

CHAPTER THREE

MITIGATION

3.0 Introduction

Hortatory discourse is the type of discourse which has the intent of changing people's behavior and as a result includes many types of commands and persuasions.

Mitigation is used to make commands more mild, soft, or tender. Mitigation can be defined as follows:

Mitigation refers to the process of making a seemingly harsh or otherwise overt command softer. Factors affecting mitigation include sociolinguistic concerns (age, sex, experience, and education of all involved in the discourse) and the degree of seriousness of the matter at hand (as perceived by the speaker). The speaker applies mitigation as he or she believes will best achieve the command's fulfillment. (Person, 1993:57).

A command can be harsh or mild but the purpose is to convince the audience to obey that command.

Mitigation study includes all types of command but looks specifically at how those commands are softened. This chapter is a study of mitigation in the sermon 'Religion and Society'. The mitigation includes both harsh and mild commands. These commands may also be positive or negative, for example in English, 'do this'(pos.) or 'don't do that'(neg.). Thus this chapter is about how Tuu Cok convinces the audience to understand and use the Dhamma.

3.1 Types of Mitigation

Doty's (1984:67-69) study of mitigation in a Tiruray sermon suggested four basic ways to make a command more mild. The first way is the use of a particle, word, or phrase which changes a command into a request. For example, the word "please" in English. The second way is by making it indirect regarding the person who should obey it. For example, instead of saying "You do this", the speaker would say "Let's do this" or "People should do this" Doty calls these "indirect explicit commands". The third way is by not actually saying that something should be done, but stating what ought to be done. For example, "If we obey God's commands, then we are sure that we know him." Doty calls these "indirect implicit commands". They do not explicitly tell anyone to do something but state the desired action. The fourth way is to not mention what should be done. Such commands are hidden because they only hint at what should be done. For example, "It's hot in here" is a hidden command to tell someone to open the windows or turn on the air-conditioner. Doty calls these "hidden commands". The other way to make a command more mild by using direct implicit command-- "If you study hard, you would pass the exam"

The Table 3 shows the five types of hortations.

	Explicit	Implicit	
Direct (You)	Direct Explicit (Feed me)	Direct Implicit (If you give me something to eat I'll pay you)	Hidden (I'm hungry)
Indirect (Other than 2 nd person)	Indirect Explicit (Let's eat)	Indirect Implicit (If somebody would feed me, I would not be so hungry)	

Table 3. Five Types of Hortations.⁹

⁹ Doty, 1984:68

3.2 The Study of Mitigation in Thai Hortatory Discourse

Dissaya's (1989:48) study of mitigation in Thai hortatory discourse is based on letters written by an older sister to her younger sister and brother about how to behave at a ball. The study contains a ranking of mitigated command forms in Thai language, both positive forms and negative forms, ranked from the strongest to the weakest command. The mitigation of hortatory forms can be made by using the auxiliary verb *tʃaʔ³* both in positive and negative forms. The ranking of positive mitigation and negative mitigation are show in the Table 4.

Positive Form		Negative Form	
<i>tʃaʔ³tɔŋ⁴</i>	'(auxiliary verb) must'	<i>tʃaʔ³tɔŋ⁴maj⁵</i>	'(auxiliary verb)must not'
<i>tʃɔŋ²</i>	'must'	<i>tʃɔŋ²ja:³</i>	'must not'
<i>kʰuan²tʃaʔ³tɔŋ⁴</i>	'should (auxiliary verb) must'	<i>maj⁵tɔŋ⁴</i>	'should not'
<i>ʔa:t³tʃaʔ³</i>	'may (auxiliary verb)'	<i>ʔa:t³tʃaʔ³maj⁵</i>	'may (auxiliary verb) not'
<i>kʰuan²tʃaʔ³</i>	'should (auxiliary verb)'	<i>maj⁵kʰuan²tʃaʔ³</i>	'should not (auxiliary verb)'

Table 4. Ranking of Positive and Negative Mitigation Forms in Thai Hortatory Discourse.¹⁰

In another study of mitigation, Person (1993:60) wrote about the mitigation used by Phra Phayom

[The] different command forms used in the same situation would provide a ranking of command strength. This ranking would reflect native speaker intuition--that is, the way in which a native speaker reacts to each form would indicate certain things about the strength of that form in a given situation. (Person, 1993:60)

¹⁰ Dissaya (1989:48)

In Person's study, there were twenty-one Thai freshmen students at Yonok College who participated in a survey to rank the various Thai mitigated command forms from the strongest to the weakest (Person, 1993:62). The results were similar to Dissaya's.

3.3 Mitigation Rank

There are eighty-seven command sentences present in the sermon 'Religion and Society', including both harsh and mild commands. The commands include both positive and negative forms.

3.3.1 Positive Mitigation

Mitigation of both positive and negative commands was ranked by asking ten teachers who are native speakers of the Northern Thai language, to rank a list of various Northern Thai positive command forms on a scale of 1 (weak) to 12 (strong) and negative command forms on a scale of 1 (weak) to 7 (strong). In analyzing the results of the survey, when there was disagreement, the majority opinion was chosen. The positive mitigation is ranked from the strongest command $tɔŋ^4$ 'must' to the weakest command $lɔ:ŋ^2$ 'try'.

The positive mitigation ranking is shown in Table 5

Word/Phrase		Gloss
təŋ ⁴	nja ⁵	'must do' ¹¹
tʃaʔ ³ təŋ ⁴	nja ⁵	'(auxiliary verb) must do'
hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] urge [you] to do'
hur: ⁶ pa: ² kan ¹	nja ⁵	'[I] urge [all of you] to do'
k ^h ɔ: ¹ hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] ask for (permission) to urge [you] to do'
ja:k ³ tʃaʔ ³ hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] need (auxiliary verb) urge [you] to do (I really want to urge you to do)'
ja:k ³ tʃaʔ ³ k ^h aj ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] need (auxiliary verb) want [you] to do (I really want you to do)'
k ^h aj ⁶ hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] want to urge [you] to do'
k ^h aj ⁶ k ^h ɔ: ¹	nja ⁵	'[I] want to ask for (permission) to [you] to do'
k ^h uan ²	nja ⁵	'should do'
k ^h uan ² tʃaʔ ³	nja ⁵	'should (auxiliary verb) do'
lɔ: ²	nja ⁵	'try to do'

Table 5. Ranked Positive Mitigated Forms Found in the Sermon 'Religion and Society'.

