strategic use of DMs, potentially to maintain audience engagement or to emphasize key points.

The third research question delved deeper into the intended meanings behind the use of these DMs. They were mostly utilized to range the structure of contents, to contrast

and emphasize the ideas, and concede and counter arguing. Detailed findings related to this aspect are elaborated in Tables 4–7, with a conclusive summary following Table 7.

Collectively, the results of this study contribute to an understanding of how DMs are strategically employed in political discourse. They are not merely linguistic elements but tools wielded with intent, particularly in political communication. This research adds to the existing body of literature and opens avenues for future studies that further explore the strategic use of linguistic elements in political settings.

### **Discussion of the study**

The following discussion section will delve into the intricacies of our findings concerning the research questions posed at the outset of this study. Specifically, we will address Research Questions 1 through 3, examining the strategic use of discourse markers in political speeches, the influence of speech length on the complexity of discourse markers, and the effectiveness of these markers in conveying socio-political messages. Through a detailed analysis of four distinct speeches, we aim to show how discourse markers are pivotal in shaping public discourse and influencing audience perception.

#### **Research question 1: What types of discourse markers (DMs) are utilized in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections?**

The data shows a diverse range of DMs serving different rhetorical functions in response to the first research question regarding the types of DMs utilized. Categories such as “Concession and Counter Argument”, “Logical Consequence”, and “Adding” were particularly prominent, especially in the longer speeches. This corresponds with existing literature that suggests DMs are often used to structure complex arguments and guide the audience’s interpretation (Rasheed, 2019; Horn & Ward, 2006). The high frequency of DMs like “however”, “so”, and “therefore” in the “Concession and Counter Argument” and “Logical Consequence” categories echoes Furko’s (2017) findings on the manipulative uses of pragmatic markers in political discourse. These DMs are not merely linguistic fillers but strategic tools employed to construct a narrative, either challenging or supporting a particular stance.

Interestingly, some categories of DMs, such as “Similarity”, “Contradicting”, and “Persuading”, were absent from the speeches. This result could indicate a strategic choice, conform to Jirušková’s (2012) study, which posits that the absence of certain DMs can be as telling as their presence. It suggests that these markers may not have been deemed necessary for the specific rhetorical goals of these speeches, or they might not align with the cultural or linguistic norms of Thai political discourse.

The length of the speeches also influences the frequency of DMs. This information is consistent with the findings of Ni'ma RASHID (2020), who observed that the frequency of DMs tends to increase in longer, more complex speeches. In the case of Pita Limcharoenrat, the longer speeches (Speeches 3 and 4) contained a greater variety and number of DMs, indicating a more intricate argumentative structure. It is a deliberate strategy to engage the audience in a more different discussion, particularly when the stakes are high, such as in pre-election contexts.

In summary, the types and frequency of DMs in Pita Limcharoenrat's speeches are not arbitrary but appear carefully selected to serve specific rhetorical functions. These findings corroborate existing theories and contribute to the growing body of research on the role of discourse markers in political communication, particularly in the Thai context.

**Research question 2: How frequently do the discourse markers (DMs) appear in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections?**

The frequency of discourse markers (DMs) in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections provides a compelling lens through which to examine the intricacies of political communication. The data reveals 91 instances of DMs across the four speeches, with a notable increase in frequency in the longer speeches (Speeches 3 and 4). This pattern is similar to the findings of Ni'ma RASHID (2020), who observed that the frequency of DMs tends to rise in longer speeches, possibly to maintain coherence and guide the audience through complex arguments.

The category “Concession and Counter Argument” had the highest frequency, appearing 19 times, followed by “Adding” and “Logical Consequence”, which appeared 16 and 14 times, respectively. This result is particularly interesting when compared to the study by Amir Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2015), which highlighted the frequent use of

DMs in political interviews to signal opposition or endorsement. In the case of Pita Limcharoenrat, the frequent use of DMs in the “Concession and Counter Argument” category may present a balanced view, potentially appealing to a broader audience by acknowledging different perspectives while still asserting his own.

The absence of certain categories of DMs, such as “Similarity”, “Contradicting”, and “Persuading”, is also noteworthy. This result could indicate a strategic choice, as suggested by Jirušková (2012), who posited that the absence of certain DMs can be as telling as their presence. The absence of these categories may imply that these markers were either not deemed necessary for the rhetorical goals of these speeches or did not align with Thai political discourse's cultural or linguistic norms.

Moreover, the increased frequency of DMs in longer speeches suggests a more intricate argumentative structure, consistent with Kashiha's (2022) study on metadiscourse practices in political speeches. According to Kashiha, longer speeches often require more DMs to maintain logical flow and coherence, which is the case in Pita Limcharoenrat's speeches. The use of DMs like “therefore”, “because”, and “so” in the “Logical Consequence” category, for instance, could be seen as a strategy to guide the audience through the logical progression of his arguments, thereby enhancing their persuasive impact.

In summary, the frequency and types of DMs used in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches are carefully calibrated to serve specific rhetorical functions, ranging from structuring complex arguments to guiding audience interpretation. These findings corroborate existing theories and offer new insights into the strategic use of discourse markers in Thai political discourse. The several uses of these linguistic elements reveals the depth of strategic thought that goes into political communication, affirming the role of discourse markers as powerful tools in the arsenal of political persuasion.

**Research question 3: What intended meanings can be discerned in Pita Limcharoenrat's pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections through the functions of these discourse markers (DMs)?**

The discourse markers (DMs) used by Pita Limcharoenrat in his pre-election speeches for the 2023 Thai elections serve as a rich tapestry of rhetorical devices, each contributing to the intended meanings and underlying messages. The analysis of these

DMs reveals a complex interplay of political, social, and cultural differences, which can be compared to existing theories and studies on discourse analysis and political communication.

Starting with the DMs used for emphasizing contrast, such as “still” and “yet”, Pita Limcharoenrat employs these markers to highlight the unchanging conditions or the persistence of certain issues. This result is in line with the theories that suggest that contrastive DMs are often used to set up opposition or to prepare the audience for a counter-argument (Schiffrin, 1987). In Limcharoenrat's speeches, these DMs question the status quo and emphasize the need for change, aligning with the political agenda of challenging existing power structures.

The use of structuring DMs like “first”, “second”, and “finally” is also noteworthy. These markers help organize the speech's content, making it easier for the audience to follow the argument. According to the literature, structuring DMs is essential in persuasive speeches as they guide the audience through the logical flow of the argument (Redeker, 1991). Limcharoenrat uses these DMs effectively to outline his plans and visions, thereby adding a layer of credibility and thoughtfulness to his speeches.

Concession and counter-argument DMs such as “if”, “but”, and “however” are used prolifically. These DMs only acknowledge opposing views or potential criticisms to counter them with the speaker's arguments. This information is consistent with studies that highlight the role of concessive DMs in building ethos and pathos by showing the speaker as reasonable and passionate (Hyland, 1990). For instance, when Limcharoenrat acknowledges that conflicts are inevitable in any organization but emphasizes the importance of mature handling, he is essentially building his ethos as a realistic yet optimistic leader.

The DMs used for adding information, like “also” and “moreover”, serve to build on previous statements and add depth to the argument. This data is in line with Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesion theory, which suggests that additive DMs contribute to textual unity and help in the progression of the topic. Limcharoenrat uses these DMs to elaborate on his promises and commitments, enhancing his appeal and relatability.

Lastly, softening and correcting DMs such as “I think” and “I feel” adds humility and openness to the speeches. According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness

theory, these DMs mitigate the statements' force, making them less imposing and more palatable to the audience.

In conclusion, the DMs used by Pita Limcharoenrat in his pre-election speeches serve multiple rhetorical functions, ranging from structuring the content and contrasting ideas to conceding and counter-arguing. These functions well conform to existing theories and studies in the literature, thereby offering valuable insights into the rhetorical strategies employed in political discourse.

### **Limitations of the study**

This study has some potential limitations. Firstly, there are more speeches by Pita Limcharoenrat in other stages during pre-election, both formal and informal situations and settings, thus we are unable to cover every speech because of the limitation of times. Secondly, the translated texts from Thai to English language may not accurate because the researcher translated the texts by self, although the translated texts are twice revised by others. Finally, in the part of intended meaning may find some mistakes or considerate points because the texts are interpreted based on the researcher comprehension.

### **Recommendations**

#### **1. Recommendations for implications of the study**

1.1 The implications of this study are manifold, extending from the academic realm to practical applications in political communication and public engagement. Academically, this research fills a gap in the literature by focusing on using discourse markers in Thai political speeches, a relatively underexplored subject. It provides a framework for future studies investigating the strategic use of linguistic elements in political discourse across different cultures and political systems.

1.2 From a practical standpoint, the findings offer valuable insights for politicians, speechwriters, and communication strategists. Understanding the types and frequencies of discourse markers most effective in longer speeches can guide crafting more persuasive and coherent political messages. It is particularly relevant in the age of social media, where politicians are increasingly required to engage with a diverse audience across various

platforms. The strategic use of discourse markers can help maintain audience attention and make complex arguments more accessible.

1.3 For educators and trainers in the field of communication, the study serves as a case example to illustrate the importance of linguistic choices in public speaking. It could be incorporated into training modules that aim to improve public speaking and persuasive skills, particularly for those entering the field of politics.

1.4 Moreover, the study has implications for the general public and voters. Awareness of the strategic use of discourse markers can foster a more critical consumption of political discourse, enabling the electorate to evaluate better the substance and credibility of what is being communicated.

1.5 In summary, this study has broad implications that could benefit various stakeholders involved in political communication, from academics to practitioners and the general public. It underscores the importance of linguistic differences in shaping effective political discourse and opens avenues for further research in this intriguing intersection of linguistics and politics.

## **2. Recommendations for further studies**

**2.1 Expanding the Scope:** Future research could expand the scope to include a wider range of political figures and contexts, both within Thailand and internationally. It would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the strategic use of discourse markers in different political landscapes.