3.3.2 Negative Mitigation

Negative mitigation is ranked from the strongest command *bɔ:³t^ha:⁶* 'must not' to the weakest command *baʔ³paj²* 'don't do', as shown in Table 6.

Word/ Phrase		Gloss
bɔ: ³ t ^h a: ⁶	nja ⁵	'must not do'
bɔ: ³ hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] do not allow [you] to do'
bɔ: ³ k ^h aj ⁶ hur: ⁶	nja ⁵	'[I] do not want to allow [you] to do'
baʔ ³	nja ⁵	'do not do'
paj ²	nja ⁵	'don't do'
tʃaʔ ³ paj ²	nja ⁵	'(auxiliary verb) don't do'
baʔ ³ paj ²	nja ⁵	'don't do (weaker)'

Table 6. Negative Mitigated Forms Found in the Sermon 'Religion and Society'.

¹¹ njia⁵ is a verb in Northern Thai language meaning 'do'.

3.4 Review of Mitigation in the Sermon ‘Religion and Society’

There are eighty-seven command statements used in the sermon ‘Religion and Society’. A survey of the mitigation was made by counting the number of sentences in which the command statements exist in order to examine which types of mitigated command forms occur most frequently and which occur the least frequently in the sermon.

From the survey, it can be seen that in this sermon a variety of mitigation types are used. These are:

1. Direct inclusive command. Out of eighty-seven command statements in this sermon, Tuu Cok uses ten direct inclusive command statements. A direct inclusive command includes both the speaker and the audience directly. The pronoun *haw*² ‘we’ is used to show inclusion. For example, in English, “We must”. This type of mitigation is a strong command. The mitigated command forms are *tɔŋ*⁴ ‘must’, *tʃaʔ³tɔŋ*⁴ (auxiliary verb) must¹² and *bɔ:³t^ha:⁶* ‘must not’.
2. Direct partially inclusive command. There is only one direct partially inclusive command statement. A direct partially inclusive command is directed at the audience and excludes the speaker. For example, in English, “You must”. This type of mitigation is a strong command. The mitigated command form is *bɔ:³h^ui:⁶* ‘do not allow’.
3. Direct exclusive command. The monk uses four direct exclusive command statements. A direct exclusive command excludes the speaker and the audience and refers to people not present. The pronoun *k^hon²haw*² ‘people’ is used to show

¹² The mitigated command form *tʃaʔ³tɔŋ*⁴ ‘(auxiliary verb) must’ is used both as direct inclusive and direct exclusive command. The difference being marked by the inclusive or exclusive pronoun.

exclusion. For example, in English, “They must”. This type of mitigation is a strong command. The mitigated command form is *tʃaʔ³tɔŋ³* (auxiliary verb) must’.

4. Indirect inclusive command. The monk uses this type of mitigated command form thirty-four times. An indirect inclusive command includes the speaker and the audience indirectly. For example, in English, “We should”. This type of mitigation is a mild command. The mitigated command forms are *k^huan²* ‘should’, *k^huan²tʃaʔ³* ‘should (auxiliary verb)’¹³, *lɔ:ŋ²* ‘try’, *baʔ³* ‘do not’, *paj²* ‘don’t’, *tʃaʔ³paj²* ‘(auxiliary verb) don’t) and *baʔ³paj²* ‘don’t do (weaker)’.

5. Indirect partially inclusive command. There are twenty-seven of these command statements. An indirect partially inclusive command includes the audience (those present) and excludes the speaker. For example, in English, “You should”. This type of mitigation is a mild command. The mitigated command forms are *huu:⁶* ‘urge’, *huu:⁶pa²kan¹* ‘urge all of you’, *ko:¹huu:⁶* ‘asks for (permission) to urge’, *ja:k³tʃaʔ³huu:⁶* ‘really want to urge’, *ja:k³tʃaʔ³k^haj⁶* ‘really want’, *k^haj:⁶huu:⁶* ‘want to urge’, *k^haj:⁶k^hɔ:⁶* ‘want to ask for (permission)’ and *bɔ:³k^haj⁶huu:⁶* ‘do not want to allow’.

6. Indirect exclusive command. There are eleven of these command statements. An indirect exclusive command excludes the speaker and the audience and refers to people not present. For example in English, “They should”. This type of mitigation is a mild command. The mitigated command forms are *k^huan²tʃaʔ³* ‘should (auxiliary verb)’, *paj⁶* ‘don’t) and *tʃaʔ³paj²* ‘(auxiliary verb) don’t’.

¹³ The mitigated command forms *k^huan²tʃaʔ³* ‘should (auxiliary verb)’, *paj²* ‘don’t), and *tʃaʔ³paj²* ‘(auxiliary verb) don’t) are used both as indirect inclusive and indirect exclusive. The difference being marked by the inclusive or exclusive pronoun.

The mitigation forms the monk uses most often are indirect inclusive commands, indirect partially inclusive commands and indirect exclusive commands. While he uses direct inclusive commands, direct partially inclusive commands and direct exclusive commands infrequently.

The command $t\omega\eta^4$ 'must' is the strongest positive command used for direct inclusive while the command $l\omega:\eta^2$ 'try' is the weakest positive command used for indirect inclusive. The command $b\omega^3t^ha:6$ 'must not' is the strongest negative command used for direct inclusive while the command $ba^2^3paj^2$ 'don't' is the weakest negative command used for indirect inclusive.

The results of the mitigation survey are shown in Table 7.

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Word/Phrase	Direct Inclusive	Direct Partially Inclusive	Direct Exclusive	Indirect Inclusive	Indirect Partially Inclusive	Indirect Exclusive	Total
tɔŋ ⁴	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
tʃaŋ ³ tɔŋ ⁴	2	0	4	0	0	0	6
hu: ⁶	0	0	0	0	14	0	14
hu: ⁶ pa ² :kan ¹	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
k ^h ɔ: ¹ hu: ⁶	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
na:k ³ tʃaŋ ³ hu: ⁶	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
na:k ³ tʃaŋ ³ k ^h aj ⁶	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
k ^h aj ⁶ hu: ⁶	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
k ^h aj ⁶ k ^h ɔ: ¹	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
k ^h uan ²	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
k ^h uan ² tʃaŋ ³	0	0	0	9	0	5	14
lɔ:ŋ ²	0	0	0	13	0	0	13
bɔ: ³ t ^h a: ⁶	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
bɔ: ³ hu: ⁶	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
bɔ: ³ k ^h aj ⁶ hu: ⁶	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
baŋ ³	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
paj ²	0	0	0	1	0	3	4
tʃaŋ ³ paj ²	0	0	0	6	0	3	9
baŋ ³ paj ²	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	10	1	4	34	27	11	87

Table 7: Survey of Mitigation in the Sermon 'Religion and Society'.

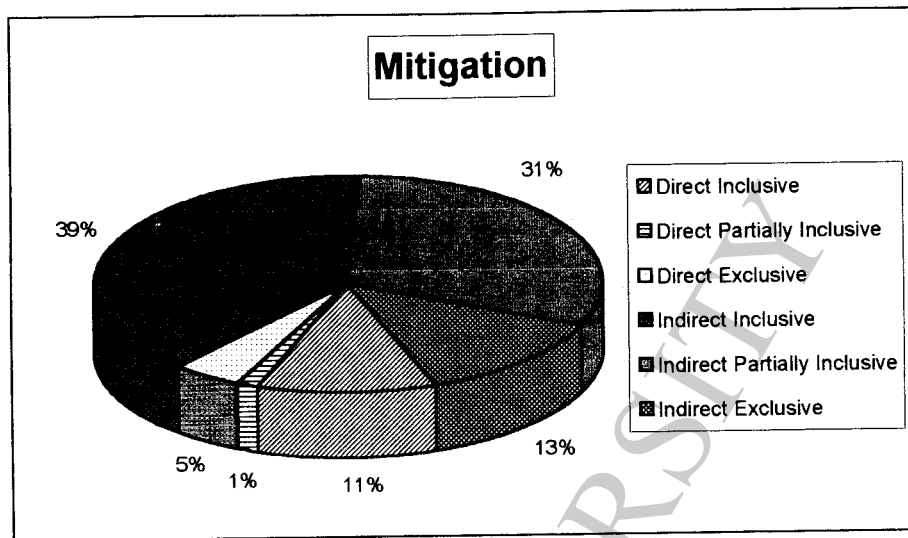


Figure 3. Mitigated Commands in the Sermon 'Religion and Society'.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of mitigated commands used in the sermon 'Religion and Society'. 39% of the commands are of the indirect inclusive type, making this the most frequently used type. The most infrequently used type is that of direct partially inclusive, being used only 1% of the time. Another mitigated command the monk uses often is indirect partially inclusive--31%. Indirect exclusive and direct inclusive commands comprise 13% and 11%, respectively. The monk uses direct exclusive commands infrequently--5%.

3.5 Mitigation in Tuu Cok's Sermons

This section discusses how Tuu Cok uses mitigation in order to convince the audience to obey the commands he gives. There are nineteen types of mitigated words or phrases in the sermon 'Religion and Society'

3.5.1 Positive Mitigation

There are twelve examples of words or phrases that represent mitigation of positive commands.

1) *tɔŋ*⁴ ‘must’ is the strongest command form. It is a strict command that the audience must obey. This form is direct inclusive because it tells the audience directly what to do and uses the inclusive pronoun *haw*² ‘we’. This mitigated command form is used most often in the conclusion of a section of a sermon. For example, it is used in concluding the section about duty (example 1)¹⁴ and the metaphor about the fingers (example 2).

(1) Religion and Society (b) U65

*tok*³*loŋ*² *wa:*⁵ *nɯj*⁶*tʃi:*⁶ *haw*² *tɔŋ*⁴ *tʃaj*⁶
agree that forefinger we must use

*nɯj*⁶*tʃi:*⁶ *ka:n*¹ *k^hɔ:ŋ*¹ *man*² *mi:*²
forefinger duty of it have

‘(Everyone) agrees the forefinger, (we) must use the forefinger for its own duty.’

(2) Religion and Society (c) U56

*paŋ*² *ni:*⁶ *k^hw:*² *hak*⁴*sa:*¹ *sa:t*³*saʔ*³*na:*¹
thing this is cherish religion

*p^hɔ*⁵*ʃaʔ*³*nan*⁶ *haw*² *tɔŋ*⁴ *hak*⁴*sa:*¹ *niw*⁶*k^ho:*⁶
so we must preserve thumb

*waj*⁶ *k^hw:* *ʃa:t*⁵ *sa:t*³*saʔ*³*na:*¹ *p^ha*⁵*maʔ*³*ha:*¹*kaʔ*³*sat*³
part. is nation religion king

‘To do these things is to cherish religion so we must preserve the thumb, which represents (our) nation, religion, and king.’

¹⁴ These mitigated command forms including the pronoun are underlined in the examples.

2) *tʃaʔ³tɔŋ⁴* ‘(auxiliary verb) must’ is almost as strong as *tɔŋ⁴* ‘must’, but is slightly milder because of the auxiliary verb *tʃaʔ³* ‘will’. The audience should still follow the command strictly. It is used for giving examples about what the audience should do to live in society. For example, people must follow the law. This mitigated command is used both as a direct inclusive (example 3) and a direct exclusive (example 4). This command form tells the audience directly what to do. The pronouns *haw²* ‘we’ and *k^hon²haw²* ‘people outside those present’ mark inclusive and exclusive respectively.

(3) Religion and Society (c) U40

<i>haw²</i>	<i>tʃaʔ³</i>	<i>tɔŋ⁴</i>	<i>tʃuaj⁴</i>	<i>ʔan²</i>	<i>ni:⁶</i>	<i>k^haw²lop⁵</i>
we	will	must	help	thing	this	follow
<i>kot³ma:j¹</i>	<i>ni³</i>					
law	part.					

We must help by following the law.

(4) Religion and Society (c) U19

<i>ʔə:³</i>	<i>k^hon²haw²</i>	<i>ju:³</i>	<i>kap³</i>	<i>mu:³</i>	<i>kap³</i>
hesitation	people	live	with	group	with
<i>k^ha⁵na⁵</i>	<i>tʃaʔ³</i>	<i>tɔŋ⁴</i>	<i>mi:²</i>	<i>kot³ma:j¹</i>	<i>k^hum⁶k^hɔ:^{ŋ²}</i>
party	will	must	have	law	protect

‘Um.. people live in groups so (people) must have laws.’