**2.2 Longitudinal Studies:** A longitudinal study tracking discourse markers over a politician's career could offer insights into how their communication strategies evolve and how these changes might correlate with their political success or public perception.

**2.3 Incorporate Audience Feedback:** It would be beneficial to incorporate audience feedback into future studies to gauge the effectiveness of discourse markers in achieving the speaker's intended outcomes, such as persuasion or engagement.

**2.4 Multi-Modal Analysis:** Given the rise of digital media, examining the use of discourse markers in online political communication, such as social media posts or video speeches, could be a fruitful avenue for research.

By taking these recommendations into account, future research can further build upon the foundation this study laid to explore the intricate relationship between language and political persuasion.



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APPENDIX

มหาวิทยาลัยพะเยา  
UNIVERSITY OF PHAYAO

APPENDIX A Speech 1: Three Kings Monument, Muang, Chiang Mai

Speech 1: Three Kings Monument, Muang, Chiang Mai, 30 April 2023

(7 minutes 51 seconds)

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
อ้าว ว่าไงครับ อยู่ใหม่ ไย และนี่คือเสียงของ นายก วงเล็บยัง candidate อยู่	“Hey, what's up? And this is the voice of Prime Minister, in parentheses, <u>still</u> be a candidate.”
โอ้โฮ มีดพ้ามัวดินขนาดนี้ บอกผมหน่อยสิว่า จะไม่ให้รักพวกคุณได้อย่างไร	“Oh my God, it's so crowded. How can you say I can't love you?”
น่ารักมากมาก ก ไก่ ล้านตัวเลยครับพี่น้อง	“So cute, with a million ‘e’!”
อ้าว! ไหน ๆ มากันเยอะขนาดนี้ สู้สามย่าน ที่กรุงเทพฯ สู้ไม่สู้?	“Wow! There are so many of you. Can you compare to Samyan in Bangkok?”
สู้สะพานหินที่ภูเก็ตสู้ไม่สู้?	“Can you compare to Sapan Hin in Phuket?”
ตอนนี้อยู่สามกษัตริย์ที่เชียงใหม่ แก้วที่แก้ว กาพรรคอะไร?	“I'm <u>now</u> at Sam Kasat in Chiang Mai. What party are you affiliated with?”
ฝั่งซ้ายกาพรรคอะไร ฝั่งขวากาพรรคอะไร ข้างหลังละ	“On the left, what party will you choose? And on the right, what party will you choose? How about the back?”
ครั้งสุดท้ายเอาให้ถึงสามย่าน ดังดังพร้อมกัน	“Last time, let's shout loudly together to Samyan.”
สิบสี่ ยั้ง ๆ ๆ ๆ หยุดก่อน หยุดก่อน หยุดก่อน	“Fourteen, wait, wait, wait!”
สิบสี่ พฤษภาคม กาพรรคอะไร ดัง ๆ	“Fourteen, May, which party will you choose? Louder!”
โอ้โฮ สุดยอดมาก พวกคุณสุดยอดมากครับ ใช้ใหม่	“Oh my God, you're amazing. You all are amazing, aren't you?”
อ้าวปรบมือดังดังให้ตัวเองหนึ่งที่เร็ว	“Hey, clap loudly for yourself quickly!”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
ขอบคุณมากครับ ขอบคุณมากครับ	“Thank you very much, thank you very much.”
เรียนพี่น้องชาวเชียงใหม่ที่เคารพรักทุกท่าน ครับ ผม พิธา ลิ้มเจริญรัตน์ หัวหน้าพรรคก้าว ไกล candidate นายกรัฐมนตรีคนต่อไปของพี่ น้องชาวเชียงใหม่ครับ	“Dear respected citizens of Chiang Mai, I am Pita Limcharoenrat, the head of the Future Forward Party, and your next Prime Minister candidate.”
วันนี้มาปราศรัย สั้น ๆ กระชับ ๆ ไม่มาก	“Today's speech will be brief and concise, not too long.”
อันที่หนึ่ง ขอขอบคุณพ่อแม่พี่น้องชาว เชียงใหม่ ที่เคยให้คะแนนพวกเรา อดีตอนาคต ใหม่ มากกว่าสองแสนห้าหมื่นคะแนนครับพี่ น้อง	“ <u>Firstly</u> , I want to thank the people of Chiang Mai for giving us, the Future Forward Party, more than 250,000 votes.”
คราวที่แล้วมาเป็นที่สอง คราวนี้จะเป็นที่หนึ่ง กับเขาบ้างอะไรบ้าง	“Last time we came in second, this time we will be number one for sure.”
บอกไว้ก่อนว่า candidate นายคนนี้ ไม่ได้มาเล่น ๆ นะ	“Let me tell you, this candidate for Prime Minister is not messing around.”
คราวนี้พ่อแม่พี่น้องชาวเชียงใหม่ อายุต่ำกว่า ยี่สิบห้า อีกหนึ่งแสนห้าหมื่นคน	“This time, there are another 250,000 people in Chiang Mai who are under 25.”
สองแสนห้าหมื่นคราวที่แล้วยื่นไว้ อีกแสนห้า มารวมกันก็สี่แสนแล้ว แล้วมันจะไม่ใช้อะไร	“The 250,000 from last time and another 150,000 this time make 400,000, and that's nothing to scoff at.”
เปลี่ยนที่สอง เปลี่ยนจากผู้บุกรุกให้เป็น ผู้บุกเบิก	“Change number two: transform from intruders to pioneers.”
บุกเบิกยังไง	“How to pioneer?”
ที่ดินเชียงใหม่สิบสามล้านไร่เป็นป่าไปแล้ว เก้าล้านไร่ เป็น ส.ป.ก. ไปอีกห้าแสนไร่	“In Chiang Mai, out of 13 million Rais of land, 9 million are forest, and another 500,000 are owned by Agricultural Land Reform Office.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>กระดุมเม็ดแรกใครยังจำได้บ้าง เปลี่ยนผู้ บุกรุกให้เป็นผู้บุกเบิก เปลี่ยนนิติโทษกรรม กฎหมายที่ดิน และทำให้มีเขตวัฒนธรรม พิเศษสำหรับพี่น้องชาวชาติพันธุ์</p>	<p>Who <u>still</u> remembers the first button? Transform from intruders to pioneers, change the land law amnesty, and create special cultural zones for our ethnic brothers and sisters.</p>
<p>เปลี่ยนสุดท้าย เปลี่ยนที่สาม เปลี่ยนเมือง เชียงใหม่เมืองปราบเซียน ให้กลายเป็น เชียงใหม่เมืองปากท้อง อีกหน่อยใครใคร ก็อยากจะมาเปิดร้านที่เชียงใหม่</p>	<p>Final change, change number three: transform Chiang Mai from a city of suppression to a city of opportunities. Soon everyone will want to open a business in Chiang Mai.</p>
<p>ง่าย ๆ ไม่ยาก เลือกพรรคก้าวไกล ให้ถล่มทลาย ผมจะส่ง สิริกัญญา ตันสกุล ไปเป็นรัฐมนตรีคลัง สุราก้าวหน้า ผ่านแน่นอน</p>	<p>It's simple, not hard. Vote for the Move Forward Party to shake things up. I'll send Sirikanya Tansakul to be the Minister of Finance. Liquor Liberalization will definitely pass.</p>
<p>เดี๋ยวเราเจอกัน เดี่ยวเราถ่ายรูปกัน เดี่ยวเรา พูดคุยกัน</p>	<p>We'll see each other soon, we'll take photos together, we'll chat.</p>
<p>สุดท้ายนี้ ใครใคร่ปากกาส้มส้มเผด็จการ ยกให้ดูหน่อยเร็ว</p>	<p><u>Finally</u>, who has an orange pen to overthrow the regime? Show it quickly.</p>
<p>เข้าคูหากาก้าวไกล ซ่าเผด็จการเลยได้ไหม พี่น้อง</p>	<p>Enter the booth, choose Move Forward Party, and overthrow the regime. Can we, brothers and sisters?</p>
<p>เอาปากกาส้มนี้เสกเวทมนต์ ให้เชียงใหม่ ไม่เหมือนเดิม ให้ภาคเหนือไม่เหมือนเดิม</p>	<p>Use this orange pen to cast a spell to make Chiang Mai and the North different from before.</p>
<p>การเมืองดี มีอนาคตไปด้วยกันครับ พี่น้องชาวเชียงใหม่</p>	<p>Good governance brings a future for all of us, people of Chiang Mai.</p>
<p>ขอบคุณมากครับ</p>	<p>Thank you very much.</p>

APPENDIX B Speech 2: Big Debate, Park Paragon, Siam Paragon, Bangkok,  
6 May 2023 (8 minutes 22 seconds)