3) *hu:⁶* ‘urge’ is used by the speaker to urge the audience to do something. The monk uses this mitigated command form as frequently as the mitigated form *k^huan²tʃaʔ³* ‘should (auxiliary verb)’. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive in that it includes the audience and excludes the speaker. The monk himself wants to urge the audience indirectly. For example, he may want to urge the listeners to be good husbands, or wives (example 5), or he may want to urge the listeners to use the Dhamma in society (example 6).

(5) Religion and Society (c) U54

*pen*¹ *p^hua*¹ *di*:² *pen*¹ *mia*² *di*:² *pə*:⁵ *di*:²
 be husband good be wife good father good

mæ:⁵ *di*:² *hu*:⁶ *k^he:ŋ*⁵ *sa:t³saʔ³na:*¹
 mother good urge strict religion

‘Be good husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, (I) urge (you) to use the Dhamma strictly.’

(6) Religion and Society (f) U9

hu:⁶ *ʔaw*² *t^ham²ma*⁵ *ni*:⁶ *paj*² *tʃaj*⁶ *kap*³
 urge take Dhamma this to use with

*saŋ*¹*k^hom*² *t^haj*² *haw*²
 society Thai we

‘(I) urge (you) to take this Dhamma to use in our Thai society.’

4) *hu*:⁶*pa*²*kan*¹ ‘urge all of you’ is milder than *hu*:⁶ ‘urge’ which is usually used with ‘you’ and is stronger than *hu*:⁶*pa*²*kan*¹ ‘urge all of you’ as the speaker urges all of the audience to do something indirectly. This mitigated command form is also followed by *kan*¹ ‘all together’. The monk uses this mitigated command form when he wants to express that he wants the audience to listen to his preaching and follow his advice. This mitigated command form is also indirect partially inclusive.

(7) Religion and Society (a) U25

pa:³ *we*:²*la*:² *ni*:⁶ *bə*:³ *k^haj*⁶ *hu*:⁶
 hesitation time this not want allow

*p^haj*¹ *loŋ*² *hwa*:ⁿ² *paj*² *ti*:⁶*naj*¹ *k^haj*⁶ *hu*:⁶
 someone down house go anywhere want urge

ju:³ *faŋ*² *p^hom⁶kan*¹ *tʉŋ*² *k^hon²num*³
 stay listen altogether both young people

*k^hon²kam*¹ *tʉŋ*² *k^hon²t^haw*⁶ *k^hon²kæ*:³
 young people both old people old people

<i>p^hɔm⁶</i>	<i>p^hɔm⁶</i>	<i>na:⁶</i>	<i>kan¹</i>	<i>p^hɔ⁵ʃaʔ³nan⁶</i>		
altogether	altogether	face	part	so		
<i>ju:³</i>	<i>t^hə:t³</i>	<i>sat³t^ha:²</i>	<i>ʔa:t³taʔ³ma:²</i>	<i>tʃaʔ³</i>	<i>k^hum⁶</i>	
stay	please	you	I (rev.)	will	protect	
<i>p^haj²</i>	<i>hu:⁶pa:²kan¹</i>	<i>faŋ²</i>	<i>paj²</i>	<i>lwaj⁴</i>		
danger	urge altogether	listen	part	continually		
<i>lwaj⁴</i>	<i>læ⁵</i>	<i>mi:²</i>	<i>k^hwa:m²</i>	<i>k^haw⁶tʃaj¹</i>	<i>lwaŋ⁴</i>	<i>ni:⁶</i>
continually	and	have	nom.	understand	topic	this

‘Um.. this time, (I) do not want to allow anybody to go out anywhere. (I) want to urge everyone both old people and young people to listen to the preaching. So please stay and I will protect you from danger. (A sentence adapted from a common slogan at police stations) (I) urge all of you to listen and understand my preaching.’

5) *k^hɔ:¹hu:⁶* ‘ask for (permission) to urge’ is used where the speaker asks for permission to urge the audience to do something. The verb *k^hɔ:¹* ‘ask for’ is a weaker command than the verb *hu:⁶* ‘urge’. The command form is composed of two verbs which together make the command weaker than a single verb command form. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive. In the example below, the monk asks for permission to urge the old people to understand that he will preach for the younger people, too, not only preach for the old people.

(8) Religion and Society (a) U18

<i>k^hɔ:¹</i>	<i>hu:⁶</i>	<i>t^han⁴</i>	<i>sa:¹t^hu⁵ʃon²</i>	<i>p^hu:⁵t^haw⁶</i>	
ask for	urge	you	good people	old people	
<i>p^hu:⁵kæ:³</i>	<i>pɔ:⁵</i>	<i>ʔuj⁶</i>	<i>mæ:⁵</i>	<i>ʔuj⁶</i>	
old people	father	grandmother	mother	grandmother	
<i>k^haw⁶tʃaj¹</i>	<i>wa:⁵</i>	<i>ʔa:t³taʔ³ma:²</i>	<i>nan⁶</i>	<i>tʃaʔ³</i>	<i>nam²</i>
understand	that	I (rev.)	part.	will	bring
<i>ma:²</i>	<i>law⁴</i>	<i>ma:²</i>	<i>te:t⁴</i>	<i>hu:⁶</i>	<i>k^hon²num³</i>
to	tell	to	preach	for	young people

k^hon²kam¹ daj⁶ faŋ² tuaj² p^hoŋ⁵
 young people can listen also some

bɔ:³ hu:⁶ ka⁵ k^hon² kə:³ t^ham²ma⁵ k^hon²
 not give only person a lot Dhamma person

t^haw⁶ k^hon² kə:³ faŋ² jaŋ³ diaw²
 old person old listen sort one

‘(I) ask for permission to urge the old people to understand that I will preach for the younger people to listen, too.’