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>พิธีกร: “ขออนุญาตต่อเลยนะคะครับ ท่านต่อไปนะคะครับ คุณพิธาครับ จากพรรคก้าวไกล อย่างนี้นะครับ คำถามของคุณพิธา ถามมาจากกรุงเทพมหานคร คุณพัชรนันท์นะคะครับ ถามอย่างนี้นะครับ คือเขาเล่า ให้ฟัง ตอนนี่ เนี่ย หนูต้องไปสัมภาษณ์งานหลายแห่ง ผู้สัมภาษณ์แทบจะทุกแห่งแทบจะนะฮะ ดันถาม คำถามเหล่านี้ขึ้นมาหนึ่ง หนึ่งอยู่ชั่ว ชั่วโหน ทางการเมือง สอง แล้วนี่คิดว่าทางออกทาง การเมืองของไทยคุณเป็นอย่างไร เพราะฉะนั้น อยากจะถามคุณพิธาอะ หนูควรตอบอย่างไร ให้ดูดี ไม่เสียหายต่อการสัมภาษณ์งานอะ เชิญครับ คุณพิธาครับ”</p>	<p>MC: “May I proceed, sir? Next up, Mr. Pita from Move Forward Party. So, Mr. Pita, the question comes from Bangkok, from Ms. Patchara. She says she’s been asked political questions during multiple job interviews. What should she say to leave a good impression? Please, Mr. Pita.”</p>
<p>พิธา: “ตอบตรง ๆ ครับ เพราะว่าผมคิดว่าถึงเวลา แล้วที่สังคมไทยเรานะครับ จะสร้างสังคมที่ยอมรับ นะคะครับ การแสดงออก หรือความคิดที่เห็นต่าง ทางการเมืองอย่างมีวุฒิภาวะนะคะครับ”</p>	<p>Pita: “Answer directly, <u>because</u> I believe it’s time for Thai society to accept diverse political opinions with maturity.”</p>
<p>“ถ้าจะตีคำถามนี้ให้แตก เนี่ย คำถามนี้กำลังถาม อยู่ว่าความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างที่ทำงานกับการเมือง การแสดงความคิดเห็นทางการเมือง เนี่ย คืออะไร”</p>	<p>“To break down the question, it’s asking about what is the relationship between work and political opinions?”</p>
<p>“อันนั้นคือสิ่งที่เขาพยายามที่จะต้องการ ที่จะถาม เพราะฉะนั้นผมจะตอบคำถามนี้ ในสามระดับครับ”</p>	<p>“<u>That’s</u> what they are trying to ask, so I will answer this question on three levels.”</p>
<p>“ในระดับที่หนึ่งก็คือ ระดับของสังคม ระดับในที่ ทำงาน แล้วก็จะระดับในส่วนตัว ของผมเองด้วยนะคะครับ”</p>	<p>“<u>The first</u> level is societal, <u>the second</u> is within the workplace, and <u>the third</u> is personal.”</p>

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“ในระดับสังคมอย่างที่บอกครับ ผมคิดว่าเราต้องสร้างสังคมใหม่ที่ไม่เลือกปฏิบัตินะครับ เพียงเพราะความคิดเห็นต่างทางการเมือง”	“At the societal level, we should create a new society that doesn't discriminate based on political opinions.”
“ไม่จำเป็นที่จะต้องกีดกัน หรือเลือกปฏิบัติ เพราะความแตกต่างทางเพศวิถี”	“There's no need to alienate or discriminate based on sexual orientation.”
“ไม่ควรที่จะเลือกปฏิบัติ ในเรื่องการเข้ามาทำงาน เพียงเพราะศาสนาครับ”	“We shouldn't discriminate in the workplace based on religion.”
“เพราะว่าพรรคก้าวไกลของเราเชื่อครับว่าการโอบรับความหลากหลาย การที่สังคมมีความคิดเห็นที่แตกต่าง แล้วเราสามารถที่จะจัดการให้กลายเป็นจุดแข็งได้ ความแตกต่างหลากหลายคือจุดแข็งของสังคมนั้น ไม่ใช่จุดอ่อน”	“ <u>Because</u> Move Forward Party believes that embracing diversity can become a strength, not a weakness.”
“แน่นอนมันจะมีความขัดแย้งมาโดยตลอด ไม่ว่าจะในระดับสังคม ในระดับบริษัท หรือว่าในระดับครอบครัว ทุกที่มีหมด”	“ <u>Certainly</u> , there will be conflicts at every level—society, company, family.”
“ในเรื่องของความขัดแย้ง พรรคก้าวไกลก็มี แต่มันอยู่ที่ว่าองค์กรนั้นหรือสังคมนั้นแก้ไขกับความขัดแย้งนั้นอย่างไร มีวุฒิภาวะเพียงพอหรือไม่ มีพื้นที่ปลอดภัยในการแสดงออกหรือไม่”	“ <u>Regarding</u> conflicts, Move Forward Party <u>also</u> has; <u>however</u> , it's about how an organization or society handles them. Is there enough maturity? Is there a safe space for expression?”
“เพราะถ้าเกิดเราสามารถที่จะให้มีการแสดงออก นี่คือโอกาสในการที่จะให้คนแสดงออก มีโอกาสในการลองผิดลองถูก และสามารถทำให้มีเสรีภาพ มีนวัตกรรมและมีความคิดทางสร้างสรรค์เกิดขึ้น”	“ <u>Because</u> if we allow expressions, it opens the door for trial and error, leading to freedom, innovation, and creativity.”
“ถ้าเกิดคุณบอกว่าคุณอยากจะมีคิดสร้างสรรค์ อยากจะมีนวัตกรรม แต่บอกว่าต้องคิดแบบนี้อย่างเดียวเท่านั้น ใครคิดต่าง. ถูกไล่ออกนอกประเทศหมด”	“If you say you want creativity <u>but</u> enforce only one way of thinking, and exile those who think differently, you

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>โดนหาว่าซังชาติหมด คุณไม่สามารถที่จะเอาจุดต่าง ในประเทศนั้นและทำให้กลายเป็นจุดแข็ง ทำให้คน ไม่สามารถที่จะเข้ามาได้”</p>	<p>can't turn differences into strengths.”</p>
<p>“คุณนั่งอยู่บนหัว คุณไม่ได้นั่งอยู่ในใจประชาชน”</p>	<p>“You’re sitting on a pedestal, not in the hearts of the people.”</p>
<p>“เพราะ... ขอขอบคุณมากครับ”</p>	<p>“Because... thank you very much.”</p>
<p>“เพราะฉะนั้นสังคมที่ไม่เลือกปฏิบัติเท่านั้น ที่อนุญาตให้คนคิดต่างได้ แต่มีวิธีการใน การจัดการความขัดแย้งอย่างมีวุฒิภาวะเท่านั้นที่จะ เป็นทางออกของสังคมและเป็นสังคมมีที่ประเทศไทย ที่พรรคก้าวไกลวิธหา”</p>	<p>“<u>Therefore</u>, a society that doesn’t discriminate and manages conflicts maturely is the way forward for Thailand, which is what Move Forward Party is striving for.”</p>
<p>“ในระดับบริษัทครับ ผมคิดว่า เอ่อตอนนี้ เนี่ย ความรู้สึกของยุคสมัยมันก็เปลี่ยนไปนะ มันไม่ใช่ในแค่ ว่าบริษัทแค่ถาม คนที่จะมาสมัครงานว่าคิดเห็นยังไง แต่ก็มีอีกหลายที่คนรุ่นใหม่ถามบริษัทกลับ ว่าคุณมี นโยบายเลือกปฏิบัติหรือเปล่า ว่าคุณมีนโยบายที่จะ กีดกัน แรงงานที่มีความคิดเห็นต่างทางการเมือง ที่อาจจะไม่เหมือนคุณหรือเปล่า”</p>	<p>“At the company level, <u>I think</u>, well, currently, the sentiment of the times has changed. It's not just that companies ask applicants what they think. But there are many places where the new generation asks the company in return, “Do you have a selection policy?” “Do you have policies that discriminate against workers with different political opinions than you?”</p>
<p>“แล้วถ้าเกิดเป็นแบบนี้ เนี่ย ผมไม่คิดว่าบริษัทแบบนี้ จะสามารถรวมความสามารถของคนในหลายหลาย รูปแบบ แล้วเวลาที่จะหา เอ่อ คำตอบอะไรใหม่ใหม่ เนี่ย ผมคิดว่าเขาไม่สามารถที่จะเป็นบริษัทแบบนี้”</p>	<p>“And if <u>that's</u> the case, I don't think such a company would be able to harness the talents of people in various ways. When looking for new solutions, I don't think they can be that kind of company.”</p>

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>“แล้วก็คิดว่า ในเรื่องของกฎหมายแรงงาน เนี่ย ในการที่จะเขาเรียกว่า hiring practice เนี่ย หรือว่าการที่จะจ้างในการ เอ่อ สอบสัมภาษณ์หรืออะไรก็ดี เนี่ย ผมไม่แน่ใจว่ามันมี discrimination law หรือมีกฎในการที่จะเลือกปฏิบัติอย่างนั้นอยู่หรือไม่ ก็เป็นสิ่งที่ต้องดูกันต่อ”</p>	<p>“I <u>also think</u> that, in terms of labor laws, what they call “hiring practices”, whether it's in interviews or whatever, I'm not sure if there are discrimination laws or rules for such practices. It's something that needs further examination.”</p>
<p>“ในระดับส่วนตัวครับ ชีวิตคนเรานะ พูดเหมือนกับรุ่นพี่พูดกับรุ่นน้อง ใช้เวลาอยู่ในที่ทำงานแปดเก้าชั่วโมง เราทำในที่ ๆ เราสบายใจดีกว่าครับ”</p>	<p>“On a personal level, we spend eight or nine hours at work, it's better to work in a place where we feel comfortable. It's like an elder speaking to a younger generation.”</p>
<p>“ขอบคุณมากครับ ขอขอบคุณมากครับ”</p>	<p>“Thank you very much. Thank you very much.”</p>



APPENDIX C Speech 3: Sapan Dam, Hat Yai, Songkhla, 7 May 2023 (16 minutes  
49 seconds)