6) *ja:k³tfa?³hu:⁶* ‘really want to urge’ occurs where the speaker definitely wants to urge the audience to do something. The auxiliary verb *tfa?³* ‘will’ between *ja:k³* and *hu:⁶* makes the command milder and the verb *hu:⁶* ‘urge’ is considered a stronger verb than the verb *k^haj⁶* ‘want’. The audience may or may not do it. This mitigation form is found at the beginning of the sermon after the audience specific phrase of address and is indirect partially inclusive. The monk really wants to urge the audience by using the command indirectly to understand about religion or Dhamma and society as in the example below:

(9) Religion and Society (a) U1

t^han⁴ sa:¹t^hu⁵ŋon² t^haŋ⁶la:j¹ pa:²t^hak³ka?³t^ha:¹
 you good people all lecture

tɔ:³paj²ni:⁶ ja:k³ tfa?³ hu:⁶
 from now on want will urge

t^han⁴ t^haŋ⁶la:j¹ mi:² k^hwa:m² k^haw⁶tŋaj¹
 you all have nom. understand

lwaŋ⁴ sa:t³sa?³na:¹ lu:¹ t^ham²ma⁵ kap³ saŋ¹k^hom²
 topic religion or Dhamma and society

‘All of you good people, in this lecture (I) want to urge all of you to understand the topic Religion or Dhamma and Society.’

7) *ja:k³tʃaʔ³k^haj⁶* ‘really want’ is used by the speaker when he really wants the audience to do something. It is a request expressing the speaker’s requirement. There are two words that express the speaker’s requirement. This request form is found in the conclusion of the section of the sermon after the speaker states the various criticisms of religion. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive. In the example below, the monk, despite a limited education, really wants to explain the Dhamma to the audience. He wants them to listen.

(10) Religion and Society (a) U4

p^hɔ⁵ʃaʔ³nan⁶ naj² t^ha:¹na⁵ ti:⁶ ʔa:t³taʔ³ma:²
so in status as I (rev.)

pen¹ p^hu:⁵ p^he:j¹ p^hæ:⁵ sat³tʃaʔ³ t^ham²
be person reveal spread truth Dhamma

k^ham² saŋ³ so:n¹ k^hɔ:^ŋ¹ p^ha⁵
word command teach of monk

sam¹ma:²sam¹p^hut⁴t^haʔ³tʃaw⁶ mi:² k^hwa:m² hu:⁶
Buddha have nom. know

ta:m¹ ʔat³taʔ³p^ha:p⁴ ta:m¹ k^hwa:m²
according to ego according to nom.

hu:⁶ nɔj⁶ nɔj⁶ k^hɔ:^ŋ¹ ton¹ ja:k³ tʃaʔ³
know little little of self want will

k^haj⁶ ban²ja:j hu:⁵ t^han⁴ t^haŋ⁶la:j¹ daj⁶ faŋ²
want explain to you all can listen

‘For this reason as I am a monk who teaches about the Dhamma of Buddha (I) have a limited education but (I) want to explain and want you to listen.’

8) *k^haj⁶hu:⁶* ‘want to urge’ occurs when the speaker wants to urge the audience not to reject his request. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive. In the example below, the monk uses this indirect command to urge everybody (both old people and young people) to listen to his preaching:

(11) Religion and Society (a) U25

pa:³ we:²la:² ni:⁶ bo:³ kʰaj⁶ hu:⁶
 hesitation time this not want allow

pʰaj¹ loŋ² hwa:n² paj² ti:⁴naj¹ kʰaj⁶ hu:⁶
 someone down house go anywhere want urge

ju:³ faŋ² pʰom⁶kan¹ tuŋ² kʰon²num³
 stay listen altogether both young people

kʰon²kam¹ tuŋ² kʰon²tʰaw⁶ kʰon²kæ:³
 young people both old people old people

pʰom⁶ pʰom⁶ na:⁵ kan¹ pʰo⁵faʔ³nan⁵ ju:³
 together together face part. so stay

tʰə:t³ sat³tʰa: ʔa:t³taʔ³ma:² tʃaʔ³ kʰum⁶
 please you I (rev.) will protect

pʰaj² hu:⁶pa:²kan¹ faŋ² paj² lwaŋ⁴
 danger urge altogether listen part. continually

lwaŋ⁴ læ⁵ mi:² kʰwa:m² kʰaw⁵tʃaj¹ lwaŋ⁴ ni:⁶
 continually and have nom. understand topic this

‘Um.. this time, I do not want to allow anybody to go out anywhere. (I) want to urge everyone both old people and young people to listen to the preaching. Please stay and I will protect you from danger. (A sentence adapted from a common slogan at police stations) (I) urge all of you to listen and understand my preaching.’

9) *kʰaj⁶kʰo:ʔ¹* ‘want to ask for (permission)’ is successively weaker than *kʰaj⁶hu:⁶* ‘want to urge’. The verb *kʰo:ʔ¹* ‘ask for’ is considered a milder verb than the verb *hu:⁶* ‘urge’. It is used when the monk wants to ask permission of the audience to do something. It is a kind of request that expresses the speaker’s purpose. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive. It usually occurs in the conclusion of a section of a sermon. The monk asks permission of the audience by using an indirect command to teach about the Dhamma and society in order to warn the audience as in the example below:

(12) Religion and Society (a) U44

<i>tʃuŋ²</i>	<i>k^haɯ⁶</i>	<i>k^hɔ:¹</i>	<i>fa:k³</i>	<i>t^ham²ma⁵</i>	<i>kap³</i>	
so	want	ask for	tell	Dhamma	and	
<i>saŋ¹k^hom²</i>	<i>t^haj²</i>	<i>haw²</i>	<i>naj²</i>	<i>ŋæ:⁵</i>	<i>t^ha:ŋ²</i>	
society	Thai	we	in	corner	way	
<i>p^hut⁴t^ha⁵sa:t³saʔ³na:¹</i>	<i>hu:⁵</i>	<i>t^han⁴</i>	<i>t^haŋ⁶la:j¹</i>			
Buddhism	to	you	all			
<i>faŋ²</i>	<i>læ⁵</i>	<i>pen¹</i>	<i>k^ha⁵tiʔ³</i>	<i>twa:n¹</i>	<i>ʔok³</i>	<i>twa:n¹</i>
listen	and	be	motto	warn	mind	warn
<i>tʃaj¹</i>	<i>tó:j²</i>					
mind	too					

‘So (I) want to ask for your permission to teach about the Dhamma and society in the way of Buddhism to you to warn your mind.’

10) *k^huan²* ‘should’ is not like a command. It is a kind of suggestion. It suggests to the audience that in order to be happy, they should live by following the Dhamma. It is used after the quote about the Buddha, “The Buddha esteemed that sacrifice is very useful”. This mitigated command form is indirect inclusive in that the speaker suggests indirectly what the audience should do. For example, the monk suggests that people should help each other by giving things to each other as shown below:

(13) Religion and Society (b) U10

<i>daŋ²nan⁶</i>	<i>haw²</i>	<i>k^huan²</i>	<i>tʃuaj⁴</i>	<i>kan¹</i>	
so	we	should	help	each other	
<i>da:n⁶</i>	<i>pa:²mit³sin¹</i>	<i>law³</i>	<i>ni:⁶</i>		
corner	thing	class.	this		

‘So we should help each other by giving things.’