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“อ้าว ว่าไง วัยรุ่น สงขลาจ๋า พิธามาแล้ว”	“Hey, what’s up, Songkhla youth! Pita has arrived.”
“แรงได้ไม่ค่อยได้แต่อยากจะบอกว่าคิดถึง อย่างแรงเลยนี่”	“May not be that powerful, but want to say I miss you so much.”
“อ้าว! มากันเยอะขนาดนี้ วัดกันดูว่าสงขลา แตกไม่แตก”	“Wow! So many people came. Let's see if Songkhla can take it.”
“มาเป็นธรรมเนียมไปทุกจังหวัด ไหนขอ เสียงคนอยากเลือกตั้งหน่อยเร็ว”	“I've been travelling to every province. Anyone here wants to vote quickly, make some noise.”
“ไหนขอเสียงคนรักประชาธิปไตยหน่อยเร็ว”	“Who loves democracy here? Make some noise quickly.”
“ลิสสิพฤษภา พรรคอะไร”	“Which party for the 14th of May?”
“ซ้ายมือละ ขวามือละ อ้าว ทั้งหมดรวมกัน ดัง ๆ เฮ้ย อันนี้มันสงขลาหรือสิ่งขลา”	“Left hand, right hand, hey, everyone together, make some noise. Is this Songkhla or what?”
“พี่น้องที่เคารพรักทั้งหลาย ผมพิธา ลิ้ม เจริญรัตน์ หัวหน้าพรรคก้าวไกล candidate นายกรัฐมนตรีคนต่อไปของประเทศไทย”	“Dear respected and loved siblings, I am Pita Limcharoenrat, the leader of the Move Forward Party, the next Prime Minister candidate for Thailand.”
“ขอประกาศว่า สงขลาแตกแล้วครับพี่น้อง”	“I'd like to announce that Songkhla has made it, folks.”
“คนที่เขาบอกว่าเป็นไปไม่ได้เขาไม่เข้าใจ ว่าพรรคก้าวไกล ผูกพันกับพี่น้องชาวใต้ ขนาดไหน”	“Those who say it's impossible don't understand how much the Move Forward Party is committed to our southern brothers and sisters.”
“เป็นยังไงบ้าง เจอขุนพลจากกระบี่ เจอ ขุนพลจากชุมพร เจอขุนพลจากภูเก็ต”	“How's it going? Met the leaders from Krabi, Chumphon, and Phuket?”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“เอาตบมือดัง ๆ หน่อยเร็ว”	“Clap your hands loudly, quickly.”
“พ่อ (พิธา) ก็รักส้ม (แฟนคลับ) ครับ”	“Dad (Pita) also loves Som (the fans), folks.”
“แล้วพ่อ (พิธา) ก็รักฟ้า (แฟนคลับ) ด้วยครับ”	“And Dad (Pita) also loves Fah (the fans), folks.”
“นี่โชคดีที่กินไข่ต้มมากกว่าหนึ่งฟอง เลยยังจำได้อยู่ว่าพูดอะไรอยู่”	“I'm lucky to have eaten more than one boiled egg, so I <u>still</u> remember what was said.”
“เอาขุนพลภาคใต้มาหาที่สงขลา หลายคน ยังไม่เข้าใจว่าพรรคก้าวไกล ผูกพันคน ภาคใหญ่ขนาดไหน”	“Bring the southern leaders to Songkhla. Many people <u>still</u> don't understand how committed the Move Forward Party is to the people of Hat Yai.”
“ผมพิธา ปาร์ตี้ลิสต์หมายเลขที่หนึ่ง”	“I'm Pita, <u>first</u> on the party list.”
“เลขพรรค เป็นปาร์ตี้ลิสต์หมายเลขที่สอง เป็นคนภาคใหญ่ครับพี่น้อง ก็อยู่ภาคใหญ่ วิทยาลัย เนี่ย แหะละ เขาเรียกกันว่า โกต้อม โกต้อม”	“The party secretary is second on the party list and is from Hat Yai. Lives in Hat Yai University. People call him Kotom, Kotom.”
โกต้อม เนี่ย สมัยก่อนก็ขี่มอเตอร์ไซด์ กินเหนียวไก่อยู่แล้วอะ ก็อยู่ที่นั่นแหละ	“Kotom used to ride a motorcycle and eat sticky rice with chicken. He is <u>still</u> here.”
แล้วใครบอกว่าพรรคก้าวไกลไม่สนใจพี่น้อง ภาคใต้ ไม่สนใจคนภาคใหญ่ ไม่เป็นความจริงครับพี่น้อง พี่จริง	“Who says that the Move Forward Party doesn't care about the people in the South or Hat Yai? That's not true, folks.”
ผมทำงานอยู่กับเขา อยู่ในห้องเดียวกัน เลยนะ โกต้อม เนี่ย เปิดเพลงคำสัญญา ที่ภาคใหญ่ ฟังตลอดเลย	“I work with him, we are in the same room. Kotom always plays the song “Promise in Hat Yai”.”
ไหนใครทันบ้าง ขอเสียงหน่อยเร็ว	“Who's keeping up? Let's hear some noise quickly!”
โห นี่คนรุ่นใหม่หมดเลย ไม่ทันคำสัญญา ที่ภาคใหญ่เลย ชื่อยิว อะ ที่เป็นนักร้อง ที่ชื่อยิว อะ แกก็บอกว่ามีคำสัญญา ที่ภาคใหญ่กับ สงขลา ยังคอย อ่า สงขลา	“Wow, these are all new generation people. They don't know the song “Promise in Hat Yai”. There's a singer named Yiw, who said there are two songs “Promise in Hat Yai” and