11) *k^huan²tʃaʔ³* ‘should (auxiliary verb)’ is milder than *k^huan²* ‘should’ because the auxiliary verb *tʃaʔ³* ‘will’ makes the command milder. The audience should not avoid obeying the command. The monk uses this mitigation form as frequently as the

mitigation word *hu:*⁶ ‘urge’. This mitigated command form is used both as indirect inclusive--marked with inclusive pronoun *haw*² ‘we’ (example 14) and indirect exclusive-- marked with exclusive pronoun *k^hon²haw²* ‘people’ (example 15). It is used to tell the audience indirectly what to do. It is used to give examples of what people should do when they live together, such as have harmony, sacrifice to help each other (example 14), sympathize with each other, and help each other (example 15).

(14) Religion and Society (b) U38

*haw*² *k^huan*² *tʃaʔ*³ *mi:*² *k^hwa:m*² *sa:*¹*mak*⁵*k^hi:*²
 we should will have nom. harmony
*pɔ:*²*dɔ:*² *pen*¹ *nam*⁶*nun*³ *pen*¹ *tʃaj*¹*diaw*² *kan*¹
 harmony be harmony be harmony part
*mi:*² *ka:n*¹ *sia*¹*saʔ*³*laʔ*³ *tʃuaj*⁴*lwa:*¹
 have nom. sacrifice help

‘We should promote harmony and sacrifice to help (each other).’

(15) Religion and Society (b) U25

*ʔa:t*³*ta*³*ma:*² *paj*² *p^hu:t*⁴ *ta:m*¹ *ba:n*⁶*nɔ:k*⁴
 I (rev.) go speak at rural
*ba:n*⁶*na:*² *nok*⁵ *tua*¹*ja:*³ *hu:*⁶ *pən*⁴ *han*¹
 rural give example to they see
*ʔa:*²*ni*⁵*soŋ*¹ *ta:*³*ta:*³ *wa:*⁵ *k^hon²haw*²
 the usefulness of Dhamma various that people
*ju:*³ *tuaj*²*kan*¹ *k^huan*² *tʃaʔ*³ *han*¹*tʃaj*¹
 live together should will sympathize
*kan*¹ *p^hɔ*⁵ *saŋ*¹*k^hom*² *maʔ*⁵*nut*⁵ *mi:*²
 each other because society human have

ka:n¹ *tʃuaj⁴lwa:¹* *kan¹*
 nom. help each other

‘I go to preach in rural areas to give example about the usefulness of Dhamma showing that people who live together should sympathize with each other because in society (people) should help each other.’

12) *lo:ŋ²* ‘try’ is the weakest positive mitigation form. It is a form of persuasion which the monk uses frequently in his sermons. This form is used when the monk wants to persuade the audience to try to do something. In the example below, the monk tells about how each finger has its own duty. Then, he persuades the audience to observe the different duties. This mitigated command form is indirect inclusive in that the monk addresses the audience by using an indirect command.

(16) Religion and Society (b) U51

tə:³la⁵ *niw⁶* *ni:⁵naŋ³* *man²* *nia⁵* *ka:n¹* *bə:³*
 each finger part. it do job not

mua:n¹ *kan¹* *loŋ³* *haw²* *lo:ŋ²* *saŋ¹ke:t³*
 same each other part. we try observe

p^hə:³ *tə⁵* *nia⁵* *ka:n¹* *bə:³* *mua:n¹* *kan¹*
 see let do job not same each other

‘Each finger does a different job. Let’s try to observe (them) doing the different jobs.’

3.5.2 Negative Mitigation

There are seven examples of words or phrases that represent mitigation of negative commands¹⁵.

¹⁵ These mitigated command forms are underlined in the examples.

1) *bɔː³tʰaː⁶* ‘must not’ is the strongest command form. The audience must obey. This mitigated command form is direct inclusive and it is used in the conclusion of a section of a sermon. In the example below, Tuu Cok uses this phrase to say that people must not do a particular job when it is not their duty. The monk emphasizes the point he is making by using *haw²* ‘we’ three times.

(17) Religion and Society (c) U70

haw² bɔː³ miː¹ naː⁵tʰiː⁵ tʃiː⁶ haw² kɔː³
we not have duty point we also

bɔː³tʰaː⁶ tʃiː⁶ pʰɔ⁵ waː⁵ baʔ³ tʃaj⁶
must not point because that not be

tʰu⁵la⁵ kʰɔːŋ¹ haw² tuaː⁶
duty of we at all

‘(If) we don’t have the duty to point, we must not point because it isn’t our duty.’

2) *bɔː³huː⁶* ‘do not allow’ is used when the speaker does not want to allow the audience to do something. It almost as harsh as *bɔː³tʰaː⁶* ‘must not’. It was found in a quote about the Buddha. This mitigated command form is direct partially inclusive. The monk says, “The Buddha did not allow people to prefer things, money, gold, or wealth too much” as shown below:

(18) Religion and Society (h) U28

ʔoŋ²pʰa⁵pʰuː⁵miː²pʰa⁵pʰaːk⁵tʃaw⁶ pən⁴ bɔː³ huː⁶
Buddha he not allow

ni⁵jom² kʰaːw⁶kʰɔːŋ¹ ŋən² kʰam² sap⁵som¹bat³
like thing money gold wealth

nak⁵ kəːn¹paj²
a lot too

‘The Buddha, he did not allow (people) to prefer things, money, gold, wealth too much.’

3) *bɔː³kʰaj⁶huː⁶* ‘do not want to allow’ expresses a requirement of the speaker. The audience should follow the speaker’s expressed requirement. This mitigated command form is indirect partially inclusive. In the example below, the monk gives the command by using the phrase *bɔː³kʰaj⁶huː⁶* ‘do not want to allow’ and then tells them his wishes in regard to staying and listening to his preaching.