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
ยั้งคอยสองเพลง	“Waiting in Songkhla”.
โกต้อมนี่ก็ทำงานอยู่ที่กรุงเทพฯ ก็เปิดเพลงพวกนี้ตลอดเวลาเลย	“Kotom is working in Bangkok and always plays these songs.”
ผมก็บอกว่า เฮ้ย! พี่ต้อม โกต้อม คนละรุ่นกัน ของผม อะ มันฟังแต่สงขลาซีดี ฮิปฮอป	“I say, hey! Pi Tom and Kotom are from different generations. What I listen to is mainly Songkhla City hip-hop.”
ใครไม่เคยฟัง ไปฟังดูเลยพีระมิด	“If you've never listened to it, go check out "Pyramid”.
แล้วก็บอกแกอีกว่าคนสงขลาที่เป็นศิลปินคนเดียวที่ผมฟัง คือ พี่ป๊อด Moderndog	“And I also tell him that the only artist from Songkhla that I listen to is Pi Pod from Moderndog.”
พี่ป๊อด ธนชัย อุชชิน ตอนนี้อยู่ที่กรุงเทพฯ	“Pi Pod, whose real name is Thanachai Utchin, is currently performing concerts in Bangkok.”
ถาม บอก พิธาไม่ไปดูคอนเสิร์ตเหรอ	“So, are you telling me that Pita isn't going to the concert?”
อ่า ขอเสียงตบมือให้พี่ป๊อดหน่อยเร็ว	“Come on, let's give a round of applause for Pi Pod quickly.”
แกเล่นคอนเสิร์ตอยู่ที่กรุงเทพฯ	“He is currently performing concerts in Bangkok.”
บอกไม่ได้พี่ ผมมาปราศรัยหน้าบ้านพี่เลยวันนี้	“I said I can't, I have a speech at your place today.”
อ้อ ครับครับ ขออนุญาต ขออนุญาตพี่ป๊อดรับพวงมาลัยแป๊บหนึ่งครับ	“Alright, alright, excuse me Pi Pod. I'll take a moment to receive a garland.”
นี่สินะที่กินไข่ต้มสามฟอง อะ เเลยยังจำได้อยู่ว่าปราศรัยถึงไหนแล้ว นี่แกล้งกันหรือเปล่า	“Good thing I ate three boiled eggs, so I can remember where I was in my speech. Are you kidding me?”
ที่พูดถึงไม่ว่าจะเป็นเพลงคำสัญญาที่หาดใหญ่ไม่ว่าจะเป็นสงขลายังคอยทั้งหมดทั้งปวงนี่มันเป็นเรื่องเดียวกันหมด	“Whether it's the song “Promise in Hat Yai” or “Waiting in Songkhla”, it's all the same story, just told by different people.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
เลย แค่คนสร้างเรื่องเป็นคนละคน	
แล้วก็บอกแกอีกว่าคนสงขลาที่เป็นศิลปินคนเดียวที่ผมฟัง คือ พี่ป๊อด Moderndog	“And I <u>also</u> tell him that the only artist from Songkhla that I listen to is Pi Pod from Moderndog.”
อันนี้เลยผมอยากจะเริ่มต้นถึงคำว่าคำสัญญา เราจะทำตามสัญญา ขอเวลา อะไรเนี่ย แหะละ อะไรประมาณ เนี่ย	“This is why I'd like to start by discussing the word 'promise'. We will keep the promise, just give us some time, something like that.”
พี่น้องจำได้ไหมว่าแปดปีที่แปดปีที่ผ่านมามีใครมาสัญญากันไว้ที่หาดใหญ่บ้าง บอกว่าให้เลือกอะไรสงบสงบ เนี่ย ตกลงมันสงบหรือสงบกันแน่	“Do any of you remember that over the past eight years, someone made a promise in Hat Yai, saying to choose something peaceful. <u>So</u> , is it really peaceful or is it dead silent?”
อันนี้ไม่ใช่เรื่องตลกเลยนะ ผมจะบอกให้แปดปีที่ผ่านมามีเศรษฐกิจประเทศไทยโตเฉลี่ยอยู่ประมาณสิบห้าเปอร์เซ็นต์	“This is no joke. Over the past eight years, Thailand's economy has grown by an average of about 15 percent.”
เอ่อ เดี่ยวขอไปรับสะตอก่อนครับ	“Excuse me, I need to go pick up some salak fruit <u>first</u> .”
สงสัยไข่ต้มสามฟองไม่พอ ต้องสามบวกหนึ่ง หมายถึงอะไร	“I suspect three boiled eggs might not be enough, it should be three plus one. What number is this?”
หมายถึงอะไร หมายถึงอะไร	“What number is this? What number is this?”
เยี่ยมมาก ตบมือให้ตัวเองดัง ๆ หนึ่งที่	“Excellent, give yourself a loud clap.”
ไม่ใช่เรื่องตลกนะพี่น้อง เขาเคยสัญญาไว้ว่าเศรษฐกิจจะดี เมื่อมีคนดี ย ัยกษ การ์นต์ ดิด ๆ ๆ ๆ กัน เข้ามาบริหาร แปดปีที่ผ่านมามีเศรษฐกิจไทยโตประมาณสิบห้าเปอร์เซ็นต์ภาคใต้โตประมาณห้าเปอร์เซ็นต์	“This is no joke, folks. They once promised that the economy would be good when good people, competent people, come in to manage. Over the past eight years, Thailand's economy has grown about 15 percent; the southern region has grown about 5 percent.”
สงขลาโตกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์ เกินกว่าศูนย์ไปนิดเดียว	“How much has Songkhla grown? Just a bit more than zero percent.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
เขาเคยสัญญากับพี่น้องว่าจะเป็นแกนหลักในการสร้างชุมชน	“They once promised us that they would be the backbone in building the community.”
อ้อ อ้อ เดี่ยวไม่ทั่วถึง เดี่ยวไม่ทั่วถึง	“Oh, oh, it won't be comprehensive, it won't be comprehensive.”
สรุปนี้เดี๋ยวเอาแบบที่ปรึกษานายกเลย ไม่ปราศรัยแล้ว ร้องเพลงแล้วนะ	“ <u>In conclusion</u> , let's do it like the Prime Minister's advisors, no more speeches, let's just sing.”
ขอภาษาไทยก่อนแป๊บหนึ่ง คมนาคม เขาก็สัญญาไว้ว่าแปดปีเขาจะสร้างชุมชนอย่างดี	“Just one moment in Thai please. For the community, they also promised that in eight years they would build a good community.”
ใครไปดูด่านสะเตาใหม่หนองฮี สร้างมา สองสามปี ยังไม่เปิดใช้จนถึงวันนี้เลยพี่น้อง	“Who's been to the new Sadao checkpoint? It's been built for two or three years and <u>still</u> hasn't opened to this day.”
เขาบอกว่ารับรองว่าทุกอย่างจะดี ทุกอย่างของแพงค่าแรงถูก มีแต่ลง ลง ลง มีขึ้นอยู่อย่างเดียว นั่นก็คือ ยาเสพติดครับพี่น้อง	“They say they guarantee everything will be good; everything is expensive and wages are low. Everything is just going down, down, down, except one thing is rising, and that is drug abuse, folks.”
คราวที่แล้วพี่น้องชาวสงขลา ให้คะแนนพวกเราอดีตนาคัดใหม่ ให้ความไว้วางใจเรามา เก้าหมื่นกว่าคะแนน	“Last time, our brothers and sisters in Songkhla gave us their votes for a new future, trusting us with over 90,000 votes.”
แต่คราวนี้ แค่คนรุ่นใหม่อย่างเดียว อายุสิบแปดถึงยี่สิบห้า ก็เก้าหมื่นคะแนนแล้ว รวมกันเป็นแสนแปด	“But this time, just the new generation alone, aged 18 to 25, has already given us 90,000 votes, amounting to a total of 180,000. How could we not win?”
ไอ้คำสัญญาที่เขาทำไม่ได้	“The promises they couldn't keep.”
ยาเสพติดที่อันดับหนึ่งผมไม่บอกว่า มีนโยบายอะไรมาก	“I won't say much, but drug abuse here is top-ranked.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
ผมบอกเลยผมส่งน้องชายผม รังสิมันต์ โรม รับรองว่าจัดการอยู่หมัด ปฏิรูปตำรวจ ไปกับพรรคก้าวไกล	“Let me tell you, I will send my brother, Rangsiman Rome, to take care of police reform with the Forward Party.”
คราวนี้ พอคนที่เขาเป็นรัฐบาลอยู่ บอกว่า จะก้าวข้ามความขัดแย้ง จะขอทำแล้ว ทำอยู่ ทำต่อ ทำเพื่ออะไรของมันวะ	“This time, those who are currently in government say they will overcome conflicts. What are they doing it for?”
Original Thai Speech	English Translation
แล้วมาถึงขนาดนี้แล้ว ก็ต้องบอกว่า พิธา ลิ้มเจริญรัตน์ candidate นายกรัฐมนตรี คนที่สามสิบของประเทศไทย ก็มีสัญญา ที่หาตใหญ่ให้พี่น้อง <u>เช่นเดียวกัน</u>	“ <u>So</u> , we've reached this point, and I must say that Pitha Limcharoenrat, the 30th Prime Ministerial candidate of Thailand, <u>also</u> has promises for the people of Hat Yai.”
ถือว่าเป็นปฏิญาณหาตใหญ่ ที่เราส่ง สัญญาตไปภาคใต้ทุกจังหวัด ทั่วประเทศไทยครบพี่น้อง	“Consider it a pledge from Hat Yai, as we send our promises to every southern province and throughout Thailand.”
เราขอสัญญาว่าเมื่อเราเป็นรัฐบาลเมื่อไร การกระจายที่ดิน การเปลี่ยน สปก ให้เป็น โฉนด จะเกิดขึ้นในรัฐบาลที่มีนายก ชื่อว่า พิธา แน่นนอนครับ พี่นง	“We promise that when we are in government, land distribution and converting SPK land title deeds to full ownership will happen under a government led by Pitha, for sure.”
แล้วสัญญาว่าการเมืองใหม่แบบเรา จะไม่มี รัฐมนตรีหน้าไหน ที่คุมเรื่องเกี่ยวกับที่ดิน พอรู้นโยบายว่าจะทำอุตสาหกรรมอะไร ก็ให้ญาติตัวเองไปซื้อแล้วเปลี่ยนเป็นโฉนด	“We <u>also</u> promise that in our new-style politics, no ministers will be in charge of land issues. If they know the policy to create an industry, they won't let their relatives buy land and change it to full ownership.”
เราสัญญากับพี่น้องประชาชนว่า อีกหน่อย เศรษฐกิจของสงขลา จากที่ผ่านมาเป็น เศรษฐกิจที่เน้นเรื่องการดูแลเกี่ยวกับ ทรัพยากร ใช้ทรัพยากร ไม่ว่าจะเป็นการค้า ชายแดน ไม่ว่าจะปาล์ม ไม่ว่าจะป็นยาง ไม่ว่าจะเป็นท่องเที่ยว เราจะเปลี่ยน จาก	“We promise the people that the economy of Songkhla will shift from an economy focused on natural resources and resource exploitation—whether it be border trade, palm, rubber, or tourism—to a knowledge-based economy.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>เศรษฐกิจทรัพยากร เป็นเศรษฐกิจความรู้          ถึงได้พูดถึงคุณยิว ถึงได้พูดถึง พีระมิด          ถึงได้พูดถึงพี่ป๊อด โมเดิร์นด็อก เพราะคน          สงขลามิแต่คนเก่ง ๆ มีแต่คนที่มี          ความสร้างสรรค์</p>	<p>“When talking about Kun Yiew, the Pyramid,          or Brother Pod Modern Dog, it's because          people in Songkhla are exceptional and          creative.”</p>
<p>อีกหน่อยเปลี่ยนจากเศรษฐกิจทรัพยากร          แบบเก่า ไปสู่สงขลาอนาคตใหม่ เศรษฐกิจ          สร้างสรรค์ครับพี่น้อง</p>	<p>“Soon we'll transition from the old resource-          based economy to a new future for Songkhla,          focusing on a creative economy, dear brothers          and sisters.”</p>
<p>แต่รัฐบาลรวมศูนย์ เขาไม่เข้าใจ          ในความเก่งกาจ ของพี่น้องชาวสงขลา</p>	<p>“But the centralized government doesn't          understand the capabilities and talents of the          people of Songkhla.”</p>
<p>ปีที่ผ่านมาเขาให้งบเศรษฐกิจสร้างสรรค์          คุณมาแค่แปดล้านบาทเท่านั้นเอง</p>	<p>“Last year, they only allocated eight million          baht for the creative economy.”</p>
<p>แปดล้านบาทนี้มันถูกกว่านาฬิกาใครบางคน          อีกนะ</p>	<p>“Eight million baht is even cheaper than          someone's watch.”</p>
<p>เพลง คำสัญญาที่หาดใหญ่ก็บอกสัญญากัน          ที่ซานซาลา เพลงนี้แต่งเมื่อปีสองพันห้าร้อย          สามสิบเจ็ด</p>	<p>“The song, “The Promise at Hat Yai”, also          speaks of promises at a platform. This song          was written in the year 2537 (1994).”</p>
<p>ปีที่ผ่านมามผมนั่งรถไฟจากหาดใหญ่ไปปาร์          ดังเบซาร์ ข้ามไปปีนัง ซานซาลานั้นยังเป็น          ซานซาลาเดิมอยู่เลยครับพี่น้อง</p>	<p>“Last year, I took a train from Hat Yai to          Padang Besar, crossing into Penang. The          platform is <u>still</u> the same old platform, dear          brothers and sisters.”</p>
<p>เพราะฉะนั้นก้าวไกลเป็นรัฐบาลเมื่อไร ขอให้          คำสัญญา การคมนาคมระหว่างจังหวัด          การคมนาคมภายในสงขลา ต้องไร้รอยต่อ          ภายใต้ชื่อนายกรัฐมนตรี ที่ชื่อพิธา          ลิ้มเจริญรัตน์ แน่นนอนครับพี่น้อง</p>	<p>“Therefore, whenever we reach the          government, transportation between provinces          and within Songkhla will be seamless under          the name of Prime Minister Pitha          Limcharoenrat, definitely, dear brothers and          sisters.”</p>

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>แค่นี้เอง สิ่งที่เราต้องการที่จะมาทำให้กับพ่อแม่พี่น้อง ถือว่าเป็นปฏิญญาหาดีใหญ่</p>	<p>“This is all we aim to do for our parents, brothers, and sisters; consider it the Hat Yai Covenant.”</p>
<p>เราสัญญากับทุกท่านภายใต้ยุทธศาสตร์ที่ชื่อว่า การเมืองดีปากท้องดี การเมืองดีปากท้องดี การเมืองดี ปากท้องดี</p>	<p>“We promise everyone under the strategy called “Good Governance, Good Livelihoods”.”</p>
<p>และแล้วเราจะหักเสาไฟฟ้าด้วยกัน และเข้าสู่อนาคตใหม่ของพี่น้องชาวหาดีใหญ่ ชาวสงขลา ภาคใต้ และประเทศไทยไปด้วยกันครับพี่น้อง</p>	<p>“And then we'll break down the electric poles together and move toward a new future for the people of Hat Yai, Songkhla, the South, and Thailand, dear brothers and sisters.”</p>
<p>เหลือเวลาอีกไม่ถึง อะ หนึ่งอาทิตย์ ผมขอเรียกร้องให้พี่น้องทุกคนอย่าแผ่ว อย่าประมาท และอย่ากระพริบตา</p>	<p>“There's less than a week left. I urge all of you not to be complacent, careless, or blink.”</p>
<p>และในเมื่อเราจุดไฟกลางสายลมเสร็จแล้ว คนที่มีอำนาจอยู่ฝ่ายอนุรักษ์นิยมเขาข่มไม่พอใจ เมื่อแข่งขันกับเราไม่ได้เขาก็ข่ม สาดโคลนมา ใช้วิชามารต่างต่างนานา</p>	<p>“Once we've lit the fire amidst the winds, those in power on the conservationist side are bound to be displeased. If they can't compete with us, they tend to sling mud using various tactics.”</p>
<p>แต่ผมขอออกกับพวกเราว่า โคลนสาดโคลนไม่ช่วยอะไร</p>	<p>“But let me tell us, slinging mud won't help anything.”</p>
<p>ความมืดไล่ความมืดไม่ได้ ความสว่างเท่านั้นที่จะทำให้สงครามเปลี่ยนไป</p>	<p>“Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can change the course of the battle.”</p>
<p>เวลาที่เหลืออาจจะยาก แต่ถ้าทุกคนร่วมมือกันสามัคคีกันอย่างทุกวันนี้ ผมขอสัญญาครับ ว่าเราจะมาเปลี่ยนแปลงสงขลาไปด้วยกัน เปลี่ยนแปลงภาคใต้ไปด้วยกัน และมาเปลี่ยนแปลงประเทศไทยไปด้วยกัน</p>	<p>“The remaining time might be tough, <u>but</u> if everyone cooperates and stays united like they do now, I promise that we will change Songkhla together, change the South together, and change Thailand together.”</p>
<p>ขอบคุณมากครับ</p>	<p>“Thank you very much.”</p>

APPENDIX D Speech 4: Final Speech at The Thai–Japanese Stadium, Wet  
Gymnasium 1, Bangkok, 12 May 2023 (23 minutes 59 seconds)

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
เรียนพ่อแม่พี่น้อง ที่เคารพรักทั้งหลาย. กระผม พิธา ลิ้มเจริญรัตน์ หัวหน้าพรรค ก้าวไกล นายกรัฐมนตรี คนต่อไปของ ประเทศไทยครับ	“Dear respected parents, siblings, and everyone, I am Pita Limcharoenrat, the leader of Move Forward Party and the next Prime Minister of Thailand.”
วันนี้ ขอประกาศต่อหน้าทุกท่านในที่นี้ว่า เวลาของเราได้มาถึงแล้ว	“Today, I announce to everyone here that our time has come.”
เหลือเวลาอีกเพียงสองวันเท่านั้น	“We have only two days left.”
คำตอบสุดท้าย ก้าวไกล ทั้งแผ่นดิน	“The final answer is to Move Forward, across the land.”
เหลือเวลาอีกเพียงสองวันเท่านั้นที่พวกเรา ทุกคนจะร่วมกันขีดเขียนประวัติศาสตร์ หน้าใหม่ของการเมืองไทย ก้าวไกล ประเทศไทยไม่เหมือนเดิม	“We have only two days left for all of us to jointly write a new chapter in Thai politics. Forward: Thailand will not be the same.”
และวันนี้ ผมพร้อมแล้วที่จะเป็น นายกรัฐมนตรีของคนไทยทุกคน	“And today, I am ready to be the Prime Minister for all Thais.”
ไม่ว่าคุณจะมีเงินหรือไม่คุณจะมาจาก ภูมิภาคไหน ไม่ว่าคุณจะเป็นคนรุ่นใหม่ หรือคนรุ่นใหญ่ คุณสามารถฝากความฝัน และความหวังไว้กับผมได้	“Whether you are rich or poor, from any region, young or old, you can entrust me with your dreams and hopes.”
และพวกเรา มารวมตัวกันในวันนี้ ก็ เพราะว่าเรามีความฝันเหมือนกัน	“And we come together today because we share the same dreams.”
และการที่เรามารวมตัวกันในวันนี้ ที่นี้คือ สถานที่ ที่การเดินทางของเรา เริ่มต้นเมื่อ สี่ปีที่แล้ว	“And the reason we are gathering here today is that this is where our journey began four years ago.”
และก่อนที่จะมาพูดว่าสี่ปีผ่านไป ความฝัน ของเรายังเข้มข้นเหมือนเดิมมากขนาดไหน	“Before saying that four years have passed, how steadfast our dreams remain. These past

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
สี่ปีที่ผ่านมา ไหวเหมือนโกหก สิ่งที่เราไม่ลืม คือคนที่ทำให้เรามีความฝันร่วมกันได้ คนที่จุดไฟในสายลม คนที่เคยมายืนพูดอยู่ตรงนี้จะ เป็นใครไม่ได้ เพื่อนรักของผม ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ	four years have gone by as quickly as a lie. What we haven't forgotten is the person who made it possible for us to dream together, the person who ignited a fire in the wind. The person who once stood here speaking cannot be anyone else but my dear friend, Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit,”
เพื่อนรักของผม ปิยะบุตร แสงกนกกุล	“My dear friend, Piyabutr Saengkanokkul,”
เพื่อนรักของผม พรรณิกา วานิช	“My dear friend, Pannika Wanich.”
พวกคุณไม่ต้องกังวล ตอนนี้คบเพลิงอยู่ในมือของผม ผมจะไม่มีวันให้มาดับ	“You don't have to worry, the torch is now in my hands, it will never be extinguished.”
เราจะเดินหน้าทำความฝันของเราให้เป็นจริง และรอคอยวันที่พวกคุณกลับมา	“We will move forward to make our dreams come true and await the day you all return.”
ขอเวลาทำตามสัญญา เป็นนายกสองสมัยก็พอ	“Give me time to fulfil my promises; serving two terms as Prime Minister is enough.”
สิ่งที่หลายคนเขาไม่รู้ว่าคุณฝันของเราที่มารวมกันมันเรียบง่ายและมันหลากหลาย	“What many people don't know is that our collective dreams are simple <u>yet</u> diverse.”
จากเหนือจดใต้จากซ้ายจดขวา	“From north to south, from left to right.”
ถ้าเป็นพี่น้องที่เชียงใหม่ เชียงราย ความฝันของพวกเราคือแค่มีอากาศบริสุทธิ์เอาไว้หายใจ	“If you are from Chiang Mai or Chiang Rai, our dream is simply to have clean air to breathe.”
ถ้าเป็นคนในประเทศไทยไม่มีที่ดินทำกินเป็นของตัวเอง ความฝันของพวกเราเรียบง่ายแค่ต้องการที่จะมีที่ดินทำกินเป็นของตัวเอง	“If you are someone in Thailand without land of your own to cultivate, Our dream is simple: just to have land of our own to cultivate.”
ถ้าเป็นพี่น้องที่อยู่ภาคอีสานกำลังพึ่งอยู่ สิ่งที่เราต้องการในเรื่องของน้ำก็คือไม่ให้หน้าแล้ง ขนน้ำไปหาคน หน้าฝนชนคนหน้าน้ำ	“If you are listening and you are from the Northeast region, what we want regarding water is not to have droughts, carry water to people, and during the rainy season, help people escape floods.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
ถ้าเป็นพี่น้องภาคตะวันออกก็ขอเพียงแค่ ลมหายใจที่ไม่ต้องทนกับกลิ่นเหม็น ของเหมือง หรือโรงงานขยะ	“If you are from the Eastern region, all we ask is for air that doesn't stink of mines or rubbish factories.”
ถ้าเป็นพี่น้องที่อยู่ทางภาคเหนือตอนบน ก็คงเป็นเรื่องเกี่ยวกับไฟป่า	“If you are from the upper Northern region, it probably concerns forest fires.”
เราหวังที่จะเห็นประเทศไทยดีขึ้น	“We hope to see Thailand improve”
ในขณะที่เดียวกัน ถ้าเกิดคุณเป็นคนรุ่นใหญ่ ในประเทศนี้ สิ่งที่คุณฝัน ก็เพียงแค่ว่า ในวันที่คุณเกษียณหลังจากที่คุณต่อสู้ มาตลอดทั้งชีวิต รัฐบาลจะดูแลคุณมากกว่า แค่ไข่ต้มฟองเดียว	“Meanwhile, if you happen to be an older generation in this country, what you dream of is just that the government will take better care of you than just providing a boiled egg after your retirement.
ถ้าคุณอยู่ในวัยเดียวกับผม ในวัยเป็นพ่อคน ก็หวังว่ามันจะจบในรุ่นเรา	“If you are the same age as me, at the age of being a father, we hope it will end with our generation.”
เราแค่เห็นอยากที่จะเห็นรัฐบาลที่ดีขึ้น	“We just want to see a better government.”
แล้วสิ่งที่คนทั้งประเทศต้องการเพียงแค่ อยากจะทำอยู่อย่างเป็นเนื้อเป็นเลือดกับญาติ โยม	“And what people all over the country want is just to live a decent life with their families.”
เราต้องการเห็นการกระจายอำนาจ ที่แต่ละ จังหวัดสามารถเลือกตั้งผู้ว่าได้ด้วยตัว ของเขาเอง	“We want to see the decentralization where each province can elect its own governor.”
งบประมาณที่เกิดขึ้นในบ้านเรา ก็แค่	“The budget generated in our home is just,”
พ่อ (พิธา) ก็รักส้ม (แฟนคลับ) ครับ	“Dad (Pita) also loves Som (fan club),”
แล้วพ่อ (พิธา) ก็รักฟ้า (พิธา) ด้วยครับ	“And Dad (Pitha) also loves Fah (fan club).”
แล้วพ่อ (พิธา) ก็รักประชาชนทุกคนด้วย ครับ	“And Dad (Pita) also loves all the people.”
นี่ดีนะ กินไข่ต้มมากกว่าหนึ่งฟอง เลยจำได้ ว่าปราศรัยถึงไหน เนี่ย	“This is good, having more than one boiled egg, so I remember where my speech is.”
เราก็ต้องการการกระจายอำนาจให้เกิดขึ้น	“We <u>also</u> want decentralization in our country;