(19) Religion and Society (a) U25

ʔaː³ *weː²laː²* *niː⁶* *bɔː³* *kʰaj⁶* *huː⁶*
hesitation time this not want allow

pʰaj¹ *loŋ²* *hwaːn²* *paj²* *tiː⁶naj¹* *kʰaj⁶* *huː⁶*
someone down house go anywhere want urge

juː³ *faŋ²* *pʰom⁶kan¹* *tʉŋ²* *kʰon²num³*
stay listen altogether both young people

kʰon²kam¹ *tʉŋ²* *kʰon²tʰaw⁶* *kʰon²kæː³* *pʰom⁶*
young people both old people old people together

pʰom⁶ *naː⁶* *kan¹* *pʰɔ⁵ʃaʔ³nan⁶* *juː³* *tʰəːt³*
together face part. so stay please

sat³tʰaː² *ʔaːt³taʔ³maː²* *tʃaʔ³* *kʰum⁶* *pʰaj²*
you I (rev.) will protect danger

huː⁵paː²kan¹ *faŋ²* *paj²* *lwaj⁴*
urge altogether listen part. continually

lwaj⁴ *læ⁵* *miː²* *kʰwaːm²* *kʰaw⁶tʃaj¹* *lwaj⁴* *niː⁶*
continually and have nom. understand topic this

‘Um.. this time, I do not want to allow anybody to go out anywhere. (I) want to urge everyone both old people and young people to listen to the preaching. So please stay and I will protect you from danger. (A sentence adapted from a common slogan at police stations). (I) urge all of you to listen and understand my preaching.’

4) *baʔ³* ‘do not’ is a form of mitigation which is indirect inclusive. In the example below, the monk uses this mitigated command form to tell the audience to not act superior toward other people.

(20) Religion and Society (d) U28

<i>tu⁵tʃaw⁶</i>	<i>pʰa⁵na:j²</i>	<i>sat³tʰa:²</i>	<i>na:j²nok⁵</i>
monk	monk	you (audience)	worship leader
<i>po:⁵po:k³</i>	<i>kʰu:²ba:²ʔa:²ja:n¹</i>	<i>ba:n⁶</i>	<i>nunʃ³</i> <i>haw²</i>
people	teacher	house	one we
<i>ko:³</i>	<i>huam⁴ma:j⁶</i>	<i>huam⁴mu:²</i>	<i>kan¹</i> <i>baʔ³</i>
also	collaborate	collaborate	together do not
<i>ʔaw²</i>	<i>kan¹</i>	<i>pen¹</i>	<i>jaj³</i> <i>pen¹</i> <i>to:²</i>
take	together	be	superior be superior

‘The monk, you (the audience), the worship leader, people, the teacher in one place, we also collaborate together. We do not act superior to others.’

5) *paʃ²* ‘don’t’ is yet a weaker command than *baʔ³* ‘do not’. The audience may choose whether to obey or not. This mitigated command form is used both as indirect inclusive--marked with inclusive pronoun *haw²* ‘we’ (example 21) and indirect exclusive--marked with exclusive pronoun *kʰon²haw²* ‘people’ (example 22). The monk uses this indirect command form to tell the audience not to be selfish or clever only by oneself (example 21), to live in groups, to obey the law, and not to cause strife (example 22).

(21) Religion and Society (d) U5

<i>paʃ²</i>	<i>han¹kæ:³tua¹</i>	<i>paʃ²</i>	<i>ʔaw²kæ:³daj⁶</i>
don't	selfish	don't	selfish
<i>paʃ²</i>	<i>luak³</i>	<i>kæ:³</i>	<i>tua¹</i> <i>kʰon²</i> <i>diaw²</i> <i>kʰaj¹</i>
don't	clever	only	self class. one who

*wa:*⁵ *sak*⁵ *twa:*⁶
say empha. time

‘(We) do not be selfish, Do not take for yourself. Do not be clever for only yourself.’

(22) Religion and Society (c) U19-20

*ʔə:*³ *k^hon²haw²* *ju:*³ *kap*³ *mu:*³ *kap*³
hesitation people live with group with

k^ha⁵na⁵ *tʃaʔ*³ *tɔŋ*⁴ *mi:*² *kot³ma:j¹* *k^hum⁶k^hɔ:^ŋ²*
party will must have law protect

‘Um.. people live in groups so (people) must have laws.’

*tʃaʔ*³ *tɔŋ*⁴ *mi:*² *wi⁵naj²* *tʃaʔ*³ *tɔŋ*⁴ *mi:*²
will must have discipline will must have

laʔ³biap³ *paj*² *fa:³fu:n¹* *paj*² *tæ:k³næ:k⁵* *kan*¹
order don't break don't disharmony part.

*ʔan*² *ni:*⁶ *læʔ*³ *kam¹laŋ²* *sa:^ŋ⁶*
thing this part. in the act of create

k^hwa:m² *dwa:t³lo:n⁶*
nom. trouble

‘(People) must have discipline. (People) should not break the law,
(People)should not cause strife. All of these things will cause trouble.’

6) *tʃaʔ³paj²* ‘(auxiliary verb) don’t’ is weaker than *paj²* ‘don’t do’ because the auxiliary verb *tʃaʔ³* ‘will’ makes the command milder. This mitigated command form is used both as indirect inclusive--marked with inclusive pronoun *haw²* ‘we’ (example 23) and indirect exclusive--marked with exclusive pronoun *k^hon²haw²* ‘people’ (example 24). The monk tells the audience not to do something: not to see his words as a teaching (as people sometimes do not like to hear teaching) but to see them as friendly advice (example 23), and not to be selfish when driving a car (example 24).

(23) Religion and Society (a) U36

haw² tʃaʔ³ paj² k^hit⁵ wa:⁵ tu⁵tʃaw⁶ ma:²
 we will don't think that monk come
so:n¹ t^ha:⁶ k^hit⁵ wa:⁵ tu⁵tʃaw⁶ ma:² so:n¹
 teach if think that monk come teach
ko:³ k^hot³ laʔ³
 also angry part.