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>ในประเทศของเรา คนที่เกิดในจังหวัดนั้น แก้ไขปัญหาของจังหวัดนั้น ได้ด้วยตัวของเขาเอง</p>	<p>people born in that province can solve its problems themselves.”</p>
<p>ถ้าเกิดคุณเป็นเยาวชนคนรุ่นใหม่ที่พักอยู่ ก็คงอยากจะยกเลิกการเกณฑ์ทหาร ยกเลิกการเกณฑ์ทหารเอาชีวิตของเรากลับมา ตามหาความฝัน เริ่มต้นความฝัน เริ่มต้นชีวิตการงานของตนเอง</p>	<p>“If you are a young person of the new generation listening, you probably want to abolish the conscription and take back our lives, follow our dreams, and start our own careers.”</p>
<p>ในขณะเดียวกันยังมีเด็กมากกว่านั้น ที่เป็นคนรุ่นใหม่ ที่บอกว่าอยากได้อำนาจนิยม ออกจากการศึกษาไทย คืนครูให้ห้องเรียน เปลี่ยนจากเรียนน้อยได้มาก ให้กลายเป็นเรียนเน้นให้ได้มาก</p>	<p>“At the same time, there are even more young people of the new generation who say they want progressivism, depart from Thai education, return teachers to classrooms, and shift from less quantity to more quality in education.”</p>
<p>ในขณะเดียวกัน ตอนที่ผมลงพื้นที่ก็มีเด็กวิ่งมาหาผม บอกว่าเขายังมีความฝันอยากจะทำอะไรในประเทศนี้อยู่ ไม่อยากย้ายประเทศไปไหน ยกเลิกเกณฑ์ทหารให้เขาหน่อยได้ไหม</p>	<p>“At the same time, when I was in the area, kids ran up to me saying they <u>still</u> have dreams of living in this country, don't want to move abroad, can we abolish conscription for them?”</p>
<p>ความฝันของพวกเราเรียบง่ายและหลากหลายแบบนี้</p>	<p>“Our dreams are simple and varied like this.”</p>
<p>แต่ประสบการณ์ชีวิตของผมทั้งชีวิต ประสบการณ์ตลอดสี่ปีที่เป็น สส ของพวกท่านมา รู้เลยว่าความฝันของพวกเรา เมื่อเอามารวมกันตรงนี้ ใหญ่ประมาณขนาดนี้ หรือใหญ่ประมาณขนาดนี้</p>	<p>“But from my life experiences, and four years as your representative, I know that our collective dreams are either this big or that big.”</p>
<p>แต่ในขณะเดียวกันข้อจำกัดทางการเมืองมันใหญ่ขนาดนี้ครับพี่น้อง</p>	<p>“But at the same time, the political limitations are this big, folks.”</p>
<p>เพราะฉะนั้น ผู้นำคนต่อไปของประเทศไทย ต้องเป็นคนที่มีความคิดริเริ่ม เพื่อจะพัฒนา</p>	<p>“Therefore, the next leader of Thailand must be someone with initiative to develop the country</p>

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
ประเทศไปข้างหน้า	further.”
“จะหยุดแช่แข็งประเทศไทยได้ นายกรัฐมนตรีคนต่อไปต้องแก้ปัญหาเก่า ที่เราติดหล่มมาตลอดสิบเจ็ดปีที่ผ่านมา”	“To unfreeze Thailand, the next Prime Minister must resolve longstanding issues that have plagued us for the past seventeen years.”
“การที่เราจะเอาประเทศไทยออกจาก ความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองได้ มีอยู่สองขั้ว ด้วยกันในวิสัยทัศน์ของผม ขั้วที่หนึ่งคือ การยุติวงจร รัฐประหารซ้ำนิรันดร”	“To pull Thailand out of political turmoil, I see two moves in my vision. The <u>first</u> is to put an end to the cycle of coups d'état.”
“และเราต้องทำสามอย่างด้วยกัน <u>อันที่หนึ่ง</u> การปฏิรูปกองทัพให้อยู่ใต้รัฐบาลพลเรือน การทำให้กองทัพจืดแต่แจ๋ว มีสวัสดิภาพ มีสิทธิมนุษยชน และใช้ทหารเป็นมืออาชีพ คอยป้องกันภัยจากนอกประเทศ และหยุด แทรกแซงกิจการภายในประเทศไทย ซะที่หนึ่ง”	“And we have to do three things together. <u>First</u> , reform the military so that it is under civilian control, effective but small, has welfare, respects human rights, and employs professional soldiers to defend against external threats and to stop meddling in domestic affairs.”
“แต่ในขณะเดียวกันเราจะแก้ปัญหาเก่าของ ประเทศไทย ตลอดสิบเจ็ดปีที่ผ่านมาได้ เราต้องคืนศรัทธา ให้กับระบบรัฐสภา และ ระบบประชาธิปไตย ของประเทศไทยครับ พี่น้อง”	“But at the same time, we will solve Thailand's old problems that have persisted for seventeen years. We must restore faith in the parliamentary system and democracy in Thailand.”
“ผมเข้าใจนะครับ <u>ยังมี</u> อีกหลายคน ที่เคย เห็นด้วยกับการทำรัฐประหาร ท่านไม่ ไว้วางใจนักการเมืองที่มาจากการเลือกตั้ง หรอกครับ แล้วท่านก็ไม่ชอบ ไม่เชื่อในระบบ รัฐสภาว่าจะสามารถแก้ไขปัญหา ของบ้านเมืองได้จริง ๆ”	“I understand, there are <u>still</u> many people who once agreed with the coups. You don't trust politicians who come from elections, and you <u>also</u> don't believe that the parliamentary system can <u>actually</u> solve the country's problems.”
“ท่านคิดว่านักการเมืองเต็มไปด้วยคอร์รัปชัน ท่านคิดว่าต้องปฏิรูปก่อนเลือกตั้ง”	“You think politicians are full of corruption, and you believe there must be reform before elections.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“แต่แปดปีที่ผ่านมา เราได้บทเรียนราคาแพง นี้แล้วด้วยกัน”	“But over the past eight years, we've all learned this expensive lesson together.”
“ประชาธิปไตยไม่มีทางลัดหรอกครับ มันไม่ มีทางลัด”	“There are no shortcuts to democracy; there simply are no shortcuts.”
“พอบอกว่าระบบใช้ไม่ได้ ก็ใช้คนดีที่ ย ยักษ์ การ์นต์ เยอะ ๆ ๆ ๆ นั่นนะ เอาจระบบ เผด็จการเข้ามา ไม่มีการตรวจสอบ คอร์รัป ชันมันถึงได้แย่ง แย่ง แย่ง แล้วก็แย่ง”	“When people say the system is broken, they resort to 'good people' and giants, and bring in an autocratic system. Without checks and balances, corruption worsens and continues to worsen.”
“เพราะฉะนั้นผู้นำคนต่อไปที่จะแก้ปัญหา เก่าได้ ต้องพร้อมตัดวงจรรัฐประหารและ คืนศรัทธาให้ระบบประชาธิปไตย ของ ประเทศไทย”	“Therefore, the next leader who will solve old problems must be ready to cut the cycle of coups and restore faith in Thailand's democratic system.”
“ที่ผ่านมาจนตอนนี้ เราต้องกล้าที่จะเผชิญ กับปัญหาใหม่ด้วย เช่นเดียวกัน”	“Up to this point, we must <u>also</u> dare to face new challenges.”
“ผมเชื่ออย่าง จี ครับ ว่าในทุกสังคมมีพลวัต รออยู่ และมีการพัฒนา มีนวัตกรรม มี ความคิดสร้างสรรค์ที่เพิ่มขึ้นมาเรื่อย เรื่อย เรื่อย เรื่อย จนกระทั่งมันมีพลังงานของคน รุ่นใหม่”	“I believe that in every society there is dynamism, and there's development, innovation, and increasing creativity, to the point where there's the energy of a new generation.”
“พลังงานของความคิดใหม่ ๆ เกิดขึ้นมาอยู่ โดยตลอด และแน่นอนเมื่อมันมีความคิด ใหม่ ๆ เปลี่ยนขึ้นมาเรื่อยๆ ก็ต้องปะทะ กับความเชื่อแบบเก่า ๆ”	“The energy of new ideas is always emerging, and naturally, when new ideas continuously evolve, they will confront old beliefs.”
“อย่างที่คุณไหม ศิริกัญญา พุด ลมมันมา เรื่อย ๆ สายลมแห่งการเปลี่ยนแปลงมา เรื่อย ๆ คุณจะสร้างกำแพงหรือคุณจะสร้าง กังหันลม”	“As Khun Mai Sirikanya said, the wind keeps coming, the wind of change keeps blowing. Will you build a wall, or will you build a windmill?”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“แล้วคำถามที่เราต้องถามตัวเองอย่างมีสติ และอย่างมีวุฒิภาวะตอนนี้สังคมไทยกำลังสร้างกำแพงหรือสร้างกั้นกันลม”	“Then the question we must ask ourselves consciously and wisely is, is Thai society now building a wall or a windmill?”
“ในขณะที่เรากำลังปราศรัยกันอยู่ในที่นี่ มีคุณหยก อายุเพียงสิบห้าปี ถูกจับด้วย มาตราหนึ่งหนึ่งสอง ถูกจับค้างอยู่ ณ ตอนนี้”	“While we are discussing this, there is Khun Yok, who is only 15 years old, currently detained under Article 112.”
“เธอตอนนี้ อายุมากกว่าพิพิมลูกสาวผม ครึ่งหนึ่ง”	“She is now older than my daughter Pipim by half.”
“ตอนที่พิพิมเกิดเขาอายุเพียงแค่เจ็ดขวบ”	“When Pipim was born, he was only seven years old.”
“ตอนนี้เขากลายเป็นผู้ต้องหามาตราหนึ่งหนึ่งสองที่อายุน้อยที่สุดในประเทศไทย”	“Now he has become the youngest person accused under Article 112 in Thailand.”
“อย่าให้ไปหมด”	“Don't shout it all out.”
“สิ่งที่ผมต้องการที่จะพูดในเวทีนี้อย่างมีวุฒิภาวะ อย่างมีสติ ด้วยน้ำเสียงที่ประณีต คือผมต้องการให้เรามาตั้งสติกันใหม่อย่างมีวุฒิภาวะ ไม่ได้ต้องการที่จะให้เรามาตัดสินกัน ว่าการกระทำของคุณหยกถูกหรือผิด เหมาะสมหรือไม่เหมาะสม”	“What I want to say on this stage, wisely and consciously, in a measured tone, is that I want us to reset our minds wisely. I don't want us to judge whether Khun Yok's actions are right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate.”
“หรือแม้แต่ถ้าเราจะมาแก้ไขมาตราหนึ่งหนึ่งสองกันยังไง”	“Or even how we might amend Article 112.”
“แต่ต้องการที่จะพูดด้วยเสียงที่มีวุฒิภาวะ ส่งความคิดให้เราคิดว่าเราจะเสนออะไรให้กับสังคม”	“But I want to speak in a wise tone, prompting us to think about what we can offer to society.”
“แล้วถึงเวลาเรามาแก้ไขกันที่ปลายเหตุ อยู่ แล้วเรายอมรับหรือไม่ว่าสิ่งที่คนรุ่นใหม่กำลังเผชิญอยู่ตอนนี้มันเป็นมรดกตกทอดจากคนรุ่นเก่า อย่างรุ่นเรา เนี่ย แหะละ”	“It's time for us to address the root causes. Can we accept that the challenges the new generation is facing are a legacy from the older generation, like ours?”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“มันเป็นมรดกตกทอดจากคนรุ่นเก่า นี่แหละ”	“It is indeed a legacy from the older generation.”
“จนกระทั่งถึงขณะนี้ เวลาปราศรัยยังบอก เลย ออกมาเยอะ ๆ เดี่ยวเขาจะล้มล้าง ออกมาเยอะ ๆ เดี่ยวเขาจะพังวังแล้ว”	“Until now, when giving speeches, they <u>still</u> say, 'Come out in large numbers, they will overthrow.' 'Come out in large numbers, and they will destroy the palace.’”
“ในเมื่อพระราชฐานะและพระราชอำนาจ ของสถาบันควรอยู่เหนือการเมืองและอยู่ใต้ รัฐธรรมนูญ แต่สิ่งที่คนรุ่นใหม่หรือแม้แต่ที่ คุณหยกต้องเผชิญอยู่ มันเป็นเพราะคนของ รุ่นเราไม่ใช่หรือ ที่นำสถาบันลงมาโจมตี การเมืองกันตลอดเวลา และและยัดคดี หนึ่งหนึ่งสองให้คนเห็นต่าง”	“While the royal status and power should be above politics and under the constitution, what the new generation, or even you, must face, isn't it <u>because of</u> our generation that has been constantly politicizing the institution and framing dissenters?”
“ถ้าใครที่เห็นแล้วรู้สึกกระอักกระอ่วนใจ รู้สึกโกรธ รู้สึกเกลียดกับสิ่งที่คนรุ่นใหม่ได้ ทำ แสดงออกมา เราต้องกลับมาถามตัวเอง อย่างมีสติ ตั้งสติให้ดี และมีวุฒิภาวะกับสิ่ง ที่กำลังจะเผชิญขึ้นเกิดขึ้นในประเทศไทยว่า มันก็เป็นเพราะพวกเรานี่แหละในสมัยก่อน ที่ดึงสถาบันลงมาโจมตีกันและกัน ที่ยัดคดี หนึ่งหนึ่งสองใส่คนรุ่นใหม่ตลอดเวลา”	“If anyone feels agitated, angry, or hateful toward what the new generation is doing, we need to look back at ourselves sensibly and responsibly. It is <u>because</u> of what we did in the past, politicizing institutions and framing the new generation.”
“เพราะฉะนั้นนายกรัฐมนตรีคนต่อไป ผู้นำ คนต่อไปต้องสามารถที่จะเป็น นายกรัฐมนตรีในระบบประชาธิปไตยอันมี พระมหากษัตริย์ทรงเป็นพระประมุข สามารถที่จะวางพระราชอำนาจ และพระราชฐานะอย่างประณีต เพื่อให้ ความสัมพันธ์ของพระมหากษัตริย์ และประชาชนดีขึ้นต่างหาก”	“Therefore, the next Prime Minister and leaders must be able to work within a democratic system that has a King as the symbolic head. They should delicately handle royal power and status to improve relations between the King and the public.”

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
<p>“ถ้าเราทำอย่างนี้ได้ เราจะสามารถ แก้ปัญหเก่า เผชิญหน้าปัญหาใหม่ และพาประเทศไทยไปสู่อนาคตที่ ดีกว่าเสียที”</p>	<p>“If we can do this, we will be able to solve old problems, face new challenges, and lead Thailand toward the future.”</p>
<p>“วันที่สิบสี่พฤษภาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๖๖”</p>	<p>“14th May, B.E. 2566”</p>
<p>“เรามาทะเลาะที่ดินให้กับคนที่ต่อสู้มาเป็น สี่สิบห้าปี แล้วยังไม่มียี่สิบห้าปีทำกินเป็นของ ตัวเอง แถมโดนยึดคดีมากกว่าแปดหมื่นคดี ในช่วงรัฐบาล คสช”</p>	<p>“Let's distribute land to people who have been fighting for 35–50 years, <u>still</u> don't have their own land to farm, and have been burdened with over 80,000 legal cases during the government's tenure.”</p>
<p>“เรามารื้อฟื้นกันใหม่ ในการปฏิรูป การศึกษา เพื่อคนรุ่นใหม่ของเราจะออกมา จะได้มีการทำและไม่แพ้ใครในโลกใบนี้”</p>	<p>“Let's start anew in educational reform, so that our younger generation can graduate and be competitive in the global arena.”</p>
<p>“เรามาส่งงานซ่อมประเทศด้วยกัน เอาเศรษฐกิจสร้างสรรค์ไปปักลงใจกลาง โลก”</p>	<p>“Let's work together to rebuild the country, taking the creative economy to the heart of the world.”</p>
<p>“เอาเศรษฐกิจดิจิทัลที่คนไทยมี ความสามารถมากมาย ในการที่จะสร้าง เศรษฐกิจต่อไป”</p>	<p>“Let's utilize the digital economy, in which Thai people have immense skills, to build the future economy.”</p>
<p>“ลดความเหลื่อมล้ำไปด้วย เพิ่มอัตรา การเติบโตให้กับเศรษฐกิจไทยไปด้วย”</p>	<p>“Reduce the inequality and boost the growth rate of the Thai economy as well.”</p>
<p>“แต่เราจะไม่สำเร็จในการทำอย่างนั้นเลย ถ้าเราไม่สามารถที่จะแก้ปัญหเก่าและ เผชิญหน้าปัญหาใหม่อย่างชัดเจน ตรงไปตรงมา. อย่างที่พรรคก้าวไกลเสนอ”</p>	<p>“<u>But</u> we won't succeed in doing so unless we can clearly and directly address old problems and face new challenges, as proposed by the ‘Progressive Party’.”</p>
<p>“เพราะฉะนั้นวันนี้ผมพร้อมแล้วครับ ที่จะ เป็นนายกรัฐมนตรีของคนไทยทุกคนใน ประเทศ ไม่ว่าจะท่านจะเห็นด้วย หรือไม่เห็น ด้วยกับผม ผมก็ยังจะเป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี ของท่าน”</p>	<p>“<u>Therefore</u>, I am ready today to serve as Prime Minister for all Thais, whether or not you agree with me, I will <u>still</u> be your Prime Minister.”</p>

Original Thai Speech	English Translation
“ไม่ว่าวันที่สิบสี่พฤษภาคม ท่านจะเลือกผมหรือไม่เลือกผม ผมพร้อมที่จะรับใช้ท่าน”	“Regardless of whether you choose me or not on the 14th of May, I am ready to serve you.”
“และผมจะฟังโดยเฉพาะคนที่เห็นต่างจากผม ผมได้ยินท่าน ผมจะเรียนรู้จากท่าน และผมจะเป็นนายกรัฐมนตรีที่ดีขึ้นก็เพราะท่าน”	“And I will especially listen to those who disagree with me; I hear you, I will learn from you, and I will be a better Prime Minister because of you.”
“เพราะฉะนั้นพ่อแม่พี่น้องที่เคารพรักทั้งหลาย สิบสี่พฤษภาคม เข้าคูหา ก้าวไกลให้ประเทศไทย ไม่เหมือนเดิม”	“Therefore, respected and loved partners, friends, and everyone, on the 14th of May, go to the booth, choose Move Forward, and make Thailand different.”
“เลือกอนาคต อย่าเลือกอดีต เลือกด้วยความหวัง ไม่ใช่เลือกด้วยความกลัว”	“Choose the future, not the past; choose with hope, not with fear.”
“คำตอบสุดท้ายชัดเจน ตรงไปตรงมา ก้าวไกลทั้งแผ่นดิน”	“The final answer is clear and straightforward: Let's make progress across the land.”
“จะก้าวให้ไกล ต้องก้าวด้วยกัน ขอขอบคุณครับ”	“To go far, we have to move together. Thank you..”

## BIOGRAPHY

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