‘We should not think that the monk is teaching. because if (we) think that the monk is teaching (we) will get angry. (Because we don't want to have someone teach us but we will accept friendly advice)’

(24) Religion and Society (c) U21-22

sia¹ ɲop⁵paʔ³ma:n² ko:³ p^ho⁵ k^hon²haw² ni:⁶
 waste budget also because people part
paj² fa:³fw:n¹ kot³ma:j¹ nak⁵ lam⁶paj²
 to break law a lot too

‘(The government) spends money because people break the law a lot.’

k^haw⁶ naj² hua⁶ naj² wiaŋ² tʃaj⁶ t^haʔ³non¹
 enter in city in city use road
hon¹ta:ŋ² tʃaʔ³ paj² ʔaw²tʃaj¹tua¹wa:⁵ tew²
 road will don't selfish drive
ka:ŋ¹ t^haʔ³non¹ pun⁴
 middle road part.

‘If (people) go to the city and use the road, don't be selfish by driving in the middle of the road.’

7). *baʔ³paj²* ‘don't (weaker)’ is the weakest form. This mitigated command form is indirect inclusive. In the example below, the monk tells the audience not to do bad things.

(25) Religion and Society (g) U67-68

*t^ha:*⁶ *pa*³*t^he:*⁵ *k^ho:*^η¹ *haw*² *haw*² *tʃuaj*⁴
if country of we we help

*kan*¹ *ja:*^η³ *ni:*⁶ *set*³*t^haʔ*³*kit*³ *tʃaʔ*³ *di:*²
each other like this economy will good

*hæm*¹ *tʃa:*^t⁶ *nak*⁵
more empha. a lot

‘If in our society, we help each other like this (do not err in vices), the economy will be very good’

*baʔ*³*paj*² *wun*⁵*wa*⁵*wun*⁵*wa:*^j² *kap*³ *siŋ*³ *law*³ *nan*⁶
don't do with thing class. that

‘(We) don't do bad things.’

3.5.3 Implicit Mitigation

Another type of mitigation found in Tuu Cok's sermons is implicit mitigation. With implicit mitigation the command form is not stated and the monk does not explicitly tell the audience what to do. There are three forms of implicit commands:¹⁶ conditional sentences, the conjunction *ko:*³ ‘also’, and sentence final particles. Since there are no command words, these implicit commands are mild.

(1) Use of the conditional sentence. By using *t^ha:*⁶ ‘if’, an implicit command is made.

(26) Religion and Society (f) U24-25

*ba:*ⁿ⁶ *mua:*^η² *k^ho:*^η¹ *haw*² *tʃaʔ*³ *ju:*³ *muan*⁵
house city of we will live fun

*hæm*¹ *tʃa:*^t⁶ *nak*⁵
more empha. a lot

‘We will live in our society very happily.’

¹⁶ These forms will be underlined in the examples.

*k^hw:*² *t^ha:*⁶ *haw*² *tʃuaj*⁴ *kan*¹ *t^ham*² *tua*¹
is if we help together do body

*hw:*⁶ *pen*¹ *paʔ³jo:t*³ *baʔ*³ *keʔ³kaʔ³la⁵la:n*²
to be useful do not caused trouble

*baʔ*³ *nia*⁵ *jaŋ*¹ *hw:*⁶ *p^haj*¹
do not do whatever to anyone

‘If we help each other by doing useful things, (we) do not cause trouble, and (we) do not do bad things to anybody.’

(27) Religion and Society (g)U67

*t^ha:*⁶ *paʔ³t^he:t*⁵ *k^ho:ŋ*¹ *haw*² *tʃuaj*⁴ *kan*¹
if country of we help each other

*ja:ŋ*³ *ni:*⁵ *set³t^haʔ³kit*³ *tʃaʔ*³ *di:*² *hæm*¹
like this economy will good more

*tʃa:t*⁶ *nak*⁵
empha a lot

‘If in our country, we help each other like this (do not err in vices), the economy will be very good.’

(2) Use of a conjunction *kɔ:*³ ‘also’ is usually found in the examples that the monk gives to the audience to show that the people who appoint the village headman should let him do his duties without interference (example 28), and when we do not have an ability to do something, we should not do it (example 29)

(28) Religion and Society (c) U71

*læʔ*⁵ *kɔ:*³ *tʃa:w²ba:n*⁶ *tʃa:w²tʃo:ŋ*² *tʃim*² *pen*⁴
and also villager villager too they

*taŋ*⁴ *hw:*⁶ *pen*⁴ *pen*¹ *kæ:*³ *kɔ:*³
appoint to they be village headman also

*hw:*⁶ *pen*⁴ *pen*¹ *kæ:*³ *paj*²
allow they be village headman part.

‘The villagers who appoint a headman should allow that person to do his duty’

(29) Religion and Society (e) U16

*haw*² *bɔ:*³ *mi:*¹ *k^hwa:m*² *sa:*¹*ma:t*⁵ *ko:*³
 we not have nom. be able also

*bɔ:*³ *tɔŋ*⁴ *t^ham*²
 not must do

‘We can not do like them (we) also do not do that.’

(3) Particles at the end of the sentence. By using the particles *ka:*² and *hia*¹ an implicit command is made. These are mild and are similar to suggestions. The monk suggests that if we have things to do, we should do our job (example 30). If we have a garden, we should do work in the garden (example 31).

(30) Religion and Society (c) U74

*ka:n*¹ *haw*² *mi:*² *pə:*³*lə*⁵*pə:*³*tə:*¹ *du:*²*ta:ŋ*⁶ *nia*⁵
 job we have many have time do

*nia*⁵ *paj*² *ka:*²
 do go part.

‘We have many things to do. (We) do our job.’

(31) Religion and Society (c) U76

*haw*² *mi:*² *suan*¹ *paj*² *nia*⁵ *suan*¹ *hia*¹
 we have garden go do garden part.

‘If we have a garden, (we) go do work in the garden.’

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented various forms of mitigation used by Tuu Cok in the sermon ‘Religion and Society’. There are nineteen hortatory forms found in this sermon. Twelve mitigation forms are positive and seven mitigation forms are negative. The mitigation forms can be ranked from the strongest to the weakest for both the positive and negative command forms. According to the ranking, *tɔŋ*⁴ ‘must’ is the strongest positive command used for direct inclusive while *lɔ:ŋ*² ‘try’ is the weakest positive

command used for indirect inclusive. On the other hand, *bo:³tʰa:⁶* ‘must not’ is the strongest negative command used for direct inclusive while *baɽ³paɟ²* ‘don’t’ is the weakest negative command used for indirect inclusive. There are also three ways to make implicit commands: the use of conditional sentences, the use of the conjunction *ko:³* ‘also’, and the use of the particles *ka:²* and *hia¹* at the end of a sentence.

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